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Professor Virginia Brown

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ROBERT GROSSETESTE'S QUESTION ON SUBSISTENCE: AN ECHO OF THE ADAMITES

P. Osmund Lewry, O.P.

IN the essays commemorating the seventh centenary of the death of Robert Grosseteste, the late Daniel Callus made the following note on two questions, one of which, on subsistence, has so far remained unpublished:

Father Pelster discovered in 1926 two *quaestiones* in Assisi, MS. Biblioteca Comunale 138. One, *De subsistentia rei*, is duly ascribed in the margin: *Magister R. Grosseteste* (fol. 262^{rb}); the other, through a misreading of the master's name in the title, was also attributed to Grosseteste. Thomson accordingly listed it among the authentic works. On the authority of Pelster and Thomson the *quaestio* has lately been edited by Professor E. Franceschini under the title: 'An unprinted Text of Robert Grosseteste.' Undoubtedly, it was worthwhile publishing, since it is an early important *quaestio* from the Oxford school, but certainly it is not by Grosseteste, though in all probability belongs to one of his circle, Adam Marsh. The note in the margin runs without any shadow of doubt: 'Quaestio de fluxu et refluxu maris a magistro A. [*misread*, R(oberto)] Oxon [*not* Exon] in scolis suis determinata.' ¹

¹ D. A. Callus, 'Robert Grosseteste as Scholar' in idem, ed., *Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop: Essays in Commemoration of the Seventh Centenary of His Death* (Oxford, 1955), p. 22. As is indicated there, the initial discovery was reported by F. Pelster, 'Zwei unbekannte Traktate des Robert Grosseteste', *Scholastik* 1 (1926) 572-73. In 'Les "Quaestiones" de Guiard de Laon dans "Assise Bibl. comm. 138"', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 5 (1933) 388 n. 38, Pelster corrected his reading from *R* to *N*, or possibly *A*. S. Harrison Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln 1235-1253* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 89, 117, described these two *quaestiones*. That on the tides, whose authorship Callus disputed, was edited by E. Franceschini, 'Un inedito di Roberto Grossatesta', *Rivista di filosofia neo-scolastica* 44 (1952) 1-11. Callus found confirmation of his reading of the ascription in F.-M. Henquin, 'Un recueil de questions annoté par S. Bonaventure', *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 25 (1932) 553 n. 4 (not '552' as he notes). James McEvoy, in his recent study, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 500-501, mentions that the *quaestio* on subsistence 'was edited just before his death by Callus and left with the late Dr Hunt, who did not manage to print it.'

Callus' judgement of 1955 on the question of the tides remained unchallenged until 1962, when R. C. Dales argued that it is indeed by Grosseteste.²

First, as to the ascriptions: Dales argued the Vatican manuscript has a preposterous ascription to Boethius; those of Prague and Florence have explicit ascriptions to Grosseteste; that of Assisi has an ascription 'Magister R. Grosseteste' opposite the last line, which may refer either to the question on the tides or to that which follows, *De subsistentia rei*. The contested ascription has divided scholars, but Dales found nothing in common between the initial here and the *A*, *R*, or *N* of the rest of the codex, and thought the scribe was unsure of what he was copying and so intentionally wrote an ambiguous initial. Secondly, Dales saw peculiarly Grossetestian characteristics displayed in the author's predilection for mathematical descriptions, his observation that snow remains longer on the mountains, a remark found in the authentic works, and the reference to an experiment with a spherical lens. The latter, he claimed, revealed a development of thought which placed the composition of the piece in the late 1220s. Thirdly, he compared the interest in the tides with that evinced in three other works of Grosseteste. In 1977, while still maintaining the validity of these arguments, Dales noted three difficulties which might lead to a reasonable doubt about the authorship.³ These relate to the rejection of views, elsewhere accepted, of al-Bitruji, a failure to distinguish between *astronomus* and *astrologus*, and a use of the method of resolution and composition less straightforward than that of Grosseteste himself. These doubts led him to conclude that if Grosseteste did not write the question on the tides, then Adam Marsh is the next most likely candidate.

Whatever conclusion is reached regarding the authorship of the question on the tides, Callus' opinion on that on subsistence has apparently gone undisputed:

... to his early scholastic activity at Oxford may tentatively be referred a short *quaestio*, *De Subsistentia rei*, discovered by F. Pelster in MS. 138 (fol. 262^{r-v}) in the Biblioteca Comunale of Assisi.⁴

In view of the tentative attribution of this piece to Grosseteste, I was interested to find when making an inventory of the Callus papers, formerly deposited with the Department of Western Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library and since 1981 in the library of Blackfriars, Oxford, Callus' community until his death,

² Richard C. Dales, 'The Authorship of the *Questio de fluxu et refluxu maris* Attributed to Robert Grosseteste', *Speculum* 37 (1962) 582-88.

³ Richard C. Dales, 'Adam Marsh, Robert Grosseteste, and the Treatise on the Tides', *Speculum* 52 (1977) 900-901. In the meantime the same author has published 'The Text of Robert Grosseteste's *Questio de fluxu et refluxu maris* with an English Translation', *Isis* 52 (1966) 455-74.

⁴ D. A. Callus, 'The Oxford Career of Robert Grosseteste', *Oxoniensia* 10 (1945) 47.

that photographs of this section of the Assisi manuscript had been preserved with correspondence from E. Franceschini, a transcript and draft edition of the *quaestio*. This discovery, and an unforeseen doctrinal link with an allusion in Robert Kilwardby's writings on the *Ars vetus*, has stimulated the present article and edition. Brief as the piece is, it contains a reference which may start an echo of the twelfth-century antecedents of English scholarship in the first half of the thirteenth century.

I

The Assisi ms. Biblioteca Comunale 138 is a parchment codex of the mid-thirteenth century, of 293 folios of varying dimensions and written in at least five different hands.⁵ The quires numbered 'XXX' to 'XXXV' (fols. 233-285) are 285 × 228 mm. and written throughout in one hand which Thomson judged might be French.⁶ It is a plain textual gothic which strays into chancery on occasions, and from the formation of the letters 'h', 'd' and 's' it would be reasonable to conclude that it is English and dates from some time between 1240 and 1260. The section edited is written in double columns, with sixty-eight and sixty-nine lines to a column.

The earlier part of the codex contains theological questions by Alexander of Hales, Gueric of Saint-Quentin, John of La Rochelle, William of Meliton and Odo Rigaux. A more philosophical interest is evident from fols. 249ra-261vb, with short unascribed pieces on definition (fol. 249ra-vb), the eternity of the world (fols. 249vb-250ra), the univocity of being (fol. 250ra-b), the principle of individuation (fol. 250rb-vb), universals (fols. 250vb-251rb) and questions on the soul (fols. 251va-261vb). These are followed by the questions on the tides (fols. 261vb-262rb) and subsistence (fol. 262rb-va), the latter with the marginal ascription to Grosseteste. It is immediately followed in the same hand by a question which begins (fol. 262rb), 'Supponendo quod primum principium nobile intelligit, queritur an intelligat aliud a se aut non aliud'. This is identified by the title at the foot of the page, 'Questio de intellectu diuino secundum magistrum Ruffum Cornubiensem'. This is the first of several pieces by Richard Rufus of Cornwall, interspersed with others of unknown authorship and ending with Walter of Château-Thierry on the office of preaching (fols. 286vb-291va) and Rufus on intelligible species (fol. 292ra-vb). The whole codex

⁵ A full description of the contents of this manuscript will be found in *Alexandri de Hales Summa theologica*, 5 vols. (Quaracchi-Grottaferrata, 1924-79), vol. 4: *Liber tertius (Prolegomena)*, pp. cxxxviii-cxli, to supplement the summary description in G. Mazzatinti, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia* 4 (Forlì, 1894), p. 46.

⁶ Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste*, p. 89 n. ‡

appears to have been assembled under the direction and for the use of St. Bonaventure, whose hand is found in several marginal annotations there.⁷ It reflects an interest in Franciscan masters, with whom Grosseteste's name may have been readily associated in view of his role as a teacher of the Franciscans at Greyfriars, Oxford, from c. 1229 to 1235, when he became bishop of Lincoln.

The piece edited below is described in the index of questions at the beginning of the codex as 'Quibus modis habeant res subsistere' (fol. 1rc). Although this description may simply be derived from the opening words (fol. 262rb), 'Tribus modis res subsistere habent...', it has been preferred to the title previously applied to it, 'De subsistentia rei', which has no foundation in the manuscript. The *incipit* is, in fact, the same as that of a preface which circulates with the *Didascalicon* of Hugh of St. Victor. The verbal agreements with the first three sentences of this preface are so striking⁸ that it seems likely that the question on subsistence has been developed initially from the beginning of this preface or some common source of both. The preface itself is found in most manuscripts of the δ family of the *Didascalicon*, and always together with other prefaces beginning, 'Multi sunt...' and 'Duae praecipue....'⁹ It is the judgement of the editor of that work that, while these two prefaces are by Hugh himself, 'Tribus modis' differs in style and subject matter from his authentic work.¹⁰ All the same, it circulated widely in manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth century, one of which, a twelfth-century codex, is now the Oxford ms. Jesus College 35,¹¹ where the *Didascalicon* is preserved with Cistercian material.

II

Grosseteste takes over the three modes in which a reality may subsist, either actually and in itself, in an intellect, or in the divine mind. Things are transitory having no subsistence in themselves; they subsist in the human intellect but are not immutable; in the angelic intellect, although they begin to subsist, they have a sempiternal existence without a term; in the divine mind, however, they subsist without the mutability of beginning or ceasing to be, since the divine wisdom binds both terms. What is in the divine mind, or the angelic intellect, is

⁷ See Henquinet, 'Un recueil de questions', 553-55.

⁸ See below, p. 19, *app. font.* 3-11.

⁹ See C. H. Buttimer, ed., *Hugonis de Sancto Victore Didascalicon de studio legendi* (Catholic University of America Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin 10; Washington, D.C., 1939), p. xv.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. xvi.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p. xxxvi, 'D'.

an image of that which actually is, although it in no way exists; what is in the mind of man is a kind of likeness of what is actually existing (3-11).

Grosseteste now enlarges on the notion of image as something coming about in imitation of another. Things subsisting in themselves are made in imitation of what subsists in the divine mind (12-13). Reversing the sense of Boethius' verses in the *Philosophiae consolatio*, Grosseteste stresses the passivity of the human intellect, subjected to what actually exists in a material fashion, passively receiving the marks which configure it to external reality (13-15), something remote from the divine or angelic mind and even from the active part of the human soul, thinking without the aid of bodily instrumentality. Actual things impose no limit on these in thought; rather it is they that impose the limit on what exists (15-19). The part of the soul which depends on bodily instrumentality does not surpass the things themselves in understanding, nor has it the power to make something new of itself, like things of the real order, where everything comes about from something else (19-23). This impotence of the human soul is illustrated by the favoured examples of the golden mountain and the black swan, which can be assembled in imagination from remembered elements but have no possibility of actually being. There is thus no power of the soul to bring about even one new form, only to make new constructs, joining and separating in various ways what has been brought about and laid up in memory (23-27).

A further contrast is made in that whereas things are in themselves in such a way that their substance, quantity and quality are essentially separate, although they exist in conjunction, in human perception and imagination they are united, and the essential disjunction is not perceived (28-31). While in our intellect they are taken apart from one another, we are not wholly capable of looking at them separately in the way that they are entirely separate according to essence; some are always combined in understanding with others, for instance, colour (31-35). In the divine reason, however, as each thing is separated essentially from every other, so it is considered apart from all the rest in the purity of essence, a phrase Grosseteste may have adapted from Boethius' description of providence (35-38). This means that things are in God as universals. Individuation is understood as consisting in a collection, perhaps, as for Porphyry, the unique assemblage of properties or accidents which makes an individual.¹² Any part of that collection becomes a universal when it is considered in itself (38-40).

¹² Cf. Porphyry, *Isagoge* 7.22-28, transl. Boethii, ed. L. Minio-Paluello (Aristoteles Latinus 1.6-7; Leiden, 1966), pp. 13-14: 'Individua ergo dicuntur huiusmodi quoniam ex proprietatibus consistit unumquodque eorum quorum collectio numquam in alio eadem erit; Socratis enim proprietates numquam in alio quolibet erunt particularium; hae vero quae sunt hominis (dico autem eius qui est communis) proprietates erunt eadem in pluribus, magis autem et in omnibus particularibus hominibus in eo quod homines sunt.'

The next reflection is concerned with the perfection of knowledge. In view of the Aristotelian account of the perfect as that to which nothing is extrinsic, cognition will be perfect in two ways, according to number and extent. Cognition is numerically perfect when it leaves out no object of knowledge; perfect in extent when nothing of the thing known is left out in cognition. Only divine cognition is perfect in these two ways; human intellectual cognition is perfect in neither way. It is obvious, Grosseteste says, that it is numerically imperfect – that no one knows everything there is to know – and an indication that it is not perfect in extent is that the same thing is observed more clearly by one than by another (41-49). The phrase, '*alter altero limpidius idem speculatur*' (48-49), is couched in terms which evoke the author's characteristic pre-occupation with the phenomena of vision and a metaphysics of light.

Man's sense cognition is less perfect than his intellectual cognition, grasping fewer things than the intellect and grasping less than the intellect with the same object (49-51). He draws from the opening of the final prose of Boethius the principle that everything which is known is known not according to its own nature but according to that of those comprehending it (51-52). Since sense is by nature perishable, sense cognition falls short of the power of what is whole. Similarly with the intellect: for if our senses did not fall short of the power of what is whole, the acquisition of knowledge would come about for us without effort (52-55).

Finally, Grosseteste warns that since things subsist in so many ways and different things are ascribed to them according to their different being, one has to scrutinize it with lynx eyes to see that we do not inadvertently confuse this different being with its properties. Less careful distinction of these by men of the past has been the root and source of manifold error (56-60). He refers first to the Platonist view of the universals, saying that failure to make this distinction has given rise to the Platonic ideas, attributing to things in themselves what belongs to them as they are in the divine mind (60-62). Secondly, he refers to this as the source of the position of the Adamites ('*Adamitarum posicio*'), which attributes to things as they are in themselves what belongs to them as they are in our intellect (62-64). Lastly, he states his own position that as they are in themselves nothing which is the same is shared by many in such a way as to be of the substance of those sharing it; as they are in our intellect the same thing is shared by many and is of the substance of those that share in it (64-66).

III

The position adopted by Grosseteste on universals is thus one which implies a unity and community of universals derived from the abstractive power of the human mind, a position in line with the thought of Aristotle and Boethius,

which excludes the Platonic realism of common natures in things on the model of the divine ideas. The position of the Adamites is deserving of more study, and happily a light is thrown on an otherwise obscure reference to earlier thought on universals by a passage in the commentary of Robert Kilwardby on the *Isagoge* of Porphyry, the principal locus for the discussion of this topic in thirteenth-century university teaching. With the first set book in the Parisian and Oxford logic course the undergraduate was quickly introduced to the debate on universals, by then a cooler issue than it had been a century earlier.

In his second *lectio* Kilwardby poses the following objection, that universals do not exist because, on Boethius' authority, everything which is is numerically one:

Ad idem, dicit Boecius in tercio *De consolacione philosophie* (philosophie] prime philosophie *M*, philosophie prime *P*) (3, pr. 11.36; CCL 94.59) quod omne quod est ideo est quia unum numero est; set uniuersale non est unum numero, quia (*om. P*) sic (enim *add. P*) esset singulare: igitur uniuersale non est.¹³

Kilwardby responds:

Ad aliud dicendum quod (*post quod del. modo M*) est falsa: si recte sumat, suberit enim hec assumptio (assumptio hec *P*), uniuersale est quod est, et hec est falsa; est enim quo est, est (enim ... est] autem *P*) quidditas et essencia et forma indiuidui; nec est unum numero in quolibet singulari (in ... singulari] sicut *del. M*) ut posuerunt Adamite, set est unum per modum secundum quem forma per (secundum *M*) se considerata dicitur una, scilicet per conuenienciam uel per (*om. M*) simplicitatem sue essencie.¹⁴

The two versions of this text are subject to many variants, as is common in the transmission of this kind of literature, but the point emerges clearly that Kilwardby, in answering what may well be an old stock objection, judging by the use of Boethius, rejects the implied identification of the universal with what is, as Grosseteste would. Using a Boethian distinction to meet an objection based on Boethius, Kilwardby says the universal is that by which something is, the quiddity and essence and form of the individual. He then denies that the universal is numerically one in each single thing, a position he ascribes to the Adamites. He says that it is one in the way that a form considered in itself is one, namely, by an agreement or simplicity of its essence.

Kilwardby was lecturing in arts in the English nation at Paris around 1240; Grosseteste was teaching theology to the Franciscans at Oxford before 1235,

¹³ M (= Madrid ms., Biblioteca Universitaria 73) 2va, P (= Cambridge ms., Peterhouse 206) 34rb. This and the following citation are taken from an edition in progress of Kilwardby's commentaries on the *Ars vetus*.

¹⁴ M 2va, P 34va.

when he may have written on subsistence. Both knew of the Adamites, and ascribe to them a position which attributes to individual things what belongs to the human mind, universals with a unity and community arising from abstraction of forms which in their simplicity represent that in which individual things are in essential agreement. Who then were the Adamites? The name of Adam of Exeter has been linked, perhaps wrongly, with the question on the tides which precedes Grosseteste on subsistence in the Assisi manuscript, but there is no reason to link Grosseteste's disciple, Adam Marsh, with the position rejected by his master. A more plausible candidate is Adam of Balsham, 'Parvipontanus', an English master from Cambridgeshire – Grosseteste came from the adjoining county of Suffolk – and a celebrated logician who taught in Paris at a school on the Petit-Pont in the first half of the twelfth century. The likelihood of this identification is increased by the formulaic use made by Kilwardby in his prologues of the triad, 'de quo', 'ad quid' and 'qualiter'. This echoes the opening of Adam of Balsham's *Ars disserendi* of 1132: 'Principium propositi de quo et ad quid et qualiter ars disserendi instituenda dicere....' ¹⁵

The teaching of Adam himself on the *Isagoge* has yet to be discovered, if it has survived, and the *Ars disserendi* is only known in an incomplete and partly reworked version. Its author's preoccupations are not those of an expositor of the old logic but a 'novus auctor in arte' compiling a handbook of dialectic with conscious innovations of form and style.¹⁶ As he expressly says:

Omnino autem qualiter et ad quid quid quorum sit genus et que cuius sint species comperiendum alius erit docendi locus; ad id autem artis quod nunc docemus satis hic de quibus enuntiandum summatim distinguere, ut ad enuntiationum principia internoscenda.¹⁷

But if he eschews the treatment of genus and species here, he may have betrayed his position on universals incidentally in his account of types of definition, where he has the following:

Aliter autem (sed et hoc similiter ex univocatione) varie intelligi accidit, an ut quia est omnium an ut quia est alicuius plurium sit apposita univocatio, ut 'dicere affirmationem esse enuntiationem est dicere eam esse hoc, non ipsam solam'; 'dicere' enim 'affirmationem esse enuntiationem' varie intelligitur, tum ut quia dicatur esse aliqua species enuntiationum vel aliqua singularum, *secundum quod in singularibus universalia intelliguntur et in his universaliora*, tum ut quia

¹⁵ L. Minio-Paluello, ed., *Adam Balsamiensis Parvipontani Ars disserendi (Dialectica Alexandri)* 1.1 (Twelfth Century Logic, Texts and Studies 1; Rome, 1956), p. 3. This edition is cited throughout this article.

¹⁶ For an account of the author and his work see L. Minio-Paluello, 'The *Ars disserendi* of Adam of Balsham Parvipontanus', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 3 (1954) 116-69.

¹⁷ *Ars disserendi* 1.17 (p. 12).

communi omnium univocatione simpliciter enuntiatio esse dicatur *secundum quod universalibus singularia et uni propria intelligi non accidit*; 'dicere' enim 'aliquid esse affirmationem' est dicere id esse enuntiationem, non est dicere id esse affirmationem nec aliquid quod sola affirmatio est; quare ex hoc sophisticæ accidere probabile, quod 'dicere aliquid esse affirmationem' non est dicere id esse aliquid quod sola est affirmatio. Est autem ex omni univocatione sophisma huiusmodi.¹⁸

One sees here the reason for John of Salisbury's complaint in the *Metalogicon* about the confusions of nouns and verbs and subtle intricacies that made the Englishman Adam's book so obscure, leading John to apply to it some lines of Persius about the puffed-up bark of the shrivelled branch of an old cork tree.¹⁹

Adam's work is made more obscure by his practice of illustrating logic from logic itself, as here with his example, 'To say an affirmation is a statement is to say that it is this, but not this alone.' His point is that 'To say an affirmation is a statement' is understood in various ways, either because it may be said to be some species of statement or some one of the singulars. Here he adds '*secundum quod in singularibus universalia intelliguntur*' (italicised in the citation), so that he intends that the example may also be taken in the sense that the universal 'affirmation' can be understood to be one of the singulars of 'statement', inasmuch as universals are understood to be in singulars. Also the example may be understood in such a way that an affirmation is understood to be a statement because this is said in common of all by univocation, inasmuch as singulars and what is proper to one is not understood of universals ('*secundum quod universalibus singularia et uni propria intelligi non accidit*', also italicised). Adam concludes that 'To say something is an affirmation' is to say it is a statement; it is not to say it is an affirmation, nor anything which is only an affirmation: whence the sophisma that 'To say something is an affirmation' is not to say that it is something which is only an affirmation.

This is not much to go on, but at least it provides an instance of Adam saying that universals are understood to be in singulars, even if the context is remote from that of the contemporary debate on universals. When John of Salisbury

¹⁸ *ibid.* 2.78 (pp. 55-56). Italics have been used for emphasis.

¹⁹ C. C. J. Webb, ed., *Ioannis Saresberiensis episcopi Carnotensis Metalogicon libri IIII* 4.3 (Oxford, 1929), p. 167: 'Vnde qui Aristotilem sequuntur in turbatione nominum et uerborum et intricata subtilitate, ut suum uenditent, aliorum obtundunt ingenia, partem pessimam michi preeligisse uidentur, quo quidem uitio Anglicus noster Adam michi pre ceteris uisus est laborasse in libro quem Artem Disserendi inscripsit. Et utinam bene dixisset bona que dixit; et licet familiares eius et fautores hoc subtilitati ascribant, plurimi tamen hoc ex desipientia uel inuidencia uani, ut aiunt, hominis contigisse interpretati sunt. Adeo enim expressit Aristotilem intricatione uerborum, ut sobrius auditor recte subiungat: "Nonne hoc spumosum et cortice pingui, / ut ramale uetus pregrandi subere coctum?" [Pers., *Sat.* 1.96-97]. Habenda est tamen auctoribus gratia, quia de fonte eorum haurientes labore ditamur alieno.'

talks about the *Isagoge*, he has a chapter on the pernicious way in which logic is sometimes taught, censuring the willful obscurity of some contemporaries and relating modern opinions on genera and species. Among the realists he mentions one who holds this view on the following grounds:

Siquidem hic, ideo quod omne quod est, unum numero est, rem uniuersalem aut unam numero esse aut omnino non esse concludit. Sed quia impossibile substantialia non esse, existentibus his quorum sunt substantialia, denuo colligunt uniuersalia singularibus quod ad essentiam unienda.²⁰

The argument here closely matches the objection posed by Kilwardby some eighty years later, and the solution may well be that which he identifies as that of the Adamites. But John talks at this point of Walter of Mortagne, whose influence had led to a distinction of *status*, saying that Plato is an individual inasmuch as he is Plato, a species inasmuch as he is a man, a subalternate genus inasmuch as he is an animal, and a most general genus inasmuch as he is a substance.²¹ John speaks of this as a view which formerly had its supporters, but at the time of writing, in 1159, had ceased to be current. He speaks too of those who posit ideas, emulating Plato and following Bernard of Chartres, and say that genus or species are nothing but ideas.²² Here we have perhaps the proponents of the Platonic realism alluded to by Grosseteste, a view which, from John's excursus on it, may have had more currency in his time. The other opinions mentioned, that of Gilbert de la Porrée identifying universals with 'inborn forms' (*formae natae*), and that of Jocelyn of Soissons attributing universality to collections of things and denying it to individuals, and that of those who talk of 'maneries',²³ do not seem to be in view in Grosseteste's piece.

But who were the Adamites? John of Salisbury mentions William of Soissons, a pupil to whom he had taught the first principles of logic as having been sent on to Adam, but he is associated in the *Metalogicon* not with teaching on universals but with a revolutionary view that the same conclusion may be inferred from either one of a pair of contradictories.²⁴ L. Minio-Paluello has

²⁰ *Metalogicon* 2.17 (ed. Webb, p. 93).

²¹ *ibid.*: 'Partiuntur itaque status, duce Gautero de Mauritania, et Platonem, in eo quod Plato est, dicunt indiuiduum; in eo quod homo, speciem; in eo quod animal genus, sed subalternum; in eo quod substantia, generalissimum.' Walter of Mortagnes, formerly dean of Laon, was bishop of that diocese from 1155 to 1174.

²² *ibid.*: 'Ille ideas ponit, Platonem emulatus et imitans Bernardum Carnotensem; et nichil preter eas genus dicit esse uel speciem.'

²³ *ibid.*, pp. 94-96.

²⁴ *ibid.* 2.10 (pp. 81-82): 'Interim Willelmum Suessionem, qui ad expugnandum, ut aiunt sui, logice uetustatem et consequentias inopinabiles construendas et antiquorum sententias diruendas machinam postmodum fecit, prima logices docuit elementa et tandem iam dicto preceptorum [Adam] apposui. Ibi forte didicit idem esse ex contradictione, cum Aristotiles obloquatur, quia idem cum sit et non sit, non necesse est idem esse, et item, cum aliquid sit, non necesse est idem

collected evidence on Adam's life and works,²⁵ including a reference by Giles of Corbeil, from around 1200, which may have been intended for 'Adamatici' as a term for disciples of Adam.²⁶ However, the most solid link with the thirteenth-century world of Grosseteste is Alexander Nequam. Nequam attributes to Master Adam of Petit-Pont, evidently a respected figure, a correction in the Latin version of Aristotle's *De sophisticis elenchis* 11 (171b15-16, 172a3), 'lunulas' for Thierry of Chartres' reading 'plunulas'.²⁷ Alexander also hails Adam as 'a shining star of the time of Gilbert, Alberic and Abelard',²⁸ and mentions the 'Parvipontani' in his *De naturis rerum*, though not in regard to universals.²⁹ When he does talk about universals in that work it is only to pour

esse et non esse. Nichil enim ex contradictione euenit et contradictionem impossibile est ex aliquo euenire.'

²⁵ Minio-Paluello, 'The *Ars disserendi* of Adam of Balsham *Parvipontanus*', Appendix, 159-69.

²⁶ *ibid.*, 165: 'iii. [ca. A.D. 1200] Cessent manare fluenta / fontis adamantis [sic in one of the two manuscripts, "adaratici" in the other, "Adamatici" conj. Rose], Parvipontana columna / submissim deponat onus. (Giles of Corbeil, *Viaticus* 2346-8.)'

²⁷ *ibid.*, 161: '3. [ca. A.D. 1200] In geometria dicuntur lunule quedam portiuncule circuli, et in hac significatione utitur Aristotiles vocabulo in libro Elenchorum, ubi de quadratura circuli loquitur; ubi Terricus deceptus legit "plunulas", antequam iste venisset in manus magistri Ade Parvi Pontis. (Alex. Nequam, *Corrog. Prom.*, p. 677 Meyer).'

²⁸ *ibid.*: '4. [A.D. 1216] En Porretanus, Albricus, Petrus Alardi, / Terricus, monachus Gualo sophista potens / temporibus micuere suis quasi lumina terre, / et nostro fulgens tempore sidus Adam. (Alex. Nequam, *Suppl. Defect.* [de logica] II. 1575-1578, pp. 9 and 219 Hunt).'

Alexander's unedited *Suppletio defectuum* is cited by Minio-Paluello according to the unpublished thesis of R. W. Hunt, *Alexander Neckham* (D. Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1936; Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. D. Phil. c.101), p. 9. An edition of this thesis is in progress by Margaret T. Gibson of the University of Liverpool.

²⁹ T. Wright, ed., *Alexandri Neckham De naturis rerum libri duo with the Poem of the Same Author De laudibus divinae sapientiae* 2.173 (RS 34; London, 1863), p. 307: 'Docuere argumentum esse habitudinem praemissi, vel praemissorum, ad illatum, licet Parvipontani, quorum fuit unus Ethion, dicant argumentum esse dictum conditionalis transformatae ab argumentatione.' The work dates from c. 1197-1204.

Although this is the sole reference by name to the *Parvipontani* in the *De naturis rerum*, Alexander has earlier in the same chapter expressed surprise that some should reject the opinion of those who say that 'ex impossibili per se quodcunque sequi enuntiabile' (ed. Wright, p. 288). L. M. de Rijk, 'Some Thirteenth Century Tracts on the Game of Obligation', *Vivarium* 12 (1974) 94-123, has edited an anonymous treatise from a Munich manuscript, which he calls *Tractatus Emmeranus de impossibili positione*. The author seems to reject this as an opinion of the Adamites: 'Unde consequentia Adamitorum non est concedenda in hac questione, scilicet quod ex impossibili sequitur quidlibet' (*ibid.*, 118). De Rijk observes that Alexander takes issue with this rejection. (Eleonore Stump, 'William of Sherwood's Treatise on Obligations', *Historiographia linguistica* 7 [1980] 263-64 n. 12, says the rule is not rejected; it does not apply in the obligation context.) Because of the reference to the Adamites he dates the treatise not later than the 1220s. William of Leicester (d. 1213) is mentioned as a source of Parvipontian influences in England. De Rijk thinks the designation of Adam's adherents as *Adamiti* might be more likely in England, where acquaintance with the local situation of the schools at the Petit Pont was lacking (*ibid.*, 102-103).

scorn on those who dismiss their existence, relying on Aristotle's apparent statement according to the Latin version of the *Analytica posteriora* that genera and species are monsters. Alexander relates this dictum to an ironical criticism of the position of Plato. His own position is that genera and species are the common natures of things: as there cannot be anything white unless there is whiteness, so something cannot be a man unless there is this common nature, man.³⁰

Whether Alexander adopts the position ascribed to the Adamites is not clear, but at least what he says is not incompatible with that assumption. That he was a transmitter of Adam's logic to the thirteenth century is perhaps attested by the tradition which describes the *Ars disserendi* as the 'Dialectica Alexandri'. This is the description it bears in the fourteenth-century lists of contents in the Paris ms., Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 16581, formerly in the possession of Richard of Fournival and amongst Gerard of Abbeville's legacy to the Sorbonne in 1271, and in ms. Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 14700, acquired by the abbey of St. Victor around 1440. In the third codex, now in the Vatican Library as ms. Vat. lat. 9369, it is described in the fifteenth-century list of contents as 'Topica Alexandri', a title which reflects the dialectical interest of the *Ars*.³¹ Adam may have died before 1159, if John of Salisbury is understood to be talking about a figure of the past, and Alexander's talk of him as a shining star may not imply that he was actually shining when Alexander was studying in Paris from around 1175 to 1182.³² In any case, there was an influence which could have been transmitted to the Oxford schools when Alexander was studying there between 1190 and 1197. He entered the Augustinian Canons around 1200, was abbot of Cirencester in 1213, and died at Kempsey, Worcestershire, in 1217.³³

³⁰ *De naturis rerum* 2.173, ed. Wright, p. 291: 'Frustra etiam blandiuntur sibi asserentes genera et species non esse, eo quod Aristoteles in *Posterioribus Analeticis* utitur hac forma verborum: "Gaudeant genera et species, monstra enim sunt; et si sunt, nihil ad rationem sunt." Sed ibi invehitur in Platonem dicentem hanc speciem homo esse verum hominem, et esse ideam in mente divina existentem. Dicebat etiam hanc speciem hircocervus esse ideam, et esse hircocervum. Unde insultans ait ironice, "Gaudeant genera et species, monstra enim sunt," secundum doctrinam Platonis; et si sint, non sunt ad rationem, id est, non subsunt iudicio rationis, neque comprehenduntur ratione, sed intellectu. Ratio enim vis est animae concretiva, maritans formam subjecto. Intellectus est vis animae abstractiva, separans formas a rebus ipsis. Hoc quidem modo comprehendebat Plato genera et species, vocans ipsa formas quas assererat esse, etsi res non essent. Nos vero rationis usu genera et species comprehendimus tanquam communes rerum naturas. Sicut autem non est aliquid album nisi albedo sit, ita non potest aliquid esse homo, nisi haec natura communis homo sit.'

³¹ For a description of these manuscripts see Minio-Paluello's edition, pp. xiii-xvi. He suggests (p. xxii) that the second recension of the *Ars* may be due to Alexander Nequam, and it may be of significance that Alexander's *De nominibus utensilium* is modelled on Adam's *De utensilibus*.

³² See Minio-Paluello, 'The *Ars disserendi* of Adam of Balsham *Parvipontanus*', 117 n. 4.

³³ See A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A. D. 1500*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1957-59), 2.1342-43, 'Nequam, Alexander'.

when Grosseteste may have already qualified in theology and begun to teach at Oxford.

IV

There seems little doubt that, despite the logical interest of Grosseteste's piece on subsistence and its echo of the Adamites, the context of the discussion is theological. In that respect it resembles the short pieces *De veritate*, *De veritate propositionis* and *De scientia Dei*.³⁴ Although Grosseteste often favoured brief studies of a topic, Callus thought these pieces might be fragments of a larger enterprise, a *Summa theologiae*.³⁵ Is it possible that the question on subsistence had the same origin? In that case its proper context might be a discussion of the doctrine of creation in connection, say, with the second book of Lombard's *Sentences*. The question on the tides, which precedes it in the Assisi manuscript, has been placed in a development of thought which might suggest a date of composition in the 1220s, if it is to be restored to Grosseteste.³⁶ The attribution of that on subsistence to 'Magister' Robert Grosseteste might be an indication that it was composed before he became bishop of Lincoln in 1235, and thus at a time when he was teaching theology at Oxford.

The other contents of the Assisi manuscript throw little light on this work. The anonymous questions *De universalibus* (fols. 250vb-251va) are the most promising item for study. They begin:

Ostenso autem quod materia non sit indiuiduum set principium indiuiduacionis, de uniuersalibus queramus (c'pamus [?] *MS.*), et primo que sit causa uniuersalitat'is in uniuersali. Cum igitur uniuersale et particulare sint in eodem et sint intentiones composite, non erit idem uniuersale et indiuiduum....

The form and style is closer to that of arts teaching on logic and the pre-occupations are not those of Grosseteste. This is a master raising standard questions which arise in connection with the material of Porphyry's *Isagoge*, without the larger perspective of a hierarchy of intellects and the subsistence of created realities in themselves and in the minds of knowers.

Grosseteste's own works offer little to match this piece either. No commentary has survived on the *Isagoge*. There is an exposition of *De sophisticis elenchis* attributed to *magister Robertus Grossetest de Lyncolniensi* in

³⁴ Ed. Ludwig Baur, *Die philosophischen Werke des Robert Grosseteste, Bischofs von Lincoln* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters 9; Münster, 1912), pp. 130-47.

³⁵ D. A. Callus, 'The *Summa theologiae* of Robert Grosseteste' in R. W. Hunt, W. A. Pantin, R. W. Southern, eds., *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 187-88.

³⁶ See above, p. 2.

the Oxford ms., Merton College 280, fols. 3ra-37ra, but it has Parisian examples and a style which ill accords with the ascription; nor does it apparently contain anything which parallels the discussion of subsistence, as might be expected. The commentary on the *Analytica posteriora*, perhaps from towards 1230, has a few passages of interest, more than might be expected. Since this influential work is at last available in a critical edition, it may be instructive to see what Grosseteste says there on universals.

In book 1, chapter 5, he discusses universals with one individual, a topic which may have been suggested by Avicenna. Grosseteste says:

Multa enim universalia per naturam suam habent possibilitatem ut reperiantur in pluribus speciebus vel individuīs et tamen propter naturam universalem impeditur possibilitas nature proprie, sicut sol et mundus per naturam propriam possibile est uterque ut reperiat in pluribus, sed per naturam universalem impeditur illa possibilitas ab effectu suo. Cum igitur tale universale actu non sit communius quam suum inferius, sicut sol vel mundus actu non est communius quam iste sol vel iste mundus, latet diversitas inter universale et suum singulare, quia actualiter sunt paria.³⁷

In this case the difference between the universal and its individual is obscured, because, although the universal by its own nature has the possibility of being found in many, it is in fact, by the universal order of things, limited to one individual, as in the case of the sun in Grosseteste's cosmology: then the universal is actually no more general than its inferior, the individual of that universal.

In chapter 17 Grosseteste expounds the lemma, 'Amplius si universale quidem non est aliquid preter singularia' (*Anal. post.* 1.24 [85a31]):

Item, cum universale sit unum in multis, unum autem in multis non videtur esse aliquid secundum veritatem, sed secundum iudicium intellectus solum, unde universale videtur esse aut quod nichil est aut quod minus est quam particulare; sed de eo quod est, vel quod plus est, est demonstratio melior quam de eo quod non est vel quod minus est; de particulari igitur est scientia et demonstratio melior quam de universali.³⁸

The argument bears upon the character of demonstration, but it significantly supposes that universality belongs to the mental judgement and not to the individual realities themselves, and thus the universal is either nothing in itself or less than the particular. Grosseteste expounds Aristotle's reply to this argument:

³⁷ P. Rossi, ed., *Robertus Grosseteste, Commentarius in Posteriorum analyticorum libros: Introduzione e testo critico* 1.5 (Florence, 1981), pp. 117 (21) - 118 (30).

³⁸ *ibid.* 1.17, pp. 242 (78) - 243 (84).

Ad secundam oppositionem dicit Aristoteles quod universale non minus est, sed magis est quam particulare, quia, cum universale sit univocum et ipsius sit intellectus unus, necesse est quod sit res una undecumque veniat eius unitas, sive ab intellectu sive ab alio; universale tamen secundum se nec est unum nec est multa, sed accidit ei quod sit unum et quod sit multa. Et puto quod unitas universalis in multis particularibus assimilatur unitati lucis in luce generante et generata sive gignente et genita. Lux enim que est in sole gignit ex sua substantia lucem in aere, nec est aliquid novum creatum ut sit lux in aere, sed lux solis est multiplicata et propagata; alia itaque est lux in sole et alia in aere, non tamen sic penitus est alia quin aliquo modo sit unitas essentie in gignente et in genita luce, aliter enim lux genita esset totaliter de novo creata et ex nichilo. Ergo universale non est figmentum solum, sed est aliquid unum in multis, et quia incorruptibilius est particulari, cum sit magis remotum ab accidentibus materie variabilis et magis appropinquans enti primo erit magis ens; non tamen quodlibet universale est magis ens quolibet particulari, quia universalia rerum naturalium sunt minus entia quam singularia intelligentiarum.³⁹

With the characteristic appeal to an analogy from light, Grosseteste explains that the unity of a universal is not simply that of a figment of the mind; it has some unity in the many, and is in some fashion more a being than the perishable reality of particular things, as it is more removed from the accidents of matter subject to variation and approaches more closely the first being. This does not, however, mean that each universal is more a being than each particular thing, because the universals of natural realities are less beings than the singulars of intelligences. Here a point of contact with the question on subsistence is the stress on the impermanence of natural things and the contrast between human and angelic cognition.

In chapter 18, Grosseteste makes a comparison between sense knowledge and intellectual knowledge:

... sensus talis est quod ipse est apprehensivus rei alicuius signate et non est simul apprehensivus rei alterius, quia necesse est sentire rem signatam in loco signato, quare non sentit nisi rem unam signatam. Universale autem, cum sit res inventa in multitudine, non est possibile sentire, quia non reperitur in multis non est in tempore aut loco signato, quia si esset in loco et tempore signatis non esset idem inventum in omnibus, universale namque est semper et ubique. Quomodo universale semper sit satis expositum est supra, ubi fiebat sermo de perpetuitate universalium. Si autem intelligimus universalia per modum Aristotelis formas repertas in quidditate particularium, a quibus sunt res particulares id quod sunt, tunc universale esse ubique nichil aliud est quam universale esse in quolibet suorum singularium. Ubi enim esse est esse in quolibet suorum locorum, loca

³⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 244 (109) - 245 (126).

autem universalium sunt ipsa singularia in quibus sunt universalia, nisi forte dicamus quod universale ubique est quia intellectus est locus universalium, et universale ubique esse est ipsum in intellectu esse, qui intellectus quodammodo ubique est, quia intellectus per modum spiritualem ibi est ubi est illud quod intelligitur, sicut amans ibi est ubi est illud quod amatur. Si autem universalia sunt ydee in mente divina, tunc universalia ubique sunt per modum quo causa prima ubique est. Si vero universalia sunt rationes rerum causales create, que sunt virtutes site in corporibus celestibus, tunc etiam ipse ubique sunt, quia virtutes corporum celestium ubique reperiuntur. Quomodo autem causa prima ubique sit et quomodo virtutes corporum celestium ubique sint et quomodo intellectus sit ibi ubi est illud quod intelligitur et amans ubi est illud quod amatur, altioris est negotii et non est nostre possibilitatis explanare. Verumtamen quod ita sit scimus, modum autem comprehendere non sufficimus.⁴⁰

The contrast is between the limitation of sense to the here and now of designated singulars, while the universal, found in many things, cannot be perceived, not being limited to the here and now, otherwise it would not be the same in all; it is always and everywhere.

Grosseteste has expounded the perpetual existence of universals already, but here he dwells on their omnipresence. Understood in an Aristotelian fashion, they are forms found in the quiddities of particular things by which the particulars are what they are, so that this omnipresence is no more than the universal being in each of its singulars. That is the place of the universals, unless we should say that they are everywhere because the intellect is the place of universals, and for the universal to be everywhere is for it to be in the intellect, which in some fashion is everywhere, with a spiritual presence to what is understood like that of the lover to that which is loved. But if the universals are ideas in the divine mind, then they are everywhere in the fashion in which the first cause is everywhere. If they are causal reasons of created things, according to an Augustinian understanding of seminal reasons, relating them to powers in the heavenly bodies, then they are also wherever that influence is found. Finally, Grosseteste leaves to the higher study of theology the omnipresence of the first cause, the influence of the heavenly bodies, the intellect and the lover.

Later in the same chapter he says:

... sensus non est causa propria faciens nos scire neque sensus illorum est ipsa scientia, sed quorundam singularium sensus statim consequitur apprehensio et cognitio universalis ipsius singularis; non ergo sentiendo scimus, sed occasione

⁴⁰ *ibid.* 1.18, pp. 265 (135) - 267 (162).

ipsius sensus coaccidit in nobis cognitio universalis et scientia, non gratia sensus.⁴¹

Sense perception is thus the occasion for knowing universals rather than the proper cause: universal knowledge of the singular follows upon the perception by sense. The emphasis of the discussion of universals in this commentary is on the role of the mind in discovering the unity and community of the universal. The contrast of sense cognition and intellectual features here and the broader perspective of angelic and divine knowledge is briefly opened, to be closed again as beyond the scope of the present work. The subsistence of things in themselves has been related to the universal reality on the analogy of the diffusion of light in a way that is characteristic of Grosseteste, but he is equally prepared to talk the language of Aristotle and relate to it the material forms of natural realities, which leads to the singulars being seen as the place of universals rather than the abstracting mind. But the mind too is thought of in Aristotelian terms as in some fashion everything and consequently everywhere. What is absent from this dispersed treatment is the neat oppositions of the question on subsistence. One might expect to find some parallel consideration in the theological context of Grosseteste's *Hexaameron*, but, although he talks there of the 'immutabiles rationes in mente divina',⁴² there is little, it seems, to match the discussion in the question on subsistence. The *Summa philosophiae* has much on ideas, but that is by a later thinker than Grosseteste and belongs more to a study of his influence than to that of the formation of his own thought.⁴³

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The present edition of the question on subsistence has been made from photographs and microfilm of the sole manuscript, Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale 138, fol. 262rb-va, preserved with the papers of the late Daniel Angelo Callus at Blackfriars, Oxford. Callus made a transcription of this piece, perhaps around 1952, and began to edit it. His initial work has been the basis for this edition, but the present author must assume full responsibility for the way in which it has been brought to completion. The orthography of the manuscript has been preferred, and the text has been punctuated to point the sense. Sparing emendation has been made where it seemed appropriate and some likely

⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 269 (203-207).

⁴² *Hexaameron* 1.3 (London, British Library Royal 6.E.v, fol. 140vb).

⁴³ See *Summa philosophiae Roberto Grosseteste ascripta* 5.17-22, 7.15-18, ed. Baur, *Die philosophischen Werke*, pp. 347-61, 394-95.

sources indicated. Angle brackets have been used to mark editorial additions to the text. Callus also had an interest in the writings of Robert Kilwardby, and his notes include jottings on manuscripts to be examined for authentic logical commentaries. It is not clear whether he ever studied the exposition of the *Isagoge* in the Cambridge ms. Peterhouse 206. If he had chanced on the allusion to the Adamites there, no doubt he would have seen its significance for the question on subsistence and that echo would have resounded sooner.

MAGISTRI ROBERTI GROSSETESTE
< QUIBUS MODIS HABEANT RES SUBSISTERE >

(f. 262rb) Tribus modis res subsistere habent: in actu siue in se ipsis, in intellectu, in mente diuina. In se ipsis sine subsistentia transeunt; in intellectu
 5 hominis subsistunt quidem, set tamen inmutabiles non sunt; in intellectu angelico et si subsistere ceperint, in eo tamen subsistunt sine termini prefinicione; in mente uero diuina subsistunt sine omni mutabilitate incepcionis aut desicionis, cum diuina sapiencia terminum utrumque sit certissimum religari. Et quod in mente diuina est, aut intellectu angelico, ymago eius quod
 10 actu est, nequaquam existit, licet quod est in mente hominis in actu existencium sit quedam similitudo.

Si enim ymago est cuius generacio ad imitacionem, et res in se ipsis subsistentes ad imitacionem in mente diuina subsistencium sunt facte, earum procul dubio rebus actualibus homini animus 'materie modo' subiectus 'notas
 15 patitur inpressas', 'rerum' scilicet 'simulacra'; quod a mente diuina et angelica longe abest, et a parte humane anime que sine corporei instrumenti intelligit amminiculo. Racio namque diuina et angelica et pars anime separabilis agentis uice, non patientis, se habent. Vnde et hiis res actuales metam intelligendi non statuerunt, set hee pocius rebus actualibus metam existendi. Vnde pars anime,
 20 que instrumento utitur corporeo, res actuales non transcendit in comprehendendo neque sibi nouum aliquid valet confingere; cuius simile in rebus actualibus non inuenitur, cum hoc nichil habeat quod ex illis non sit generatum. Si enim ymaginetur homo montem aureum aut cingnum nigrum, que impossibile est esse, montem in memoria repositum et aureum coniungit,
 25 simili modo cignum et nigrum. Sic patet nouas compositiones efficit, formam

4 in³ s.s. *MS.* 14 *post* dubio *expunx.* sunt *MS.* rebus] res *MS.*

3-11 Cf. Anonymi *praefationem ad Didascalicon* Hugonis de Sancto Victore (ed. Buttner, p. 134 [3-9]): 'Tribus modis res subsistere habent: in actu, in intellectu, in mente diuina; hoc est in ratione diuina, in ratione hominis, in seipsis. In seipsis sine subsistentia transeunt, in intellectu hominis subsistunt quidem, sed tamen inmutabiles non sunt, in mente diuina sine omni mutabilitate subsistunt. Item quod est in actu imago est eius quod est in mente hominis, et quod est in mente hominis imago est eius quod est in mente diuina.'

14-15 Cf. Boethium, *Philosophiae consolatio* 5, met. 4 (CCL 94.98 [12-13]): 'quam quae materiae modo / impressas patitur notas.'

15 Cf. Lucretium, *De rerum natura libri sex* 4.127-128, ed. C. Bailey, 1 (Oxford, 1947), p. 368: 'quin potius noscas rerum simulacra vagari / multa modis multis nulla vi cassa quae sensu?'

uero nouam nec unam sibi valet efficere, set solum < formas > a rebus effectas et in memoria repositas diuersimode coniungere aut diuidere.

Amplius, res in se ipsis sunt ita quod substantia sua et quantitas et qualitas secundum essenciam seiuncte sunt, existunt tamen coniuncte; in sensu uero
 30 hominis et ymaginacione sunt substantia et quantitas et qualitas per modum vnus, nec percipitur ibi que est secundum essencias seiunctio. In intellectu autem nostro quantitas a substantia et qualitate seorsum accipitur. Non potest tamen intellectus noster hec omnino seorsum intueri, sicut in se ipsis secundum essenciam omnino sunt diuisa; quedam enim semper cum quibusdam
 35 commiscent, ut pote colorem, sine dubitatione nequaquam comprehendit. In ratione autem diuina sicut vnaqueque res secundum suam essenciam ab omnibus aliis separatur, seorsum ab omnibus aliis in puritate essencie sue conspicitur. Quapropter, ibi sunt res per modum uniuersalium. Omnis enim indiuiduacio in colleccione consistit; pars autem colleccionis vnaqueque fit
 40 uniuersale cum in se ipsa fuerit conspecta.

Amplius, cum perfectum fit cui nichil sit extra, cognicio duobus modis erit perfecta, secundum numerum (f. 262va) et secundum magnitudinem. Secundum numerum perfecta est cognicio cui nullum cognoscibile extra relinquitur; secundum magnitudinem perfecta est cognicio cum de re cognita nichil est
 45 extra cognicionem relictum. Hiis ita duobus modis sola diuina cognicio perfecta est; cognicio autem hominis intellectiua neutro. Secundum numerum enim imperfectam esse hominis intellectiuam cognicionem perspicuum est; secundum magnitudinem uero illam non perfici signum est quod alter altero limpidius idem speculatur. Sensitiua uero hominis cognicio intellectiua minus
 50 perfecta est; pauciora enim sensus capit quam intellectus, et quod ab utroque capit minus a sensu quam ab intellectu. 'Omne' enim 'quod cognoscitur non ex sua set ex comprehendencium natura cognoscitur'; natura autem sensus in nobis corruptibilis est: quapropter et eius cognicio ab integritatis deficiet vigore. Similiter autem et intellectus: si enim sensus nostri ab integritatis non
 55 deficerent vigore, adquisicio sciencie in nobis adesset sine labore.

Cum ergo res tot modis habeant subsistere, et secundum esse diuersum diuersa conueniat rebus assignari, linceis oculis contemplandum est reor ne ista

35-38 Cf. Boethium, *Philosophiae consolatio* 4, pr. 5.8 (CCL 94.79 [23-24]): 'Qui modus cum in ipsa diuinae intelligentiae puritate conspicitur prouidentia nominatur....'

41 Cf. *Auctoritates Aristotelis*, ed. J. Hamesse (Philosophes médiévaux 17; Louvain-Paris, 1974), p. 126, no. 138 (Arist., *Metaph.* 5.16 [1021b12]): 'Perfectum est extra quod nihil est....'

51-52 Boethius, *Philosophiae consolatio* 5, pr. 6.1 (CCL 94.100 [1] - 101 [3]): '... omne quod scitur non ex sua sed ex comprehendencium natura cognoscitur'; cf. *ibid.* 5, pr. 4.24-25 (96 [64] - 97 [2]): '... omnia quae quisque nouit ex ipsorum tantum ui atque natura cognosci aestimat quae sciuntur. Quod totum contra est; omne enim quod cognoscitur non secundum sui uim sed secundum cognoscentium potius comprehenditur facultatem.'

esse diuersa cum suis proprietatibus inperspecte confundamus. Horum enim
minus diligenter perspecta distinctio multiplicis erroris apud veteres radix existit
60 et origo. Hinc enim ille platonice ydee sumpserunt exordium: rebus enim
secundum quod in se ipsis sunt tribuebat quod eis conuenit secundum quod
sunt in mente diuina. Hinc eciam illa Adamitarum posicio que rebus secundum
quod in se ipsis sunt tribuit quod eis conuenit secundum quod sunt in intellectu
nostro. Secundum enim quod in se ipsis sunt, nichil idem participatur a multis
65 ita quod sit de substantia participancium; secundum uero quod sunt < in >
intellectu nostro, idem a multis participatur et est de substantia participancium.

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

58 inperspecte] inperspate *MS.* 59 post radix expunx. est *MS.*

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PASTOURELLE
IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY:
AN EDITION OF FIFTEEN POEMS WITH AN ANALYSIS

William W. Kibler and James I. Wimsatt

IN the development of 'formes fixes' for the various lyric genres in the Middle French period, the pastourelle followed a separate if obscure course. Contemporaries credit Guillaume de Machaut and Philippe de Vitry with setting the forms for the ballade, rondeau, lay, and virelay, and Machaut also provides models for the chant royal; but these great poet-musicians evidently composed no pastourelles.¹ Only with Jean Froissart in the generation after them is the name of a major poet associated with the genre, his twenty pastourelles being the most notable extant specimens of the Middle French type.² Few other than Froissart's have been edited or studied, and apparently none from earlier in the fourteenth century. Thus, although much has been written about the classic French pastourelle of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the genre's history from 1300 to 1360 has remained largely unstudied and unknown.

It is clear that texts dating from those years are needed to reconstruct that history. A group of such texts – twelve unedited pastourelles with three related serventois – is to be found in the important late fourteenth-century anthology of French lyrics, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Van Pelt Library ms. Fr. 15.³ Accordingly, we offer here an edition of these works, prefaced by an

¹ For Machaut's and Vitry's reputation among their contemporaries as the great originators of the Middle French lyric types, see the anonymous *Règles de la Seconde Rhétorique* in *Recueil d'arts de Seconde Rhétorique*, ed. Ernest Langlois (Paris, 1902), p. 12. See also Gilles li Muisis, *Poésies*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 2 vols. (Louvain, 1882), 1.88; and Eustache Deschamps, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. le marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire and Gaston Raynaud, 11 vols. (Paris, 1878-1903), 5.53, 8.178.

² Ed. Rob Roy McGregor, Jr., *The Lyric Poems of Jehan Froissart: A Critical Edition* (University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures 143; Chapel Hill, 1975), pp. 150-93.

³ This is a late fourteenth-century manuscript containing 310 fourteenth-century French lyrics, about half of them by known authors, particularly Machaut and Granson. For further

analysis of them. The analysis is directed toward reconstructing the development of the Middle French pastourelle and, to some extent, of the serventois. We treat first the poems as they show the broad transition between the Old French and Middle French types and then we discuss more particular aspects of the development evidenced in the works, concentrating also our attention on the two most important poems, which have a particular relationship to Froissart's pastourelles and *Chroniques*. Finally, we offer some detailed observations on metrical features and language.

I

To begin, we may recall how the later poets thought of the pastourelle. Froissart's compositions implicitly represent an effort to establish the type as a full-fledged court genre. Though shepherds are his main characters, they attend mainly to polite court subjects, public and domestic: praise of the marguerite (daisy), celebration of a court wedding, etc. In his effort to elevate and establish the pastourelle, to judge by the brief attention accorded to it in ensuing treatises on poetics, Froissart had limited success. Eustache Deschamps, ten years younger than the chronicler, composed the earliest extant treatise that mentions the genre, the *Art de dictier* (1392). Deschamps provides no example of the pastourelle, merely referring to it as a separate kind. He associates its metrics with the various types that are like the chant royal in having five stanzas and an envoy.⁴

description of the manuscript and a catalogue of its contents see James I. Wimsatt, *Chaucer and the Poems of 'Ch'* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 47, 83-129 and Charles R. Mudge, *The Pennsylvania Chansonnier: A Critical Edition of Ninety-five Anonymous Ballades from the Fourteenth Century with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary* (Diss. Indiana, 1972). In describing the physical characteristics of the codex, Mudge (p. 1) notes that it is written in two or more very similar cursive hands 'in red and brown ink on 101 vellum folios, 30 × 24 cm., in double columns of 36 lines, carefully ruled by the scribes.... Marginal notes to the rubricator remain intact. The manuscript is bound in modern leather, probably English.' The other significant publication on the manuscript is Giulio Bertoni, 'Liriche di Oton di Grandson, Guillaume di Machaut e di altri poeti in un nuovo canzoniere', *Archivum romanicum* 16 (1932) 1-20.

The case for the early and mid-fourteenth-century dating of many works in the ms. is made in *Chaucer and the Poems of 'Ch'*, pp. 47-68. The fact that the known authors represented in the ms. wrote during that period provides important evidence. These are Machaut (1300-77), Grandson (1340-97), Deschamps (1346-1406), Philippe de Vitry (1291-1361), Jean de le Mote (active 1328-40 and after), Nicole de Margival (active first quarter of the fourteenth century), Grimace (active early to mid-fourteenth century). The works in the ms. which are attributed to Deschamps, ballades without envoys, would have been composed early in his career.

⁴ *Œuvres complètes* 7.266-92. The only example of a five-stanza poem presented in the *Art de dictier* (7.280-81, abridged; full text in 3.192-94) has the rubric 'Autre Balade', and in the current state of the text is included in the discussion of the ballade form. Since there are numerous

The fifteenth-century arts of rhetoric are a bit more helpful. The anonymous author of the *Règles de la Seconde Rhétorique* (composed between 1411 and 1432) once more supplies no example of the pastourelle, but he does add information. Like Deschamps, he associates the form with other five-stanza types, stating that the chanson royal provides the 'mesure' for the serventois, the chanson amoureuse, the sote chanson, and the pastourelle. At the same time, he distinguishes the pastourelle by prescribing for it lines of eight syllables (nine, feminine); for the other five-stanza works the usual, though not invariable, standard is the decasyllabic line. According to the author of the *Règles* the stanza length for all of these types should be eleven lines.⁵

In the *Doctrinale de la Seconde Rhétorique* (1432) Baudet Haurenc, while he does not discuss the formal properties of the pastourelle, finally provides us with an example. Baudet says that his pastourelle is like works of the type composed at 'Bethune en Artoys, le dimance aprèz la feste Dieu'.⁶ He also supplies examples of the 'amoureuse', serventois, chant royal, and 'sotte amoureuse'.⁷ In accordance with the anonymous author's prescription, all of these five-stanza specimens have eleven-line stanzas and the pastourelle (alone) has octosyllabic lines. Baudet's pastourelle is also distinguished from his specimens of other five-stanza types by its having a refrain. Though none of the writers talk about it explicitly, the refrain evidently was a constant feature of the Middle French pastourelle from its inception.

The fourteenth-century practice of Froissart and Deschamps accords only in part with the fifteenth-century prescriptions. Froissart comes closer. His pastourelles have the indicated octosyllabic lines and refrains, though most of them fail to conform in the matter of stanza length, generally being exceptionally long. By contrast, Deschamps makes no attempt to distinguish his six pastourelles⁸ metrically from his chants royaux. In manuscript they appear at random among his chants; all six have stanzas of eight to ten lines; and three of them are decasyllabic rather than octosyllabic. Clearly, in the practice of Froissart, Deschamps, and the later writers, the pastourelle takes a variety of forms, strongly indicating that its early Middle French predecessors also had a variety of shapes. The diversity of the pastourelles in the Pennsylvania manuscript, as we shall see, supports this indication.

defects in the *Art de dictier* manuscript, however, it appears likely that some further discussion of the five-stanza form has been lost.

⁵ Langlois, *Recueil d'arts*, p. 24. In line with his prescription, the author's examples of the chant royal, 'amoureuse', and serventois (pp. 21-28) have stanzas of eleven lines and lines of ten (and eleven) syllables.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 177. Other remarks made by the rhetoricians also indicate that the individual puy's specialized in particular lyric types and metrical forms.

⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 168-81.

⁸ *Œuvres complètes* 3, nos. 315, 336, 337, 339, 344, 359.

Only Ernest Hoepffner has speculated to any extent on the development of the Middle French pastourelle. In his study of Froissart's pastourelles he notes that five-stanza lyrics by the poet were crowned at the puy of Valenciennes, Abbeville, Lille, and Tournai; from this indication Hoepffner goes on to postulate plausibly that in his pastourelles Froissart was submitting to rules then in force in northern France.⁹ At the same time, he theorizes that Froissart originated the 'pastourelle historique' in which events of current history supply the subject matter.¹⁰ Once more, poems in the Pennsylvania manuscript supply clear evidence. They show that Hoepffner is right in the first place and mistaken in the second, confirming that Froissart had northern precedents for his long stanzas, while showing at the same time that his were not the first to treat historical subjects.

Let us look at the ensemble. The twelve pastourelles with the three 'serventoys' of the Pennsylvania manuscript probably were written by three or four poets at varying times in the fourteenth century, after the Old French period, and mostly before Froissart and Deschamps composed their works in the type, i. e., before 1364. Together they form a distinct group of poems at the beginning of the manuscript¹¹ which stands apart from the 295 works that follow, almost all of which are in the more current court forms of ballade, rondeau, lay, virelay, and complaint. It seems probable that no comparable body of early Middle French pastourelles is extant; certainly, none other has been edited and discussed. Taken together, the Pennsylvania group provides a rather full picture of the range and development of the type, indicating what connection there may be between the Old and Middle French forms, as well as how the later form evolved.

While they show some affiliations with the Old French pastourelle, the Pennsylvania pastourelles display more notable differences. The narrator is less conspicuous and less integral. In the Old French works the narrator consistently introduces himself with circumstantial detail before he gets to the shepherds and the main story. The following is a typical beginning for the Old French: 'The other day I rode out, pensive as I often am, beside a wood which was becoming green; near a meadow, far from people, I found a shepherdess....'¹²

⁹ Ernest Hoepffner, 'La chronologie des pastourelles de Froissart' in *Mélanges offerts à M. Émile Picot* (Paris, 1913), pp. 30-31. Daniel Poirion, *Le poète et le prince* (Paris, 1963), p. 365, agrees with Hoepffner that 'Les pastourelles de Froissart ont dû être influencées par cette tradition déjà bien définie.'

¹⁰ Hoepffner, *ibid.*, 38.

¹¹ The pastourelles are nos. I-X, XII, XIV, and the 'serventoys' nos. XI, XIII, XV.

¹² Jean-Claude Rivière, ed., *Pastourelles*, 3 vols. (Geneva, 1974-76), 1.90. The most frequently cited studies of the 'classical' pastourelle are those by Edmond Faral, 'La pastourelle', *Romania* 49 (1923) 204-59 and Maurice Delbouille, 'Les origines de la pastourelle' in *Mémoires*

In the majority of the older poems, as in this one, the narrator then proceeds to get involved in the action. In the Pennsylvania pastourelles we get no such introduction nor narrator involvement. In eight of the twelve we are told of the narrator's presence only with a verb. A typical opening (that of IV) gives us: 'This side of Amiens I came upon (*trouvay*) several shepherds speaking very loudly'. The whole poem subsequently is occupied with the shepherds' conversation, and the narrator neither mentions himself again nor participates. Three of the Pennsylvania pastourelles do not introduce a narrator at all, though the reader may infer his presence as a recorder; these poems start out at once with the shepherds, as with VIII which begins, 'Robin and Marion were sitting in the open field...', and straightway proceeds to the dialogue between the two. In pastourelle X the narrator has a more prominent part, but this work is an eccentric example of the type. It features the narrator's dream vision in a marvellous house, with the requisite shepherdess only appearing in order to present the narrator with a key to the house. With this poem we are far from both early and late pastourelle practice. It is much more like two of the serventois (XI and XV), which are also vision poems but lack pastoral characters or subjects.

The narrator in Froissart's and Deschamps' pastourelles has a part much like that found for him in the Pennsylvania poems. One may generalize concerning Middle French pastourelle practice that the narrator becomes less important than he had been in the earlier poems: both less integral and less apparent. The Old French works focus on the personal activities of their dramatis personae, on their lovemaking and dancing and singing, and all the characters including the narrator are involved on this personal level of interest. By contrast, the Middle French works tend to direct attention outward, away from the individual characters. Whatever their subject, the narratives exist largely to support rhetorical generalizations or to convey topical commentary. The narrator consequently comes to be more a vestige of the form's conventions than an integral feature. Even the envoy, the narrator's direct address to 'Prince', is used for objective report rather than to implicate the narrator in the poem.

In the matters of subject and narrative treatment, five of the Pennsylvania pastourelles (III, VIII, IX, XII, XIV) appear to be transitional. They feature love relationships such as those found in the older poems, with the narrator observing love encounters or overhearing discussions of love involving various pastoral figures (mostly named Robin and Maret). The treatment of the stories

de l'Académie Royale de Belgique. Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, 2nd Ser., 20 (1927). An important recent study is that by Michel Zink, *La pastourelle: poésie et folklore au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1972). In English one can consult William Powell Jones, *The Pastourelle. A Study of the Origins and Tradition of a Lyric Type* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931).

differs, however, from the unelaborating earlier manner; there is now a marked tendency to rhetorical expansion in the dialogue. In two poems (VIII and IX), characters adduce numerous examples from literature to support their assertions. In IX, for example, the jilted shepherd's friends comfort him with an extensive list of famous men (Aristotle, Adam, Virgil, Merlin, etc.) mistreated by women; the shepherd's experience itself, as a result, becomes an exemplum supporting the point that women are often fickle and there is very little that a man can do about it. In III Maret takes occasion on her changing of boyfriends to proclaim that she will change whenever it is to her advantage; the refrain, '*Si je truis mon profit a faire*', reechoes the point. She too comes to illustrate a generalization about human behavior. The other two pastourelles in which love is the main subject (XII and XIV) show a tendency toward rhetoric also, but less notably; they may indeed be the earliest of the twelve pastourelles.

Although poems III, VIII, IX, XII, and XIV treat the old subject of bucolic love in a new way, the tendency of the Middle French type was to depart from these subjects entirely. In the other seven Pennsylvania pastourelles, accordingly, there is a variety of novel topics: three present shepherds or shepherdesses counselling their fellows about proper apparel (I) and about the power of the stars (II and IV); another (X), the dream vision, has at its center an array of statues depicting prominent literary victims of women; and the last three involve political complaints. One of these last (V) is a general political lament without specific topical reference whose refrain proclaims that 'Justice has gone to India.' The others (VI and VII) are topical complaints of considerable individual interest which we discuss in detail on pp. 32-35 below. They are the most closely related in subject to Froissart's and Deschamps' pastourelles, none of which involve pastoral love stories, being either topical works or discussions by shepherds of such subjects as the advantages of the shepherd's life or the superiority of the marguerite to other flowers.

In metrical form the twelve Pennsylvania pastourelles likewise display substantial diversity and diverge somewhat from both earlier and later norms. In line length the influence of the *chant royal* is notable. As with the chants, the lines tend to be long. Seven of them have decasyllabic lines, the usual standard for the *chants royaux*, while only five have the octosyllabic lines that conform to the pastourelle practice of Froissart and to the prescriptions of the fifteenth-century rhetoricians.¹³ The stanza lengths of eight of the works fall within the normal range for the *chant royal* of eight to twelve lines. The other five,

¹³ The octosyllabic poems are I, III, VI, VII, and XII. Even octosyllabics are longer than is common in the Old French pastourelles, which for the most part have seven-syllable or shorter lines.

however, have longer stanzas, suggesting Froissart's custom. Of his twenty pastourelles, thirteen have stanzas of fourteen or sixteen octosyllabic lines. Of the five long Pennsylvania pastourelles, three (II, VIII, and XIV) have stanzas of thirteen lines, one octosyllabic and two decasyllabic; one (VI) has fifteen octosyllabic lines; and one (VII) has sixteen octosyllabics. These are clearly exceptional lengths. Among all previously published Middle French poems in five-stanza forms, there are no counterparts in stanza size.¹⁴ The two poems mentioned above as most like the Old French pastourelle in subject matter also display traces of the freedom characteristic of the older lyrics in versification: poem XII has only three stanzas rather than the standard five, though this could be a scribal omission, and XIV has a short, four-syllable line in each stanza.

The refrain is perhaps the earliest stable characteristic of the Middle French pastourelle. Like other Middle French poems of the type, and the formulations for them, eleven of the twelve Pennsylvania specimens have refrains. This feature may represent an unmediated carryover from the Old French pastourelles, most of which have refrains. Except in the practice of Deschamps, the chants royaux seldom have them.¹⁵ Another early fixture of the Middle French pastourelle is the envoy, but it definitely stems from the chant royal and its antecedent, the chanson. Only one of the Pennsylvania pastourelles (III) lacks an envoy. Especially since this poem in its love story reflects the earlier subject matter, this lack may not be due to scribal oversight, but again to a continuation of Old French practice.

An examination of the Pennsylvania pastourelles, then, clarifies various aspects of the continuity, and lack of continuity, between the Old French and Middle French types. The most obvious filiation is provided by the participants in the lyric fiction. Dialogue involving one or more shepherds and shepherdesses dominates both types throughout their history. However, in most aspects of the subject matter, dramatic situation, and form, the later type notably diverges from its predecessor. The earlier pastourelles always treat of love; by contrast, the later works can embrace a wide variety of subject matters. Moreover, while in the majority of the Old French works of this type the narrator is an amorous adventurer, in the Middle French he is always simply an auditor/observer. Differences in metrical form are especially marked. Like the

¹⁴ See the table of stanza types of the chant royal et al. in Poirion, *Le poète*, p. 370. Even in the stanzas of the much more popular ballade, lengths of thirteen lines and longer are extremely rare; see Poirion's table, pp. 374-75.

¹⁵ The appearance later in the fourteenth century of refrains in five-stanza works other than the pastourelle, notably in Deschamps' chants royaux, may reflect the influence of the pastourelle more than that of the ballade, whose effect is usually said to account for the refrain in all the longer types. Poirion, for example (*ibid.*, p. 365), finds the pastourelle to be at the 'carrefour' of the ballade and the chant royal.

early chansons, the early pastourelles show varied instead of uniform metrics; in this respect, no one is like another. Its lines and stanzas are usually short.¹⁶ The most we can say for the influence of the Old French pastourelle on the more stable later metrics is that it passed on tendencies toward the five-stanza length and the refrain. But the Middle French pastourelle generally has longer lines (octosyllabic and decasyllabic) and there are frequently more of them per stanza. So too the ceremonial envoy of the later form adds substance. As might be expected, the tenor and substance of the treatment follow the form. The new pastourelle is weightier. The lightness and playfulness which characterize the older type give way to more circumstantial, heavier, and more moralistic treatments of a broader range of situations and subject matters.

The longer stanzas and consequent heavier effect of the Middle French pastourelle seem largely attributable to the influence of another important lyric genre, the chant royal, whose form the pastourelle tended to adopt. The lineal descendant of the Old French chansons (Prov. *canso*), the chant royal typically has five substantial stanzas of eight to twelve decasyllabic lines (only occasionally octosyllabic) plus an envoy. Except for Deschamps' practice it does not typically have a refrain. As Daniel Poirion remarks, the term chant royal is appropriate 'à un genre ambitieux, à la grande poésie'.¹⁷ Poems of the type accordingly tend to be more serious and dignified than the shorter ballade. If the kindred pastourelle does not wholly take on the chant royal's dignity, it nevertheless treats the shepherds and shepherdesses with more seriousness than the Old French poems do, often imputing to these characters reasonable conversance with a range of intellectual and worldly subjects. Along with most aspects of the genre, the central figures of the poems undergo an impressive transformation.

Just as the pastourelles of the Pennsylvania manuscript give us an idea of the development of the genre in the early fourteenth century, so the three serventois found with the pastourelles tell us something of the progress of that type. The Old French serventois was a political poem or a generalized 'observation upon some important event', sometimes humorous.¹⁸

Like the Old French pastourelle the serventois did not have a set metrical form. The Middle French serventois is quite different, having a fixed form and religious subject matter prescribed for it. Deschamps states that the serventois is related in form to the chant royal, and that it deals with the Virgin Mary or

¹⁶ For the typical Old French metrics, see especially Rivière's collection of anonymous pastourelles, cited above in n. 12.

¹⁷ Poirion, *Le poète*, p. 362.

¹⁸ Urban T. Holmes, *A History of Old French Literature from the Origins to 1300*, rev. edition (New York, 1962), p. 310.

divinity; and he notes that while it formerly did not have a refrain, in his time it sometimes has one.¹⁹ The fifteenth-century treatises in general agree with Deschamps about the serventois, though the examples they give lack refrain lines.²⁰ One constant feature of the serventois, early and late, is its expository presentation, distinguishing it from the pastourelle which was always dramatic.

In both form and content the three serventois show transitional traits. In content they more or less look back to the Old French. One of the three (XIII) is called 'serventois pastourel'. True to the Old French type, it is an expository poem on a social subject (therefore 'serventois'), with the subject being praise of the shepherd's simple life (therefore the adjective 'pastourel'). The two other serventois are vision poems which we mentioned above as closely related to pastourelle X, also a vision poem. Use of the vision was never common in either type, and in that respect we might see the three visions as abortive experiments with genres in transition. But in subject the serventois visions are not so anomalous. One (XV) is a political allegory in which Dame Fortune taunts England and Flanders in their alliance, which she sees as ill-starred for both. The other (XI), identified as 'serventois amoureux', is an enigmatic work on the general subject of love, with an ultimate emphasis on the disagreeable aspects. The political commentary, and to some extent the unfavorable view of Amour, fit in with the older conception of the serventois. In the three serventois there is only one hint of the later religious subjects, and that by association. The opening lines in each stanza of XIII are quite similar to a 'serventois de Nostre Dame' attributed to Brisebarre le Court.²¹

In versification, by contrast, the three poems are faithful to the Middle French descriptions, which state that the metrics of the serventois are like those of the chant royal. Accordingly, the Pennsylvania serventois have decasyllabic lines with five nine-line or ten-line stanzas, plus envoy. Two have refrains, perhaps assimilated from the pastourelle form. In general, then, the metrics agree with Middle French formulas, while the contents look back to Old French poetry. As with the pastourelles, composition in early and mid-century is indicated.

II

The fifteen poems thus provide valuable information about the general evolution of both lyric genres from one literary period to the other. Inter-relationships among them and individual details, moreover, allow us to

¹⁹ *Œuvres complètes* 7.281.

²⁰ Langlois, *Recueil d'arts*, pp. 26-28, 70-72.

²¹ Brisebarre's poem is found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 1543, fol. 99r. See Mudge, *The Pennsylvania Chansonnier*, p. 246 and Langlois, *ibid.*, p. 12.

speculate more precisely about the development of this set of poems in the transition period from the early 1300s to the 1360s. For this purpose it is convenient to deal with the works in groups. Numerous repeated topics, allusions, and devices establish connections between the poems, many pointed out in our annotations of the texts. While some of these connections are attributable to the common tradition that gave birth to the works, and others no doubt to common authorship, we will be on safe ground in talking about related groups.

The earliest of the works may well be poems XII, XIII and XIV. The first and third of these are the pastourelles which, we have noted, reflect the Old French pastourelle narrative more closely than any of the others: in the one Robin and Maret, dancing and singing, celebrate their life of love, and in the other Robin gives Brun a beating when, upon being teased by Maret, the oaf tries his chances with her. Specific evidence of early dating is found in the 'serventois pastourel' that is second in this contiguous set. As stated before, its stanza openings are almost identical with those of a poem of Brisebarre, suggesting that the two poems were composed for the same concours of a puy. If so, the work would have been written before 1340, the year Brisebarre died.²² The narrative and treatment of pastoral life in III, a story of a shepherdess's change of lovers, may indicate that it belongs with this early group.

Three other works, I, II, and IV, perhaps form an intermediate set of pastourelles, written after the first set. In subject matter and treatment they seem at equal distance from the Old French pastourelles and those of Froissart and Deschamps. They are distinguished by a moral-philosophical interest of a popular sort, and they have a strong vein of realism in the dialogue and descriptive details. Among other things the poems display an unusual understanding of the shepherds' activities. In the first poem an old father delivers to his dutiful son a stern lecture on proper dress and behavior. In each of the other two works the power of the stars to determine one's life is a major subject of discussion. Poem II is a well-dramatized discussion between Maret, who claims that the stars influence everything, and Robin, who rejects such power. In the envoy Robin, a cocky individual, smugly asks his kid about what he has just said, 'Is this well spoken, Tibel?' But Maret gets the last word in witnessing the power of the heavens: 'Put on your cap', she rejoins, 'it's going to rain.'

Perhaps the latest group is formed by the three vision poems (X, XI, and XV), to which VIII and IX probably should be joined. In its frame of reference XV, a political allegory, is rather different from the others, but its dream

²² For Brisebarre's career, see Antoine Thomas, 'Jean Brisebarre, trouvère' in *Histoire littéraire de la France* 36 (Paris, 1927), pp. 35-38.

opening firmly relates it to X. In X the narrator claims, 'Never did I dream in my sleep but that in the morning I saw some part (*porcion*) of it' (ll. 1-2); and in XV the speaker says that he has 'Many times dreamt ... and the next day ... I have seen the greater part (*porcion*) of it' (ll. 2-4). The associations of XV, as our notes indicate, are fairly late historically, that is, with poems of Deschamps of the 1380s and with events probably after mid-century. The 1360s seem likely for its composition. While this serventois makes use of heraldic rather than literary reference, the other four poems are filled with literary allusions. If one poet wrote these works, he was well read, for the allusions involve a wide range of biblical, classical, and medieval literature, and they are not always superficial. All five in the set are extravagant in their use of allusion, and the visions are often farfetched and obscure, but the works are not flat.

III

From most standpoints the best and most interesting of the fifteen are poems VI and VII. They are interesting especially for their use of a pastourelle form closely related to that of Froissart's pastourelles and for their specific references to historical events, notably those of the Hundred Years War. Poem V, like these two, involves a lament by shepherds over the political situation, and we might group it with them. However, its form is not close and it lacks their wealth of specific allusion and their dramatic vividness. The two works merit special attention.

With these two we may confidently speak of common authorship. The settings near Amiens suggest this,²³ and similarities in style and subject matter confirm it. Most obvious are the metrics: the two have exceptionally long stanzas of octosyllabic lines with lengths of fifteen and sixteen lines. In this they present, almost alone among extant texts, near counterparts to Froissart's pastourelle form. Furthermore, topical reference is essential to both, associating them not only with each other but also with Froissart's 'pastourelles historiques'. Seven of his twenty are based on current history.²⁴

Further associating the two pastourelles and Froissart are dialect and the various references to political and military events. As we will show, these

²³ Amiens is also mentioned in IV 1. The shepherds in our poems otherwise are situated at a distance from Amiens, though still in the Picard dialect area: Bray (IV 12), Wissant (IX 6), and Brimeu (XIV 1).

²⁴ Four of Deschamps' pastourelles also are concerned with contemporary history. Hoepffner, 'La chronologie', 33, assumes that Deschamps is following Froissart's lead in this matter. The Pennsylvania pastourelles, though, indicate that the 'pastourelle historique' originated before Froissart.

factors concur to indicate that both poems, which concern events of the Hundred Years War, were written in the Picard dialect area in the years between 1357 and 1360. Froissart, who came from Valenciennes in this area, began writing his pastourelles shortly after 1360, his first datable one (II) being composed to celebrate the return of King Jean II of France to London in 1364. Thus, not only do the form and topical interest of the poems witness that Froissart was following established practice when he came to write his own pastourelles, but also the facts of their composition show more specifically that he could well have read or heard these very poems before leaving home to join Queen Philippa in England in 1360. Even the events referred to are largely known today through his *Chroniques*.²⁵

The contents of the two pastourelles are interesting quite beyond their literary-historical connections. Pastourelle VI has particularly notable topical reference. It begins with the girl Maroteaux coming upon three old shepherds lunching in the shade. She has the astounding news, she says, that a wolf has been selected to guard the sheep. In context her news is an obvious reference to a political event, an appointment or an agreement which seems to give the predator power over its natural prey. France's agreements with England after the Battle of Poitiers, in which Jean II was taken captive, fit the sense. The reference might be to the second draft of the Treaty of London of 24 March 1359, which gave Edward III power over most of western France along with an enormous ransom for Jean, to be secured by forty royal and noble hostages; or it might be to the comparable, if somewhat moderated, final Treaty of Calais (or Brétigny) of 24 October 1360.²⁶ In either case the sheep could be the people of the ceded territories or the hostages. Alluding to Edward as 'the wolf' might seem somewhat out of character with the remainder of the work, which shows a preoccupation with Edward's deeds, mentioning his oath of fealty to Philip VI of France in June 1329 (l. 55), several battles of his campaign in northern France in 1340 (ll. 26, 49, 50), the victory of Cadzand in 1337 (l. 57), probably a 1342 battle in his Brittany campaign, and perhaps one in his 1359 expedition (l. 26). On balance, however, it seems that both the wolf and sheep image and

²⁵ There is a good possibility that the collection of poems for the Pennsylvania manuscript was made in England, perhaps by Granson, even though it is obvious that a Frenchman was the scribe. A number of texts in the manuscript have associations with England. Nos. 62 and 63 form an exchange of ballades between Philippe de Vitry and Jean de le Mote which fixes Jean in England sometime between 1340 and 1360. The twenty-seven poems by Granson come from various stages in his career, much of which he spent in England in the service of Edward III and Richard II.

²⁶ See, for detail, Édouard Perroy, *The Hundred Years War*, trans. W. B. Wells (London, 1959), pp. 136-42.

the citations of the battles could emanate from an unbiased observer rather than a partisan of either side.

The specific historical references in this work are part of the recollections of the three old shepherds. The one said to be oldest claims to be a hundred years old. The second, therefore, though he recalls the siege of Tunis of 1270, is less than a hundred. If the poem was composed ninety years after Tunis, in 1360, he would have been under ten at the time of the siege. For chronological consistency, the poem hardly could have been written later. But if 1359 or 1360, when the treaties were settled, may serve as the *terminus ante quem*, these years also seem to be the most likely dates to fit the web of reference, as documented in the notes. Among other things, the shepherds' looking back to the Plague of 1349-50 and its aftermath as part of past history (ll. 61-74) supports such a dating.

The second of our pastourelles (VII) is not so filled with historical reference, but it still provides sufficient material to assign it a date. In the poem old Madoulz questions his son about a recent attack by armed brigands which resulted in his losing flocks and possessions. Though the son says that the plunderers yelled 'St. George', an English cry, this does not suggest to Madoulz that they were English, but it rather prompts him to ask if they were Navarrese. We may suppose from the question that the attack occurred in 1357 or 1358, years when '*routiers* ... had been scouring and pillaging the country either in the name of the English or on behalf of Charles the Bad of Navarre....'²⁷ At about this same time occurred the peasant uprising of 28 May 1358, which prompted the opportunistic Charles to fall on the 'Jacquerie'. The events of the poem, then, in all likelihood take place in the time before or shortly after the peasant revolt, when the Navarrese were a likely source of local violence. The fact that it is the Boulonnais, rather than the English or Navarrese, who are responsible for the trouble, points up how violence and lawlessness fed on itself in those times in northern France.

The author of poems VI and VII manifests an interest in historical events and a knowledge of them comparable to that which characterized the great northern French chroniclers of the medieval period. Interestingly, the poems show more the historian's bent than do the 'pastourelles historiques' of the greatest of these chroniclers, Froissart. His pastourelles mainly celebrate occasions involving noble and royal figures he knew; one, for instance, is about Duke Wenceslas of Brabant's return from captivity, another about the Duke of Berry's marriage. Somewhat more similar in topical reference are Deschamps' historical

²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 135.

pastourelles. In them shepherds respond to and comment on political problems, as in the one (*Œuvres* 2.62-64) in which there is much circumstantial conversation about the possibility of peace with the English; the refrain's conclusion is the poem's: 'There will be no peace until they give up Calais.' However, in neither Froissart's nor Deschamps' poems are the shepherds realized so well dramatically, and *as shepherds*, as they are in the Pennsylvania pastourelles. The world of our poems VI and VII has a realism almost never found or aspired to in the fourteenth-century poetry of the 'formes fixes', or for that matter in pastoral poetry of any time.

The rural drama is remarkable for its natural, unidealized detail. In pastourelle VI we find the old shepherds quite plausibly sitting in the shade because of the heat, eating shelled peas and big cheeses. A girl from nearby, leading her dog, brings the latest political gossip, which prompts the old men to comment sadly in turn, quite like old men, recalling better and more heroic times. Ansel closes the discussion with a characteristic bit of the laborer's ironic 'bel langage': people have left off their former absurd behavior, he says; now all we get is a wolf put to guarding the sheep. In poem VII the dramatic interplay is even more integral to the work, with its presentation of the emotional interview between father and son, both stunned by the pillagers' devastating attack. 'Imbecile!' Madoulz cries out in exasperation at one point, 'Why didn't you defend yourself?' Against such men, the son responds in grief, 'If I had resisted I would have lost everything.' In their desperation, though, Madoulz can still properly express disdain for such 'hardaille de witanche', and the son can ask the facetious question, 'Would St. George take old sheep?'

The rich, colloquial language of these works contributes to the surprising and effective realism. If they do not equal in poetic skill the graceful and finished court pieces of a Machaut, yet in their pleasing combination of dramatic and topical interest they offer a striking contrast to the corpus of Middle French verse. Pastourelles VI and VII especially, and all fifteen poems to an extent, witness a lively element in the poetic tradition of fourteenth-century France about which we have known almost nothing.

IV

The fifteen poems edited below generally observe the same form: five stanzas with a short *envoi*. Exceptions are III, which has no *envoi*, and XII, which has but three stanzas. Strophe length varies from nine lines (IX and XIII) to sixteen (VII). All except XIII have a refrain, which is regularly the final line of each strophe. However, IV and IX have refrains of two lines, while V, VIII, X and

XV reduce the refrain to the second hemistich alone. Pastourelles I, III, V, VI, VII, and XIV are in octosyllabic lines; all the others are in decasyllables with a marked caesura following the fourth syllable. This caesura is so regular, in fact, that on occasion it has helped clarify the meaning of a line (e.g., XII 28-29, XII 33, XIII 31) or suggested an emendation (XII 27, XV 18, XV 45). The poets make frequent use of the epic caesura, in which mute *e* does not count before a consonant beginning the second hemistich (e.g., XIII 19: 'Si me merveill(e) comment nul met sa cure'). There are also a number of lines with a mute *e* as the fourth syllable of the initial hemistich (e.g., XIII 7: 'La richesce qu'a son encestre fu'); these are termed lyric caesuras.

The rhyming is generally good, although the poets are not beyond fabricating forms to accommodate their rhymes (III 42 *aignele*, V 13 *mourmelles*, IX 7 *apaisieux*), and on two occasions the rhymes are clearly forced (IX 10 and XI 44 [see notes]). In addition to numerous Picard orthographies and toponyms throughout the poems (see notes), the occurrence of several Picard forms at the rhymes suggests a Picard origin for many if not all of the pastourelles (see, e.g., I 9, 53; VII 1, 44, 78; IX 16, 34).

Some peculiarities of Middle French syllabification as found in our poems should be noted:

(a) The elision of mute *e* before a vowel is regular, although the scribe will sometimes not note it (IV 14, VI 70, VIII 15, IX 10, 13, 34, and elsewhere). On the occasions where this *e* is in hiatus (V 49, VII 14, XIII 21, XV 54), we have marked it with a diaeresis.

(b) In future and conditional verb stems a svarabhaktic *e* is frequently introduced, which does not count in the syllabification: *saveroit* (II 7), *avera* (II 37), *averay* (V 14), *ameray* (VIII 20), *perderiez* (VIII 37), *baiseray* (VIII 63), etc. all counted for only two syllables. This svarabhaktic *e* is typical of the northern and eastern dialects, including Picard.²⁸ In I 36 and XII 16 *seray* appears to count for only one syllable, while in VII 42 the scribe has written *fru* for *feru* to underscore the loss of mute *e*.

(c) The poets had at their disposal words with variable forms to aid in versifying: *avec* (2 syll.) vs. *avecques* (3 syll.), *onc* (1 syll.) vs. *onques* (2 syll.), etc. On the rare occasions when they have erred in their choice, we have emended (V 44, VI 34, X 49). It is remarkable that the poet of XIV has created variable forms of the proper names Brun (*Brunes*, l. 47) and Robin (*Robines*, l. 53) to fill out the meter.

(d) Hiatus is generally maintained in the conjugated forms of *veoir* (e.g., XI 46, XIII 31, XV 5) as well as in the past participles *fuiis* (V 25), *deceü* (VII 15), *cheü* (VII 76, 77), and the preterite forms *oÿ* (IV 13, XIV 15, 53) and *enfouÿ* (I 56). But it has been lost in

²⁸ Charles Théodore Gossen, *Grammaire de l'ancien picard* (Paris, 1970), § 74; Pierre Fouché, *Le verbe français: étude morphologique*, 2nd edition (Paris, 1967), pp. 392-93; M. K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French with Especial Consideration of Anglo-Norman*, 2nd rev. edition (London, 1966), § 972.

oil (VI 72, VII 18), in the subjunctive forms of *avoir* (VII 42, VIII 10, 16, 19), and apparently in *veoir* at I 26 (cf. the orthography *veir* in XV 38). The case of *royne* vs. *roÿne* is inconclusive, since both occurrences (VIII 48, XI 28) are at the end of the initial hemistich, in which one could read either *royne* with weak mute *e* at the caesura, or *roÿne* with an epic caesura (see above). However, the regular retention of the hiatus in other words, plus the abundance of epic caesuras argue in favor of *roÿne*.

(e) The second person plural ending *-iez* in the imperfect indicative and conditional is monosyllabic (V 53, VIII 53, 65, XI 5, XIV 64, etc.). Two possible exceptions, both in the same poem, are *aviez* (XIV 36) and *eussiez* (XIV 40). *Aviez* also might be counted for three syllables at VIII 32 (but cf. VIII 54 in which it is properly two syllables).

*
**

Our edition of the pastourelles follows as faithfully as possible the texts as recorded in University of Pennsylvania ms. Fr. 15. We have introduced capital letters, the cedilla, and punctuation according to modern usage, and have distinguished *i* from *j*, and *u* from *v*. In editing, we have followed the recommendations in Alfred Foulet and Mary B. Speer, *On Editing Old French Texts* (Lawrence, Kans., 1979), particularly for the use of the diaeresis and the treatment of Roman numerals. We have silently expanded contractions, which are not particularly numerous, in conformity with scribal practice where the word is written out in full. All additions or deletions of words or letters (except in the case of the headings supplied in square brackets at the beginning of each pastourelle) are indicated in the notes to the text, rather than by brackets or parentheses within the text proper: the reading of the manuscript is preceded by that preferred by us. We have made no attempt to 'correct' dialectal forms, preferring to retain anything which might have some linguistic or chronological significance.

In the notes to the text the following abbreviations will be used:

- FEW = Walther von Wartburg, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Eine Darstellung des galloromanischen Sprachschatzes* (Bonn, 1925 –)
 Fouché = Pierre Fouché, *Phonétique historique du français*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1952-61)
 Foulet = Lucien Foulet, *Petite syntaxe de l'ancien français*, 3rd edition (Paris, 1930)
 Godefroy = Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du ix^e au xv^e siècle*, 10 vols. (Paris, 1881-1902)
 Gossen = Charles Théodore Gossen, *Grammaire de l'ancien picard* (Paris, 1970)
 Ménard = Yves Lefèvre, ed., *Manuel du français du moyen âge*, vol. 1: Philippe Ménard, *Syntaxe de l'ancien français* (Bordeaux, 1976)
 T-L = Adolf Tobler and Erhard Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* (Berlin-Wiesbaden, 1925 –).

Ci s'ensuient plusieurs bonnes pastourelles, complaintes, lays, et Balades et autres choses.

[PASTOURELLE I]

Un viel pastour nommé Hermans,	f. 1ra
qui avoit bien cent ans passez,	
l'autrier fu son filz appellans	
et lui dist: 'Robin, sa venez!	
Je sent bien que je vois morant,	5
et pour ce t'iray enseignant	
comment tu feras après mi:	
aime Dieu et crien, je t'en pri,	
et avec ce garde, beaux fieux,	
tes ouailles, je t'en suppli.	10
Je le weil, aussi le veult Dieux.	
'Gardes bien qu'aies juppeaux blans,	
chausses, soulers rataconnez	
a trois noyauls fors et tillans,	
et aussi est mes vouleitez	15
que tu ayes mastin puissant,	
chapel pour l'orey fort et grant,	
houlette qui ait fer bruny,	

1 *Un*] *n* ms. Space was left for a large capital letter which was never filled in; a guide letter to the left indicates that it was to have been *u*.

5 *je'*] *il* ms.

9 *fieux* < FILIUS: a Picard development particularly prevalent in the Amiens region; see Gossen, § 20. See also III 23, VII 1, and IX 34.

12 *juppeaux blans*: a tight-waisted blouse for both sexes, worn generally by country folk. See Ernest Langlois, ed., *Adam le Bossu ... Le jeu de Robin et Marion suivi du jeu du Pèlerin* (Paris, 1896; rpt. 1924), note to l. 117. The *juppel* reappears in III 33, IX 39, XIII 25, but its color is not specified. Cf. the *blans wans* of VIII 3 and XII 5.

13-14 *soulers rataconnez a trois noyauls fors et tillans*: patched shoes are also associated with the shepherds in V 3. T-L 6.703 cite *souliers a trois noyaux* in a fourteenth-century text, and Godefroy 5.514 quotes a *pastouralet* whose moral is similar to ours:

Pastours qui a par les praux

Botes ou solers a noiaux

N'a pas cure d'aultres joyaux.

It is not clear whether *noyauls* refers in this context to buttons, buckles, or clasps. *Tille* is a cord made from lindenwood bark; *tillans* is an unrecorded form, probably for the rhyme. Cf. *Aucassin et Nicolette* 24.21-22: 'uns sollers de buief fretés de tille dusque deseure le genol.'

18 *houlette*: the shepherd's staff or crook. See also VIII 59, IX 39, and XII 5.

- boiste oignement, saquelet fourny
de pain bis, et se avoir pues mieulx, 20
si le pren sens vilain annuy.
Je le veil, aussi le veult Dieux.
- 'Ne te soies pas cours vestans
que on voye ton cul de tous lez
ne ton membre en brayes crouppans: 25
c'est a veoir grans iniquitez,
ne pour riens poulaines portans:
telz gens ressamblent li marchant
par qui Dieux en la croix pendi.
Ne me responderas tu point? Di! 30
Se ne me respons, par mes yeux
jamais ne tenras riens de mi! f. 1rb
Je le veil, aussi le veult Dieux.'
- Robin respondi, fort tremblans:
'Peres, je feray vostre grez. 35
Ja poulaines ne seray chaucans –
je seroye tantost tumbez;
ja n'iray mon ventre estraignant,
ne mes chausses point atachant
a mes cottes, je vous affi, 40
car se m'agenouilloye ainsi
trestout romperoit en plusieurs lieux.

19 *boiste oignement*: the ointment is for leatherworking, which shepherds of the period did while in the fields tending the flocks. Cf. VI 19 and IX 40 in which the *boiste* or *oignement* is associated with another leatherworking tool, the *poinçon*. In VII 20 it is associated with a similar tool, the sharp awl (*alesne aguisie*), while in XII 6 the *boete* is but one of several accoutrements of the shepherd.

23-26 Old Herman's points about proper dress were commonplace. For reproval of exposure of *membre* and *cul* beneath too scanty clothing, see the Chevalier de la Tour Landry's advice (Anatole de Montaiglon, ed., *Le livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry pour l'enseignement de ses filles* [Paris, 1854], pp. 98-99): 'Elles faisoient les cornes (i.e., made fun of) aux hommes cours vestus, qui monstroient leurs culz et leurs brayes et ce qui leur boce devant, c'est leur vergoigne.' See also the words of Chaucer's Parson, *The Canterbury Tales*, ed. F. N. Robinson, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 2nd edition (Boston, 1957), p. 286 (ll. 421-428).

28-29 In what precise way those who wear the pointed-toe shoes are like the 'merchants' (i.e., the Jews) who crucified Christ is not clear. In *Les livres du Roy Modus et de la Royne Ratio*, ed. Gunnar Tilander, 2 vols. (Paris, 1932), 1.147, *poulaines* are presented as deforming, and are associated with Antichrist: 'C'est la facion des piés Antecrist.'

36 *seray* counts for only one syllable (see p. 36 above).

Je retenray vostre chasti;
je le veil, aussi le veult Dieux.'

Li peres respont: 'Respondans
es bien, ce me samble, a mes grez.
Ou est li homs tant soit puissans
qui ainsi se voye escoutez,
a qui l'ange alast apparant
com fist aux pastours en disant: 45
"Puer natus est"? Alez y;
vest toy com moy, ne t'en sousci,
et fay si; seras doulz com mieulx
a Dieu, amer a l'ennemy.
Je le veil, aussi le veult Dieux.' 50
55

L'envoy

Princes, li enfes enfouï
son pere a heure de midy,
mais il vint une voix des cieulx
qui lui dist: 'Te mires, comme amy
en fin seras o moy ravy. 60
Je le veil, aussi le veult Dieux.'

PASTOURELLE [II]

f. 1va

Robin seoit droit delez un perier,
encoste soy bergerette jolie.
La lui ouï vanter et fiancier

47-51 The words of the prophecy, 'Puer natus est' (Is 9:6), are here imputed, as was common, to the angels who announced Christ's birth to the shepherds (Mt 2:9-11). The idea that the appearance of the angels was a special mark of favor to the shepherd's occupation is found also in XIII 46-48.

53 *mieulx* = miel ('honey'). For the development, see Gossen, § 12.

54 *l'ennemy*: i.e., Satan.

59 *te mires*: 'contemplate'. For the figurative use, see T-L 6.83-84, who cite the following lines from the *Vers de la Mort*:

Dont est cius fols qui ne se mire,
Qui contre Diu a entendu
A sen tans, qu'il a despendu,
En faire çou qu'il n'ose dire.

s'une brebis cheoit en maladie
 qu'elle seroit dedens .viii. jours guerie, 5
 au mains en neuf, ce n'est pas longuement;
 et si savoroit bien faire l'ongnement
 pour tost guerir de ripe ou de clavel.
 Maret respont: 'Robin, par saint Danel,
 a ton maistre n'aportas se bien non, 10
 car tu es digne d'avoir cloque ou cappel
 fourré d'aigneaux ou d'autre estrange pel,
 par la vertu de constellation.'

Robin s'ala moult merancolier
 et dist: 'Maret, je te requier et prie 15
 que ce parler me veilles declairier;
 a verité je ne le conçoï mie.'
 'M'aist Dieu, Robert, le firmament toupie,
 et aussi font tout li .iiii. element
 elementez de Dieu omnipotent, 20
 et illec sont assises bien et bel
 planetes sept; chascun a naturel
 figure en soy et tel condicion,
 s'un enfant naist en ce siecle mortel
 planete avera – mais on ne savera quel – 25
 par la vertu de constellation.

'Or entens bien la chose prononcier:
 quant la planete en sa maieur tournie
 et elle regne, espoir, un an entier
 ou mains ou plus selon sienne baillie, 30

8 *ripe* is a skin disease; *clavel* is defined by T-L vaguely as 'eine Krankheit der Schafe' (2.468).

11 *cloque* is a cloak or outer wrapping.

14 The line is one syllable short in the second hemistich.

16 *declairier*: 'to explain'.

18 *toupie*: the ms. seems to read *coupe*, although the loop on the *p* is slightly thickened, as if the scribe may have added the *i* required by the rhyme. He no doubt meant to write *toupie* (OF *topiier*, 'to spin like a top'; see T-L 10.387 and FEW 17.344). The *illec* of l. 21 refers back to *firmament*.

28 *tournie*] *tourne* ms.

28-33 The meaning seems to be: 'When a planet is in its house (or ascendancy), it has the power to imbue all those born under its influence with vice or virtue. At his birth, the child will receive one – either vice or virtue.'

charge tout, tel que Dieu lui a baillie,
 vice ou vertu. Li enfes proprement
 l'emportera en son advenement, f. 1vb
 dont telz en naist qu'enporte tel fardel
 que s'il estoit ysneaulx comme Assael, 35
 preux comme Hector, et comme Job prodon,
 n'avera il ja chevance ne baubel
 selon son bien, fors que dueil criminel,
 par la vertu de constellacion.'

Robin respont: 'Tu me fais esragier 40
 s'il est ainsi, ce que je ne croy mie!
 Il n'est mestier d'apprendre nul mestier
 ne riens vivant en ceste mortel vie,
 se la planette a creature ottrie
 ce qu'avoir doit sens autre consequent. 45
 Nulz n'est dampnez s'il ne va autrement.
 Se femme naist et se planete est tel
 il couvendra qu'elle voit au bordel,
 estraicte soit de haulte estraction;
 l'autre soit roys et soit filz d'un bourrel; 50
 le tiers evesque, le filz d'un pastourel,
 par la vertu de constellacion.

'Tes fais regrete qu'ay oÿ repliquier,
 voy cy pourquoy: car ils ne valent mie –
 j'offre a prouver ou a verifier – 55
 que des sept ars celli d'astronomie
 est li mains seurs, pour tant ne t'i confie;
 tous les plus grans en sont deceux souvent.
 Dieux est dessus qui en fait son talent,

35 For Asahel's swiftness, see 2 Reg 2:18. He is also mentioned in VI 40 below.

37-38 We understand: 'he will not receive the income or gifts he deserves; rather (he will suffer) atrocious pain....'

40-65 Like Marco Lombardo in *Purgatorio* 16.65-84, Robin upholds freedom of the will as opposed to the astronomical determinism which Maret asserts.

45 *sens* for *sans*: frequent in our poems. Gossen, § 15, notes that *en* and *an* are not distinguished in the Mons and Selincourt areas. Cf. V 54 below.

53 *ay*] *as* ms.

55 The line is one syllable short; one might read *je offre*.

58 *deceux*: past participle of *decevoir*. Cf. IX 42.

qui saint Jehan compara a l'aignel. 60
 T'as trop mais chief; je t'en pri, pense d'el;
 il vaurroit mieulx deduire a son waignon
 qu'il ne feroit a savoir se au Noel
 il fera chault ou froit ou lait ou bel
 par la vertu de constellacion.' 65

L'envoy

f. 2ra

Prince, Robin appella son wadel,
 voire, en disant: 'Ay je bien dit, Tibel?'
 Mais toutesvoies se rendi Marion
 et lui a dit: 'Affulez vo capel,
 il plouvera, car je voy l'arc ou ciel 70
 par la vertu de constellacion.'

PASTOURELLE [III]

En un friche vers un marchais
 oÿ hier une pastourelle
 disant: 'Lasse, je n'en puis mais
 s'il m'ennuye de la nouvelle 5
 de Guiotin Grisecotelle
 le filz Loquebaut l'Estourdi.
 Il ot couvenances a mi,
 or l'ay trouvé de tel affaire
 qu'il me loist departir de li
 se je truis mon proufit a faire. 10

'Se j'ain autre desormais,
 m'esperance si est bien tele

60 Jo 1:29.

61 *mais* = *mauvais*. Cf. V 6 and Godefroy 5.92.

62 *waignon* = *gaignon* ('mastiff'). For the retention of initial Germanic *w* in Picard, see Gossen, § 51.

66 *wadel* = *gadel* ('kid'). Also in XIV 5.

4-9 We do not learn what the news about Guiot is, except that to the shepherdess it is sufficient to disqualify him as a prospective mate. She, of course, has her eye on the main chance.

11 The line is short by one syllable; perhaps one should read *je ain*.

qu'en ce ne gist mie grans frais,
 car la vie d'amours est belle.
 Quant j'avoye ma flautelle 15
 dessoubz le buissoncel joli,
 Guiot m'aprist un vireli.
 La le trovay je debonnaire,
 or le m'estuet mestre en oubli
 se je truis mon prouffit a faire.' 20

Lors aussi que ce feust souhaiz
 venoit parmi une sentelle
 Hanos le fieuls Berthans Loquais,
 en sa main tint une vergelle
 et sist delez la pastourelle. 25
 De s'amour rouver s'enhardi f. 2rb
 et dist: 'Retenez me a ami,
 et se vous trouvez le contraire,
 dites; tu ne me verras plus cy,
 se je truis mon prouffit a faire. 30

'En ce ne faut mie long plais:
 non pourquant ay je machuelle,
 juppel qui n'est mie mauvais,
 hocquet, panetiere, boistelle,
 tel chien quant j'oste sa cordelle 35
 il cache le leu, je vous di.
 S'on loue un bergier je m'affi
 que j'ay tousdis double salaire;
 je ne sui subget a nullui
 se je truis etc. 40

15 The line is short by one syllable; one might read *je avoye*.

23 See note to I 9.

29 *verras*] *verrras* ms.

32 *machuelle* is a small staff or crook. The line is short by one syllable, unless we read *machüelle*.

34 *hocquet*: another term for the shepherd's crook or staff. See also XII 5, in which it is mentioned along with the *houle*.

36 *cache*: Picard for *chasse* ('pursues, chases'). *Leu* < LUPUM is likewise a Picard development (consult Gossen, § 26).

'Si sui je de bergiers estrais,
 je sçay bien se une beste aignele
 pour ce que mieulx vaille ses lais
 le faut boullir en la paelle.'
 A ce mot la doulce danselle 45
 courtoisement lui respondi:
 'Je te retien, mais c'est par si:
 se tu estoies fils le maire
 j'essaieray jusqu'a samedi
 se je truis etc.' 50

PASTOURELLE [IV]

Desa Amiens plusieurs bergiers trouvoy
 parlant treshault ensamble sans tencier,
 dont l'un disoit a l'autre: 'Trop m'esmay
 que j'ay perdu depuis la chandelier
 deux cens voisus et Belin mon mouton, 5
 et si est mors li mastins de maison;
 s'en sui courciez, pardolens et honis. f. 2va
 Adés fay bien, et mal me vient tousdiz.
 Je vous suppli, dites moy se voulez
 comment uns homs puet estre si quetis 10
 envers uns autres, ne si infortunez?

 'Voy la Testu le filz Bridoul de Bray,
 qu'onques n'oÿ une messe au moustier,
 ne il ne scet pas le quint de ce que sçay;
 et s'eut oan .xv. jours en fevrier, 15

42-44 *aignele* is probably a verb, 'to lamb', but the meaning of the passage as a whole remains uncertain.

1 *Amiens* (Somme) was one of the leading towns in Picardy throughout the medieval period. See also VII 2.

4 *chandelier*: Candlemas (2 February).

5 *voisus* < *VOCIVUS < VACIVUS, 'empty': from its original meaning of a cow or goat which was sterile, it came to signify a yearling sheep. Dialectal spellings include *vaciou*, *vaciu*, *vasi*, and *bociou*. See FEW 14.107-109.

11 *envers*: 'in comparison with'.

12 Bray-sur-Somme, about 30 km ENE of Amiens.

14 *ne il*: read *n'il*.

de .vi. brebis .xii. aigneaux, ce dit on.
 En faisant miex trestout diz me tault on:
 se fourmen seimme, ce devient seigle bis;
 se je di vray, je seray escharnie.
 Il est ainsi, pour ce me respondez 20
 comment uns homs etc.
 envers etc.'

Bridoul respont: 'Je le te monstreyay:
 le firmament n'a nul ces dourdier;
 planetes .vii. sont en lui, c'est tout vray, 25
 lesqueles sont trop par a ressongnier;
 vertus mettent souvent en grant dangier, 26a
 car chascun a predestinacion
 selon le fait de generacion.
 C'est assavoir: Phebus, Mars, et Jovis,
 Luna, Venus, Saturne, et Mercuris; 30
 par ces .vii. la et par les clers sarez
 comment etc.
 envers etc.

'Il a longtems qu'un roy paia l'essay;
 damaiges fu, mais n'y peut obvier, 35
 car beaulx estoit et preudons, tant en sçay,
 mais on ne peut avoir eur de gaignier
 fors que tristesse et tribulacion.
 Malfortunez fu toute sa saison f. 2vb
 et peu gaigna contre ses anemis; 40
 nul ne perdoit s'il n'estoit ses amis.

18 *fourmen* = *froment*, 'good grain'. The metathesis occurs after OF; see Fouché, p. 426.

23-55 Bridoul's argument that the stars determine one's life despite one's efforts is much the same as Maret's in *pastourelle* II above.

24 *n'a nul ces dourdier* (?): at least one syllable is missing in the second hemistich, complicating further an already difficult passage.

26a This line is probably to be suppressed. The stanza has one too many lines and *car* in l. 27 introduces the logical conclusion to l. 26.

34-41 In this extensive, generalized reference to an especially virtuous but ill-starred king, the poet may have in mind no particular figure of history or fiction.

34 'A long while ago a king suffered the consequences of testing (the power of the constellations).'

35 The second hemistich is one syllable short (cf. II 14 and 55).

Je vous dy voir, hahay ! Ymaginez
comment uns homs puet estre si quetis
envers etc.

'Estre puet bien qu'un enfant gaigneray 45
en la fille du quetif savetier,
et est possible qu'evesque le verray,
et par delez l'aisné filz d'un princier
pendre ou noyer ou mourir en prison,
dont avendra qu'un ort vil sot garçon 50
sera vestus et de vair et de gris,
de roys, de ducs amez et couronis,
laou un proudomme ne seroit regardez.
Comment etc.
vers uns autres etc.' 55

L'envoy

Princes, li mauls ne dure pas tousdiz,
pour ce loés le Roy de Paradis;
parlez a Job et si lui demandez
comment uns homs etc.
vers uns autres etc. 60

PASTOURELLE DE JUSTICE [V]

Plusieurs bergiers et plusieurs bergerelles
choisi l'autrier seans en un larris,
de grans tacons rataconnans semelles;
illec manjoient aulx, oignons, et pain bis.
Dont l'une dit qu'on appelloit Aelips: 5
'Alon, Robin, t'es de mais hait, vraiment,
si veil savoir et pourquoy et coment.'
Robin respont: 'Tu scez bien dire voir,

45 *gaigneray*: 'I shall beget, procreate' (see T-L 4.14).

52 The form *couronis* is created for the rhyme (OF *coronez*, 'crowned, rewarded').

53 *laou* counts as a single syllable here and at VII 30.

1 *et plusieurs bergerelles*] *et bergerelles* ms.

3 See note to I 13-14.

6 *Alon*] *Alan* ms.

ja tost orras dolereux consequent:
Justice en va en Ynde pour manoir.' 10 f. 3ra

Aelips respond: 'Voy cy dures nouvelles;
povres bergiers si en averont le pis.
J'ay .xx. moutons et autant de mourmelles,
bien tost n'averay ouaille ne chastris.
Va a Raison et a Paix, ses deux filz, 15
et si leur dy tresamiablement
comment leur mere se part par maltalent,
et s'enfans sont, qu'en facent leur devoir;
et je te jure et promés bonnement
el n'yra point en Ynde pour manoir.' 20

'Dieux', dist Robin, 'je sçay les pastourelles
qui leur pain vont querant par le paÿs;
en leur querant ont vendu leurs cotelles
et engaigié tous leurs meilleurs habis.
L'une m'a dit que Raison est fuïs 25
tout clignetant mucier secretement;
les autres quierent par tout le firmament
Paix a leurs cousts, mais ne le peuent avoir;
et pour ces causes tant singulierement
s'en va leur mere en Ynde pour manoir. 30

'Qu'en Ynde sont les ordonnances belles,
et aussi sont coustumes et edis;

10 The refrain epitomizes the subject of the poem, the shepherds' discontent with present conditions in their country. Their feelings are similar to those expressed in the two poems which follow, but in this poem the specific topical reference which characterizes those is lacking. One might assume, nevertheless, that as in poem VII the armies and *routiers* who plundered and laid waste to northern France in the 1350s and 1360s are the wolves, referred to below in ll. 41-42, who eat the sheep and then go *rifflant* unimpeded over the countryside, and that they provide the occasion of this work.

13 *mourmelles*: the word is unattested elsewhere; perhaps it signifies 'ewes'. Comparison with *marmaille* ('children') or *marmotte* (any of a variety of rodent species) does not appear fruitful. See FEW 6.356-57.

14 *chastres*: 'wether, mutton'.

25 *fuïs*] *fais* ms.

26 *clignetant*: formed from *clinant*, 'with head lowered, bowed' (?). Thus, 'Reason has fled in disgrace to hide.'

31 *qu'en* = *car en*. On the common substitution of *que* for *car*, see Foulet, § 428 and Ménard, § 232.

nesun n'y jure le sang ne les bouelles,
 ne nulz n'y ment ne nulz n'y est mendis;
 cilz qui est riches aïde a ses amis; 35
 chascun laboure a son pouoir loyaument,
 et puis aurent le Roy du firmament;
 prestres Jehan en est roys et droit hoir.
 Pour ce vous jure que par mon serement
 je m'en yray en Ynde pour manoir. 40

'Car yci manjuent li leups les brebrelles
 et puis s'en vont riffant par le païs. f. 3rb
 Nulz ne dit "hare" ne nulz ne dit "prenez les",
 et c'est de peur qu'encor ne facent pis.
 C'est pour Justice opprobres et despis, 45
 mais ne le puet amender promptement.
 Encor Fortune lui souffle d'un tel vent
 dedens son tref dont elle fait mirevoir
 quë il convient, weille ou non, proprement
 qu'elle s'en voit en Ynde pour manoir.' 50

L'envoy

Prince loyauls, je vous ay en couvent,
 se ce temps cy nous dure longuement,
 jeouldroye estre – sachiez le tout pour voir –
 sens croix, sans pille, sens or, ne sens argent –
 savez vous ou? En Ynde pour manoir. 55

33 That is to say, no one in India swears by the 'blood and bowels' of Christ.

36 The second hemistich is too long by one syllable.

38 Prester John is the legendary Christian priest-king who rules in Central Asia and is the presumed author of a twelfth-century Latin letter, translated into French verse by Roau d'Arundel and later by others into prose. The letter describes his marvellous 'peaceable kingdom'. See Vsevolod Slessarev, *Prester John. The Letter and the Legend* (Minneapolis, 1959).

41 The line is short by one syllable unless we count *-ent* of *manjuent*. However, the practice in this collection is to have a strong caesura, in which case it would not count (cf. ll. 4, 17, 27, 29, 33, etc.).

43 Even making allowance for the epic caesura, the second hemistich is one syllable long and the rhyme is inadequate. *Hare* is probably for 'Haro!', a cry of alarm or distress, rather than 'Hare!', a cry used to signal the end of the Champagne fair (see Godefroy 4.426-27, 421).

44 *qu'encor*] *quencores* ms.

54 *sens*: see note to II 45.

PASTOURELLE [VI]

Trois bergiers d'ancien aez,
 pour le chault dessoubz un buisson,
 manjans lait, burre, et pois pelez,
 aulx nouveauls, et maint gros maton,
 trouvay qui tenoient sermon 5
 de faire manches a cousteaux,
 atant vint a eulz Maroteaux,
 une pucelle de Helli
 son quien amenant devant li,
 en disant, 'Oez de nouvel: 10
 je oy hier dire au Carduel,
 l'aisné filz Brunel le Sauvage,
 que ne sçay quel gent de parage
 ont esleu (de quoy j'ay merveilles)
 un leu pour garder les oeilles.' 15

'Helas!' ce dist Hinaux des Prez,
 'il ne nous demourra mouton
 puis qu'uns leups est pastour clamez. f. 3va
 Ma boete oingnement et poinçon
 vendray, car plus ne me sont bon.' 20
 Adont ploura li pastoureaux
 et dist: 'Quant je fu jouvenceaux
 le roy aler en Thunes vi,
 et la desconfiture aussi
 de Mons en Peure et de Cassel, 25

3 *manjans*] *mais jans* ms. *pelez*] *plez* ms.

4 *gros maton*: *maton* generally translates 'curds, curdled milk', but, as here, may refer to a soft cheese.

8 *Helli* = *Heilly*, a hamlet south of Amiens. See Maurits Gysseling, *Toponymisch woordenboek van België, Nederland, Luxemburg, Noord-Frankrijk en West-Duitsland (voor 1226)*, 2 vols. (Tongeren, 1960), 1.465.

9 *quien* < CANEM: Picard development.

13 'That some strange kind of well-born people....'

15 *leu* < LUPUM: see note to III 36.

19 *boete oingnement* and *poinçon*: see note to I 19.

23 *Thunes* = *Tunis*. The story of the ill-fated eighth crusade of 1270, on which St. Louis of France died at Tunis, in North Africa, is recorded by the chronicler, Joinville, in the *Livre des saintes paroles et des bonnes actions de Saint Louis*.

25 *Mons en Peure* = *Mons-en-Pévèle*, a small town of about 2,000 inhabitants near Lille and found in Latin chronicles of the period as 'Montes in Peula' and 'de Monte in Pabula'. The

de Bouvines, et en Rethel
 ardoir les meseaux plains d'oultrage
 mais onques mais en tout mon aage
 ne vi ne oy de mes oreilles
 un leu pour garder les oueilles.' 30

Hinauls respont, li herupez:
 'Bergiers ont perdu leur saison;
 je sui de vous li plus aisnez,
 mais onc ne vi tel desraison!
 Un leu de sa condicion 35
 n'ayme pas brebis ny aigneaux
 fors pour mengier. Telz pastoureaux
 sont indignes de garder y.
 On vit pastour le roy Davy
 et aussi fist on Assael; 40

reference is probably to Philip IV's victory over the Flemings at Mons-en-Pévèle on 18 August 1304 (see Joseph R. Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* [Princeton, 1980], p. 335), though it could also be one of several references in the poem to Edward III's 1340 campaign in northern France. Froissart records that the region of Le Pèble was burned by Count William of Hainaut at the time of the siege of Tournai (1340): '... (William) vint vers Orchies et ardi le bonne ville d'Orchies, Landas, Le Celle et pluiseurs villes là environ en le Pèble...' (Kervyn de Lettenhove, ed., *Œuvres de Froissart ... Chroniques*, 25 vols. in 26 [Brussels, 1867-77], 3.224). *Peure* for *Peule* demonstrates the well-known instability of *l/r* in Picard; see Gossen, § 55.

Cassel: town in the Pas-de-Calais, near Saint-Omer. It was at Cassel that Philip VI of France helped Louis de Nevers defeat his rebellious Flemish subjects in 1328. Thousands of Flemish workers and peasants were slaughtered. See Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique* 2, 2nd rev. edition (Brussels, 1908), pp. 95-96.

26 *Bouvines*: this town near Tournai was the site of a famous battle in 1214 at which Philip Augustus of France smashed the English-Flemish-German alliance. That battle, however, would be well beyond the memories of the shepherds in our poem, who are referring perhaps to incidents surrounding the siege of Tournai (1340), when Philip VI camped at Bouvines. See Froissart, *ibid.* 3.247-60 *passim*.

Rethel (?) *Rel* ms. But the line lacks one syllable. To prevent the Black Prince from crossing the Aisne in November 1359, the French burned the town of Réthel (Ardennes). See Thomas Gray, *Scalacronica*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1836), p. 188.

26-27 The sense seems to be, 'At Rethel I saw the despicable lepers burned', though the chronicles do not report any related incident that involved lepers.

32 'Shepherds have outlived their time.'

34 *onc* [*oncques* ms. In this period a number of words had variable forms depending upon the requirements of the meter; cf. *Lion de Bourges. Poème épique du xiv^e siècle*, ed. William W. Kibler, Jean-Louis G. Picherit, and Thelma S. Fenster, 2 vols. (Textes littéraires français 285; Geneva, 1980), 1.cxxxiii. Such doublets were already widespread in OF.

40 In the Bible Asahel is not identified as a shepherd. Cf. II 35 above.

a eulz revela par revel
 Dieu souvent par divin ouvrage.
 Voirs est quë un cent ans ay je,
 mais ne vy de jours n'a chandeilles
 un leu pour garder les ouailles.

45

'A Romme sui deux fois alez,
 et si vi maint riche baron
 devant Escaus des murs assanlez,
 et devant Tun, fier que lyon;
 en après Tournay assist on,
 et Bourc Waynes et les casteaux

50

41-42 For God's special revelation to shepherds at the Nativity, cf. I 47-51 and XIII 46-48. 43 *cent ans ay*] *cent ay* ms.

45 In the ms. *lieu* has been corrected to *leu* (a dot of expunction is placed under *i*).

48 *Escaus* (?). The line is hypermetric, having nine syllables rather than eight. The Escaut is a river flowing through Tournai and Valenciennes; in Belgium it is called the Scheldt (both names from Celtic SCALDIS). The context, however, indicates that the toponym refers to a place on land, rather than to a river. It is likely that the scribe 'corrected' a one-syllable locale which he did not recognize into the more familiar but hypermetric river Escaut. One good possibility is the battle of Scheut (perhaps confused by the French scribe with Scheldt, whence Escaus), a victory of Louis de Male of Flanders over Brabant on 17 August 1356 ('Quaden Woensdag'). Scheut is the plain outside the walls of Brussels where Louis camped and the Brabançons attacked him with disastrous results for themselves. See Alexandre Henne and Alphonse Wauters, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles*, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1855; rpt. 1968), 1.116; and Pirenne, *Histoire* 2.182-83.

49 *Tun* = *Thun-l'Évêque*. North of Cambrai on the left bank of the Escaut, Thun-l'Évêque figured prominently in the early years of the Hundred Years War. It was captured by Sir Walter Manny in one of the first actions of the war, then used as a base of operations against Cambrai. In 1340 the English were besieged in Thun by the Duke of Normandy. For an account of this lengthy but indecisive siege, see Froissart, *Chroniques* 3.171-93.

50 *Tournay* = *Tournai*. The siege of Tournai by Edward III followed immediately on the heels of the siege of Thun-l'Évêque (see Froissart, *ibid.* 3.220-33, 245-64). After nearly eleven weeks, peace was made at Espléchin largely through the efforts of Jeanne de Valois, sister of the French king and mother of his enemy, Count William of Hainaut (*ibid.* 3.305-16).

51 *Bourc Waynes* (?). The burning of Wargny-le-Grand and Wargny-le-Petit in Hainaut by the Duke of Normandy (1340) receives passing mention by Froissart (*ibid.* 3.142). The present-day town of Waremmes, near Liège, was known in medieval Flemish as Borgworm and occurs in a thirteenth-century document as 'Burch Werme' (see Gysseling, *Toponymisch Woordenboek* 2.1045). However, it does not appear to have figured in any recorded military actions. Perhaps the best candidate is Vannes, in Brittany, which reportedly was captured by Robert d'Artois and Sir Walter Manny in 1342 by a ruse to which the shepherd may be referring in l. 52. After a daylong assault by his archers, Robert withdrew to his camp at dusk. While the defenders thought that he was retiring for the night, Robert was only biding his time. After dark he divided his army into three divisions. Two lit great fires and noisily attacked the most strongly fortified positions, while the third division, under the capable leadership of Walter Manny, slipped around to the other side of the city, scaled the walls with grappling hooks and rope ladders, surprised the defenders from the rear, and opened the gates to Robert and his men. (See Froissart, *ibid.* 4.144-50.)

- vi je prendre par les cresteaux. f. 3vb
 Et si vous jur par saint Remy
 que le Roy d'Angleterre vy
 faire hommage a Philippe l'isnel. 55
 Puis fist l'assamblee mortel
 devant Cazant o mainte barge.
 Hubaut, est il de ton linage
 qui onc veïst – de ce me conseiliez –
 un leu pour garder les oueilles? 60
- Hubaut lui respont: 'N'aye mes,
 mais j'ay veu des coises foison:
 je vi le mortorre, et après
 venir les vasteurs qu'abandon
 se batoient de grant randon, 65
 dont le sang couroit a ruisseauls,
 de quoy belin et cornueaulx
 fuirent de peur; et par semy
 a ycelle tempoire dy
 que un maistre fu, je ne sçay quel; 70

53 *saint Remy*: Remi is frequently invoked in medieval French poetry. Bishop of Rheims, he was a celebrated evangeliser of the Franks, most famous for baptizing Clovis in 496.

55 *hommage*: after Philip of Valois was crowned as Philip VI of France, Edward III did simple homage for his possessions on the continent at Amiens in 1329. The terms of the homage were reaffirmed at Amiens in 1331. See May McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century: 1307-1399* (The Oxford History of England 5; Oxford, 1959), pp. 111-12. It is tempting to change *l'isnel* to *le Bel*, but the reference is obviously to the event involving Philip VI, rather than to any involving Philip IV.

57 *Cazant* = *Cadzand*. Situated between the Zwyn and the mouth of the Scheldt, Cadzand was a port from which French pirates preyed upon English shipping; according to early maps, it was on an island during the period in question. In November 1337 Cadzand was raided by the English under Sir Walter Manny.

59 'Whoever saw – tell me this – a wolf, etc.' The line is decasyllabic.

63 *le mortorre*: the Black Death of 1348-50.

64 *vasteurs*: the term seems to refer here to the flagellants who appeared during these same years, particularly in Flanders, Picardy, and the Low Countries. There are numerous contemporary and modern reports. 'Organized groups of 200 to 300 [flagellants] and sometimes more (the chroniclers mention up to 1,000) marched from city to city, stripped to the waist, scourging themselves with leather whips tipped with iron spikes until they bled' (Barbara W. Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century* [New York, 1978], p. 114).

68 *et par semy*] *et semy* ms. *Semy* is perhaps a form of OF *sambuy*, 'sang de Dieu'; cf. Godefroy 7.301 and mod. Fr. *palsambleu*; whence the addition of *par* (the line being originally one syllable short).

70 *que un*: read *qu'un*.

ne dy je mie voir, Ansel?'
 Anseaulz dist, 'Oil', par bel langage,
 'Raison a osté cest usage,
 car plus ne verras; or y veilles
 un leu pour garder les oeilles.'

75

L'envoy

Franc prince, qui ces mos ymage,
 on en puet s'aquier hault ouvrage
 mais qu'on ait veu les imparielles,
 un leu pour garder les oeilles.

PASTOURELLE [VII]

Madoulz li bergiers et ses fieulx,
 desa Amiens en Picardie,
 estoient larmoians des yeulx.
 Li peres de chiere esmarie
 disoit a son filz: 'Par perie
 est a present nostre chevance.
 Tous plains sui de desesperance
 quant on t'a tes moutons osté,
 aigneaulx, voisas, et emmené
 brebis et plusieurs antenois.
 Furent, ce di moy, Navarrois?
 Pourquoi ne te deffendis tu?'

f. 4ra

5

10

72 *par bel langage*: 'ironically'. For this usage of *bel*, see T-L 1.904.

77 *s'aquier*: form of *s'aquerir*, *s'aquerre*?

78 *imparielles* (?): 'dissimilar things'; whence 'unsuitable, outrageous behavior'.

1 *fieulx* < FILIUS: see note to I 9. Several of the forms which occur at this rhyme (*ostieuls* < *USTILIOS; *leu* < LUPUM; *eus* = *j'oi*; *goupieux* < *VULPICULUS) indicate a Picard origin for the text.

2 *Amiens*: see note to IV 1.

9 *voisas*: see note to IV 5. The ending -as may be a scribal error; our pastourelle IV has *voisus*.

10 *antenois*: 'yearling sheep, mutton, goat, etc.' (Godefroy 1.301 and T-L 1.403).

11 *Navarrois*: the Navarrese under Charles the Bad laid waste to much of Picardy in 1358 in order to suppress the insurgent peasantry during the uprising known as the Jacquerie. In the year preceding, *routiers* had been roaming the countryside on Charles's behalf. See discussion above, p. 34.

L'enfes respont: 'J'eux tout perdu! –
 quë on me penge par la gorge! –
 et me tins tout pour deceü
 aussi tost qu'on cria "Saint George".'

15

'L'ouïs tu crier, quoquevieulz?'
 'Mon Dieu, pere', dist l'enfes, 'oye.
 Et me tollirent mes ostieuls,
 ma boete, et alesne aguisie
 qui avoit le manche entaillie.
 Noyez soient il en le Canche!
 Que font leurs chevaux de nuisanche!
 Je leur ay tresbien avisé.'
 'Et leur as tu point demandé
 se ce sont Flamens ou François?'
 'Sy ay. Ilz sont de Boulenois
 et ont trestout ouan consu
 canchiers et en grange batu.
 Mais je ne sçay laou c'est qu'on forge
 les armes quë ilz ont vestu
 aussi tost c'om crie "Saint George".'

20

25

30

14 *quë on me penge*] *que on penge* ms. Here *que on* appears to count for two syllables (cf. *que ilz*, l. 31); in the refrain it elides to form a single syllable. *Me* is added both to clarify the sense and fill out the meter.

Penge, and later *morge* (l. 78) and *acorge* (l. 83), are Picard present subjunctive forms (see Gossen, § 80); they are also common in Norman.

15 *tins*] *tint* ms.

16 'St. George' was a well-known battle cry of the English, but this pastourelle suggests that it was adopted by pillagers of all nationalities for purposes of frightening their victims.

17 *quoquevieulz* = *kokevieux*. The slang meaning 'imbécile' is recorded by Godefroy 2.166 under *cochevieux*. Thus, 'Did you hear them shouting out, idiot?' See also Froissart's Pastourelle 4.42 (ed. McGregor, p. 157).

20 See note to I 19.

21 *manche entaillie*: 'carved handle'.

22 *soient*] *soit* ms. *Canche*: a river in northwest France which flows through Hesdin to Étaples, near Boulogne.

27 *Boulenois*: the region around Boulogne was under French rule until after the Treaty of Calais in 1360, when it passed to the English.

28-29 'And all year long they've threatened navigation and destroyed barns.' *canchiers* is perhaps a combination of scribal and dialectal deformation of *chantiers* (OF *chantier*, 'bord des rivières navigables, lisière qui doit rester libre pour le service de la navigation' [Godefroy 2.58]) influenced by *Canche* (l. 22).

30 See note to IV 53.

- 'Ilz portent lances et espieulz –
 je ne vy onques tel mesgnie!
 S'a chascun sa cote qu'un Grioulz 35
 de fer ou de cuivron treillie.
 Gaires n'a qu'il n'avoient mie
 pain assez pour leur gouvernance. f. 4rb
 En aurons nous jamais vengeance?
 Sommes nous dont ainsi riflé?' 40
 'Beauls fieuls, se .iii. leus ou tropé
 feussent fru, pris en eussent trois;
 et n'est ce mie grans destrois
 quant no voisin font pis que leu?
 Onques mais tel chose ne feu 45
 que ceulz, qui souloient pain d'orge
 mangier, sont escuier cremu
 aussi tost c'om crie "Saint George".'
- 'Doulz peres, me respond rieux:
 tel gent, ont ilz la char hardie?' 50
 'Nennin, filz, si m'ayeute Dieux;
 riens ne valent que a roberie.
 Cuides tu ores, je te prie,
 que tel hardaille de witanche
 osassent courre un fer de lance, 55

35 *qu'un Grioulz*: 'as a Greek' (?); see FEW 4.211-13. This reading may underscore the terrifying and somewhat exotic impressions conveyed by the peasants.

36 *ou de cuivron*] *ou cuivron* ms. 'Woven of iron or copper links'.

37-38 'It wasn't long ago that they lacked sufficient bread to live on.'

41-44 'If three wolves had attacked the flocks, they would have taken (only) three of the sheep. And is this not a great torment that our neighbors are worse than wolves?'

42 *fru* = *feru*. See Gossen, § 37.

44 *no* for *nostre* is a common Picardism (see Gossen, § 68).

46-47 '... those who were accustomed to eat barley bread have become dreaded squires.'

49 *rieux*: possibly related to *ru*, *riu* ('stream') and used in a figurative sense; thus, 'answer me quickly'. Or perhaps *me respondrieux* is an appositive, 'my respondent'. Other possibilities: *respondrieux* might be a future verb form, making a question; or an imperative (cf. *apaisieux* IX 7) to be corrected to *respondrieux*. *Se* for *ses* is attested in Picard; see Gossen, § 66. This line is one syllable short.

52 *valent*] *vilent* ms. *que a* = *qu'a*.

54 *hardaille*: 'troupe de vauriens' (Godefroy 4.418). *witanche* = *viltance*, *viutance* ('despicable person, thing, action'): '... that such a gang of wasters would dare to joust or fight on the field of battle, even two against one armed man?'

55 *courre un fer de lance*: *corir* (= *corre*) *une lance* is found in T-L 2.867 with the meaning 'to joust'.

ne combatre en estour campé,
né les deux contre un homme armé?
Nennin, mais telz agaritois
pilleroient bien un bourgeois,
la sont il merveilles cueuru; 60
tous telz gens flairent le pendu.
Je te dy voir, beaulx filz – hé! dor ge? –
je vourroye estre a Montagu
aussi tost c'om crie "Saint George".

'Prendroit saint George moutons vieulz? 65
Dites le moy, je vous en prie;
pis valent que leups ne goupieux.'
'Et que t'es plain de frenoisie!
Je te di et acertefie
qu'il ne sont pas gentilz mais flanche, 70
de toute gentillesce franche;
et s'il estoit paix affichie f. 4va
on en pendroit tele harchie,
et tant de trestous telz galois
a paines seroit gibés drois 75
que par fais ne feussent cheü.'
'Il leur seroit bien mescheü',
dist l'enfes. 'Tele mouche les morge

57 *né* = *neüs*.

58 *agaritois*: possibly related to *agarite* ('s.f., guérite en maçonnerie faisant saillie et placée dans les courtines ou créteaux entre les tours' [Godefroy 1.158]). *Agaritois* would then refer to a person hiding in such a place, whence 'coward'.

61 'All such people stink of hanging.'

63 *Montagu*: near Laon (see Gysseling, *Toponymisch Woordenboek* 1.708).

70 *flanche* (?): possibly related to *flenchir*, *flainchir* ('to yield, flinch').

73 *harchie* < *HIRPEX*, with possible contamination of Frankish **HARPA*. The original meaning of 'harrow' developed figuratively to mean 'a despicable action', 'a person who torments another', and 'a person of little worth'; it is related to mod. Fr. *harceler* ('to harass, worry, torment'). See FEW 4.430-31. Thus we understand ll. 72-73: 'And if peace were declared they would hang all such scoundrels.'

74-76 'And as many of these libertines would be straightway tortured and gibbeted as those who have fallen in battle.'

78 Hypermetric: this line has nine rather than the correct eight syllables. One could emend to *tel mouche*. We understand ll. 78-79: 'May such a fly bite them that they can no longer deal such blows.'

qu'ilz ne facent plus le porru,
aussi tost que on crie "Saint George".' 80

L'envoy

Franc prince! Houlier et cabit,
coquant, coquin, et malostru
le crient; mais ce est qui l'acorge.
Je lo què on les gette ou fu
aussi tost qu'on crie 'Saint George'. 85

PASTOURELLE AMOUREUSE [VIII]

Robin seoit et Maret a plains camps
un pou après que soulaus fust levez;
la lui offroit en riant ses blans wans,
voire en disant: 'Bien sçay que vous m'amez.'
Elle respont: 'Robert, vous ne sçavez. 5
Voy cy le cas, si obtiens qu'ay raison:
quant li leups hier emporta mon mouton,
je le rescous, mais ains fu estranlez.
Ne feustes pas tant hardiz ny osez
que m'aidissiez ne qu'en eussiez corage. 10
Je le vous dy devant vostre visage,
si vous suppli de moy amer cessez,
par le corps Dieu, et vous ferez que sage.'

Robin respont: 'Vous estes deffendans
ce que a raison deffendre ne puez. 15

79 *porru* < **PORRUM**: from the original meaning of 'swelling, wart', the word developed by extension to mean 'blow from the fist'. See FEW 9.196-97.

80 *que on*: read *qu'on*.

81 *cabit* (?): possibly related to *acatis*, which occurs in a similar context in *Renaus de Montauban* ('Fix a putain, coars, mauvais sers acatis'). Godefroy 1.41 hazards the translation 'mercenary', while T-L 1.71 leaves it untranslated.

81-83 'Mercenaries, thugs, fools, rascals, and boors cry it; yet there are those who go along with it.'

83 *ce est*: read *c'est*.

3 *blans wans*: shepherds often dressed in white. See also XII 5, the note to I 12, and *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourellen*, ed. Karl Bartsch (Leipzig, 1870), II.4 5 and II.22 16.

15 *que a*: read *qu'a*.

Prenons qu'eussiez de beauté .iiii. temps
 que n'ot Yseut, Genevre ne Lammez,
 et avec ce feust vo corps propres fes, f. 4vb
 n'eusse vaillant qui vaussit un bouton,
 vous ameray je se vous veueilliez ou non, 20
 et par ma foy je vous dy veritez,
 je vous dy vray: recevoir me devez
 puis que requier mercy plorant mon gage,
 ymaginant vo gracieux visage.
 Fuache donc aussi que m'en donnez: 25
 pardonnez moy et vous ferez que sage.'

'Ayn, dya! Robin, s'eusse esté la mourans
 du leu com fu men mouton devourez,
 m'eussiez esté la vie remettans
 dedans le corps? A ce me respondez. 30
 Pour ce taisiez; respondre ne sçavez.
 Mais s'aviez la beauté d'Absalon,
 le sens David qui tua d'un perron
 le grant jayant – Goulías fu nommez –
 et hardement que Hector ou Josuez, 35
 et veissiez cler qu'Argus fist par usage,
 si perderiez tout, et regart et langage,
 car vostre fait est tous determinez.
 Fuiiez de cy, et vous ferez que sage.'

'Fuiiez!' dist il. 'Ains seray raprouchans 40
 pour ravoir ce dont je sui deboutez.
 Dydo qui fu pour Eneas mourans,

16 .iiii. temps] .iij. temps ms.

16-19 'If you were four times more beautiful than Yseut (etc.) ... and if I were stone poor....'

17 *Lammez* is possibly Laodamia, wife of Protesilaus, the first of the Greeks to fall in the Trojan War; see Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.447. She is the speaker in Ovid's *Heroides* 13.

20 *se vous veueilliez*] *se veuil veueilliez* ms. We read *ameray* as two syllables; see p. 36 above.

25 *Fuache donc* is clearly the ms. reading: *fu a che* (?). There should be four syllables in this initial hemistich. Its meaning escapes us completely.

27 *Ayn, dya* = 'Hé, dea!': an exclamation. *Dea* regularly counts for one syllable in OF.

32 The line is one syllable short in the initial hemistich; perhaps read *se aviez*.

33-36 This list of five exempla includes three of the Nine Worthies: David, Hector, and Joshua.

42-45 It seems that Robin is citing Dido, Judas, Job, Methuselah, Tristan, and Jason for their common suffering, though what Methuselah's troubles were besides a long life neither Robin nor the Bible says.

- Caÿm, Judas, Job, et Matussalez,
 Tristans li gens qui devint forsenez,
 li preux, li grans, l'aventureux Jason, 45
 qui fu en Ynde et occist le dragon,
 la toison d'or conquist par ses fiertez,
 et la roÿne Medee et ses citez –
 celle tua son enfançon par rage –
 n'orent onc mal tous cilz, tant en sçay je, 50
 que j'ay pour vous, se ne vous avisez.
 Ayez advis, et vous ferez que sage.'
- Elle respont: 'Robers, soiez taisans; f. 5ra
 car se aviez, aussi que vous avez,
 langue d'acier qu'aussi bien fust parlans 55
 et aussi bel que maintenant parlez,
 l'useriez vous, fust li bous nacherez.'
 Quant Robin l'ot, s'ota son caperon
 et gete au loing sa houle et son baston,
 et puis l'ahert parmi les deux costez; 60
 bas le rua et le baisa assez;
 du seurplus tais, que je n'en die oultrage.
 Au relever lui dist: 'Vous baiseray je?'
 Lors li respont: 'Oil, Robert, se voulez.
 Soiez secrez, et vous ferez que sage.' 65

L'envoy

'Princes', la dist dampz Robers l'avisez,
 'entre vous tous, amans qui frequentez

44 Tristan's madness, like that of Lancelot, is a favorite topic of the romancers. For the episode in the prose *Tristan*, see Eilert Löseth, *Le roman en prose de Tristan...* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes 82; Paris, 1891), p. 68.

45-49 For the story of Jason's killing the dragon and taking the Golden Fleece with Medea's help, see Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 7.149-158 and Guido della Colonna, *Historia destructionis Troiae*, ed. Nathaniel E. Griffin (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), books 1-3. For Medea's murder of her (two) 'enfançon', see *Metamorphoses* 7.396-397.

48 *roÿne*: see p. 37 above.

50 *onc mal tous cilz tant onques mal tous cilz la tant ms.*

55 *langue d'acier*: here and in XIV 37 the 'steel tongue' seems to be an equivalent of the English 'silver tongue' in the sense of being eloquent or persuasive, rather than having the contemporary meaning 'méchante langue' (*Trésor de la langue française*, 8 vols. [Paris, 1971-80], 1.541). At the very least, it implies persistence.

61 *le*: Picard for feminine *la*. See also IX 24, XI 16, and XV 12, 45, 47.

65-69 Maret's counsel to secrecy and Robin's advice to speak little in matters of love blend the courtly rule of secrecy in love with rustic practicality.

les fais d'amours et l'excellent ouvrage,
parlez en peu, et vous ferez que sage.'

PASTOURELLE [IX]

En un marchais de grant antiquité
trouvay Robin plorant sur son mouton,
lui decortant; a veir fu grant pité,
et puis disoit: 'Bergiere de renon,
qui t'a ravy ne m'ama pas granment.' 5
La vint Bridoul, un pastour de Vessent,
liquelz lui dist: 'Doulz amis, apaisieux;
Argus perdi sa femme vrayement
qu'ot nom Yo, et si avoit .c. yeux.

'Premier Adam mordi le fruit de Eve; 10
ce fist Eve par le serpent felon,
dont ilz furent de paradis rué
et dechacié jusques au val de Ebron.
Hector de Troye mourut hastivement
par Achillés, pour Helaine au corps gent; 15 f. 5rb
Sanson le fort en fu de veue esquieuz.

3 *decortant*: possibly 'flaying'?; cf. OF *escorcier* (< V.L. *excorticare*, Lat. CORTEX).

6 *Vessent* is probably Wissant, a medieval port about 5 km south of Calais.

7 *apaisieux*: imperative form of *apaisier*, 'to be calm, peaceful', with phonetic deformation for the rhyme.

8-34 The group of victimized men named here (Argus, Adam, Hector, Samson, Aristotle, Virgil, Holofernes, and Merlin) is not assembled in any of the obvious anti-feminist sources. In a ballade Deschamps, *Œuvres complètes* 2.36-37, includes brief accounts of Adam, Samson, Merlin, and Virgil among seven such unfortunates he names; his other three are Solomon, Hercules, and David. Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou trésor*, ed. P. Chabaille (Paris, 1863) lists Adam, David, Solomon, Samson, Troy (Hector), Aristotle, and Merlin as victims of women. Cf. also the expanded list in X 24-30 below.

10 *de Eve*: read *d'Eve*, one syllable. But the rhyme is still only approximate. For a similarly labored rhyme, see XI 44.

13 *de Ebron*: read *d'Ebron*. Hebron was a city in Canaan (later, Judea); Abraham (Gen 13:18) settled there. According to medieval accounts, such as the English *Cursor mundi*, l. 1416, ed. Richard Morris (EETS OS 57; London, 1874, rpt. 1961), Seth buried Adam in the valley of Hebron.

16 *esquieuz*: Picard spelling of *eschif*, *eschis*, 'deprived of'; see Godefroy 3.389 and T-L 3.894-95. For Delilah's treatment of Samson, which resulted in his blinding, see Jud 16:4-22.

Argus perdi sa femme vrayement
qu'ot nom Yo, et si avoit .c. yeux.

'Aristote, li clers d'auctorité,
fu chevauchiez de femme, ce dit on, 20
comme beste, ainsi fu il trouvé;
et Virgilles fu en un corbeillon
Emmy Romme pendu vilainement
par le fille de l'empereur au vent.
Rommanz disoient: "Veez le la, le beyeux!" 25
Argus perdi sa femme vrayement
qu'ot nom etc.

'Holofernes, le jayant redoubté,
ot par Judith emmy son paveillon
du brant d'acier le chief du bu sevré, 30
et l'emporta dedens sa mansion;
et puis Merlin fu perpetuellement
mis en crouste par la dame excellent
que on dit du Lac – Lancelot fu ses fieux.
Argus perdi sa femme vrayement 35
qu'ot etc.'

Adont sailli Huet emmy le pré
et dist: 'Robin, je te doing en droit don
juppel, cappel, houle, bourdon feré,

19-21 The story of Aristotle's being ridden by Alexander's mistress is a frequent subject in medieval art and literature, best known perhaps in Henry d'Andeli's *Lai d'Aristote*, ed. Maurice Delbouille (Paris, 1951).

22-25 Virgil's experience with the emperor's daughter was another popular subject. See, e.g., *Le roman de Renart le Contrefait*, ed. Gaston Raynaud and Henri Lemaître, 2 vols. (Paris, 1914), ll. 29403-534. For other references see Domenico Comparetti, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, trans. E. F. M. Benecke (London, 1895), pp. 327-39.

25 *beyeux*: the meter indicates that this word, probably an insult, counts for one syllable.

28-31 For the story of Judith's beheading of Holofernes, see the deuterocanonical Book of Judith 10-13.

32-34 Merlin's imprisonment by Niniane, the Lady of the Lake, is narrated in several romances. Sometimes the prison has walls of air. One source for the subterranean tomb of rock mentioned here is the prose *Merlin*, ed. Gaston Paris and Jacob Ulrich, 2 vols. (Paris, 1886), 2.197-98. In the familiar sources, Lancelot is the son of Ban and Helaine, not of Niniane. In the prose *Lancelot*, ed. Alexandre Micha, 7 vols. (Paris, 1978-80), 7.27-28, Niniane kidnaps Lancelot after the death of Ban, becoming in a sense his stepmother.

34 *que on*: read *qu'on*. For *fieux*, see note to I 9.

fretel, flajol, ongnement, et poinçon 40
 se jamais femme croy ainsi n'autrement.
 Je n'en sui pas deceus premierement;
 se Dieu vouloit, il n'en averoit neant mieux.
 Argus etc.
 qui etc.' 45

L'envoy

Prince, en amours n'a nul bon consequent f. 5va
 ce n'est en Dieu le pere omnipotent:
 tant plus l'aime on, et tant plus est grant preux.
 Argus perdi sa femme vrayement
 qu'ot nom Yo, et si avoit .c. yeulx. 50

PASTOURELLE [X]

Onques ne fui en mon dormant songans
 que n'en veisse au matin porcion;
 dessoubz ente tresuef et odorans
 ay bien dormy .xx. ans ou environ.
 La vint bergiere qui dist en sa raison: 5
 'Avant, bergier, prens ces clefs! Lieve sus!
 Garde partout et dessus et de jus!
 Je t'abandon a garder mon tresor;

40 The *fretel* was a flute with seven pipes together, usually associated with Pan (see Godefroy 4.143); the *flajol* was a small (single-pipe?) flute. For the *ongnement et poinçon*, see the note to I 19.

47 *ce*: understand *se* ('if'), with ellipsis of the subject.

48 *tant*] *tā* ms.

1 *fui*] *fu* ms.

3 *tresuef*] *tresuer* ms. The narrator's sleeping under a fragrant *ente* ('newly-grafted tree') lets the reader know that the ensuing marvelous dream is under the influence of the fairy folk. In the fourteenth-century English romance, *Sir Orfeo*, ed. A. J. Bliss (Oxford, 1954), l. 70, the queen goes to sleep under a 'fair ympe-tree', whence she is taken away by fairies. In *The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoun*, ed. James A. H. Murray (EETS OS 61; London, 1875), l. 34, the hero's experience with the fairy queen begins with him lying underneath a 'semely tree'. So also Arthur in Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (l.ix.13-15), sleeping beneath a tree, dreams of the queen of the fairies. For further evidence of the fairies' part in this poem, see note to ll. 43-47 below.

5-6 The fact that the lady of the poem is identified as a 'bergiere', who calls the narrator 'bergier', seems to be all in the content that justifies the rubric 'pastourelle'.

certaine sui, plus riche ne vit nulz
depuis le temps Nabugodonozor. 10

Je pris les clefs aussi que sommeillans,
car j'avisay d'ilec la mansion;
l'uisset ouvry, pour ce fu ens entrans,
et la perçu les cheveux Absalon,
et l'ymaget maistre Pymalion, 15
et la fontaine ou seoit Narcisus;
de ses doulz sons y harpoit Orpheus,
Phebus luisoit contre l'argent et l'or;
partout gardoit Cupido et Venus,
que moult greva Nabugodonozor. 20

Chambrieres six ot Appollo li grans,
esclarrans par toute le mansion.
Oultre passay ces lieux et puis fu veans
Adam, Noel, Joseph, et Pharaon,
Hector, David, Aristote, et Sanson, 25
Virgille aussi, Ypocras, et Artus,
maistre Merlin, le roy Marc, et Argus, f. 5vb
autres plusieurs que ne diray pas or.
Encor diray, car c'est tous mes argus:
Olofernes, Nabugodonozor. 30

14 Absalom's hair, associated with his great beauty, is described in 2 Reg 14:25-26. It was a subject for frequent medieval allusion. Chaucer parodies the conventional character in the Miller's Tale, *Canterbury Tales*, A.3312-38.

15-16 The statue made by Pygmalion and the fountain of Narcissus are the subjects of two notable classical references in the *Roman de la Rose*, ed. Félix Lecoy, 3 vols. (Paris, 1966-70), ll. 1569-72 and 20781-21184.

17 For Orpheus, cf. XI 10, note.

18 Phoebus here partakes of his planetary character as the sun, shining against the rich silver and gold furnishings of the mansion.

20 *que* is perhaps simply 'and' here, rather than a reference to Venus' and Cupid's activity in l. 19. Nebuchadnezzar's grief probably stems from God's punishment of him described in Dan 4:33.

21 If Apollo's six *chambrieres* are the other six planets, then the *mansion* of this poem becomes something of a microcosm.

22 This is one of the rare lines in any of our decasyllabic pastourelles which lacks a clear caesura after the fourth syllable.

23 The line is hypermetric; one could perhaps suppress *et* in favor of a comma.

24-30 The sixteen male figures mentioned here include all eight named in IX 8-34 above. The eight additional ones (Noah, Joseph, Pharaoh, David, Hippocrates, Arthur, Mark, and

Ces ymages fui moult ymaginans,
 mais Euclides fu la qui dist: 'Bons homs,
 Pitagoras si t'est la hors crians
 "Garde toy, quetifs, t'es pris sans raençon!
 Car Atropos t'afule un caperon 35
 dont grain ne vois; demande Saturnus,
 car ces ymages furent trestous dechus
 par trop amer. Tu le sentiras, c'or
 estre cuides plus puissans que Porrus
 et seurmonter Nabugodonozor.'" 40

La fu prouvez par poesté meschans

 et l'endemain quant je fui esveillans

Nebuchadnezzar) evidently are also to be included among men 'dechus / par trop amer' (ll. 37-38 below): i.e., they are in one way or another victims in affairs of love. Except for Nebuchadnezzar, the added allusions are clear: Noah vexed by his recalcitrant wife (see Anna James Mill, 'Noah's Wife Again', *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 56 [1941] 613-26); Joseph and Pharoah victimized by Pharoah's wife (Gen 39:7-20); David become sinful with Bathsheba (2 Reg 11-12); Arthur and Mark cuckolded by Guinevere and Isolde; Hippocrates, like Virgil, hoisted in a basket and left to swing in the wind (see Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, p. 329).

31 *ymages*: 'apparition' (T-L 4.1341-42). *fui*] *fu* ms.

31-40 Our punctuation assumes that Euclid is quoting Pythagoras, who tells the 'caitiff' narrator that he is made prisoner without ransom. Euclid as geometrician is appropriately conceived as the architect or guardian of the wonders of the 'mansion'. The scolding speech is appropriate to Pythagoras who was renowned as the originator of the word *philosophy* and as a zealous proponent of moral virtue. For a standard account of his career, see John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* 7.4, ed. C. C. J. Webb, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1909), 2.102-104.

34 *garde toy* counts for only two syllables.

35 *Atropos* is the third of the Fates, the one who cuts the thread of life. Dante refers to her shears in *Inferno* 33.126. The cape which she is going to put on the dreamer may be the hood associated iconographically with Death, or a shroud spun by her sister Clotho.

36 Saturn, in his planetary aspect, is particularly maleficent and therefore threatening to the narrator. See, e.g., *Macrobius, Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, trans. William Harris Stahl (New York, 1952), p. 167.

38-40 "You will feel it, for now you think yourself to be mightier than Porrus and Nebuchadnezzar." Porrus is prince, then king, of India in the Alexander romances. Two of the fourteenth-century French additions to the Alexander story, *Le restor du paon* and *Le parfait du paon*, are by Picard dialect poets, Brisebarre le Court and Jean de le Mote. Both Porrus and Nebuchadnezzar suffered for their pride, as does the narrator in the final stanza of this poem.

42 Line missing, adding to the difficulty of the sense.

43-47 The sad and strange condition of the narrator upon awakening evidently results from the revenge of the fairy-folk on him for his pride. The metamorphosis of his nose from pretty and straight to *camus* would be well within the power of the fairies; cf. the endowment of Bottom with an ass's head in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* III.i, and also the

je me trouvay en un piquant buisson,
 poires queillans d'angoisse a grant foison. 45
 Vestu de roys, s'avoie les piés nus;
 mon beau nez droiz devint trestous camus,
 et si vous jur, foy que je doy saint Mor,
 et plus courciez ne fust onc puis aucuns,
 ne Job, aussi Nabugodonozor. 50

L'envoy

Princes, or est mes songes tous conclus.
 Envy me sourt dolor pro manibus;
 de joye fay amer que fiel de tor.
 Tant veult de moy paine Emeridus,
 Alixandre, Nabugodonozor. 55

SERVENVOIS AMOUREUX [XI]

En avisant les eschés Atalus f. 6ra
 et tous les traïs qu'il fist soubtillement,
 je me boutay en l'aigle Theseus

Wakefield *Second Shepherd's Play*, ed. Arthur C. Cawley, *The Wakefield Pageants in the Towneley Cycle* (Manchester, 1958), ll. 616-619, where Mak's wife attributes the misshapen nose of her 'baby' to the work of 'an elfe'.

45 *poires d'angoisse* were originally high quality pears from the town of Angoisse in the present-day department of Dordogne. The play on words, 'anguish/unpleasantness', is studied by Edmond Faral, 'Poire d'Angoisse' in the *Mélanges de philologie et d'histoire offerts à M. Antoine Thomas* (Paris, 1927), pp. 149-55. According to Faral the pear did not take on its association with unpleasant affairs until the early sixteenth century, but our text gives evidence of a much earlier play on the expression.

48 *saint Mor*: St. Maurus, sixth-century abbot of Subiaco.

49 *onc*] *onques* ms.

52-55 The meaning of the *envoy* is far from clear.

54 *Emeridus* is probably for Emenidus (Aymon) who, like Porrus (l. 39), was a central figure of the Alexander romances and one of Alexander's six peers.

1 In the *Roman de la Rose*, ll. 6661-62, Atalus is identified as the inventor of chess.

3 The 'eagle of *Theseus*' is obscure, possibly a scribal error for *joveus* (Lat. 'belonging to Jove'). Among the well-known episodes in poetry in which eagles seize human beings and take them into the sky are Jupiter's rape of Ganymede (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.155-161), the golden eagle's seizure of Dante (*Purgatorio* 9.19-31), and a similar eagle's taking 'Geffrey' on a tour of the heavens in Chaucer's *House of Fame*, ll. 534-1088. Whereas those eagles carry the men in their talons, in this pastourelle the narrator pushes himself (*me boutay*) inside and looks out through the wide-open beak (ll. 15-16).

pour aviser un ymage excellent.
 Et si sachiez, par le mien serement, 5
 que c'estoit celle que fist Pymalion,
 car elle avoit les cheveux d'Absalon,
 les yeulx jaspar, corps, port, et vis d'Elaine.
 Et si chantoit trop miex une chançon
 que onques ne fist Orpheus ne Seraine. 10

Mais elle fist comme Herodés ou plus,
 et si avoit vestu le vestement
 de Dalida et Taÿs, que vestus
 furent d'orgueil en fait et en jouvent.
 Parmi le bec de l'aiglete patent 15
 choisi Leo qui le tint par le gron.
 Avec Cancer si repris compaignon,
 Capricornus qui marchéant fu de graine,
 qui m'ayda mieulx en ma conclusion
 qu'onques ne fist Orpheus ne Seraine. 20

Et pour ce fu Loth par moy retenus
 avec Job, qui estoient patient.

4 *yimage* could be masculine or feminine in OF.

6-7 The statue of Pygmalion and the hair of Absalom are mentioned in X 14-15 above. See notes.

8 'Body, bearing, and face of Helen': for *port*, see T-L 7.1571-72.

10 *que onques*: read *qu'onques*. Orpheus and the Sirens are, of course, figures of prodigious musical powers. For Orpheus, see Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.1-105 and 11.1-66; and for the Sirens, ultimately from the *Odyssey*, see *Metamorphoses* 5.551-563.

11 'But she treated me like Herodias (treated John the Baptist), or worse....'

13 *Thaïs* is the name (1) of an Egyptian courtesan of the fourth century A.D., converted to Christianity by St. Paphnutius, (2) of a mistress of Alexander, and (3) of a courtesan in Terence's *Eunuchus*. The last appears in Dante's *Inferno* 18.127-136. Jud 16:4-22 presents Delilah's betrayal of Samson. Cf. IX 16.

15 *patent*: 'wide open'.

16 *gron*: variant of *giron*, 'tunic, cloak', or the edge or tail of same. T-L 4.331 records the expression *prendre a. par le giron* with the gloss 'auf jem. die Hand legen, jem. mit Beschlag belegen (rechtssymbol.)'. Our *tint par le gron* seems to be related. The expression can be found with the same meaning in *Aye d'Avignon. Chanson de geste anonyme*, ed. S. J. Borg (Geneva, 1967), 1. 235:

Entre moi e mon frere, que *tieng par le giron*.

gron recurs, but with the meaning 'lap', in XIV 5. *le* is Picard for *la*, referring to fem. *l'aiglete* (see VIII 61 and note).

Like Geoffrey in the *House of Fame*, l. 965, the narrator here sees the 'ayerrish bestes', i.e., the animals of the zodiac. The lion (Leo) figuratively holds the eagle by the *gron*. Capricorn, 'merchant of grain', is the sign which ushers in winter, the time for buying feed for livestock.

22 This line lacks a caesura, unless we emend to *avecque* and read *estoient* as two syllables.

D'ilec yssi et fis tant que fui jus,
 asseürez comme Artus de sa gent.
 Adont laissay aler priveement 25
 jus de mon poing gayement le couloun
 que Salemon fist message de non
 a la roïne Sebile la certaine,
 qui recorda plus jolie oroïson
 qu'onques ne fist Orpheus ne Seraine. 30

Adont guetay tant dessus et de jus
 qu'on lui donna a un hanap d'argent
 du buvrage dont noya Apoüs. f. 6rb
 Lors m'atourna de son cor haultement;
 Cupido fort et amoureusement 35
 au son sailli sur le cheval Jason,
 qui fust en Ynde et occist le dragon
 pour Medee des Mediens souveraine,
 qui me chanta trop plus doloureux son
 qu'onques ne fist Orpheus ne Seraine. 40

23 *fui] fu* ms. The narrator leaves the eagle at this point and alights on the ground.

25-30 The Queen of Sheba, who visited Solomon and was deeply impressed with his wisdom and magnificence (1 Reg 10:1-13, 2 Par 9:1-12), is perhaps identifiable with a familiar romance name, Queen Sebile. See Louis-Fernand Flutre, *Table des noms propres avec toutes leurs variantes figurant dans les romans du Moyen Age écrits en français ou en provençal* (Poitiers, 1962), s.v. 'Sebile'; also Lucy Allen Paton, *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, 2nd edition (New York, 1960), pp. 51-53, for the tradition of Sebile. The passage here, which has Solomon sending the queen a message, possibly draws on a tradition shared by John Lydgate's fifteenth-century poem, 'Epistle to Sybile', ed. Henry MacCracken, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate* (EETS ES 107; London, 1911), pp. 14-18, which is a paraphrase of Prov 31:10-31 (*mulier fortis*), one of the more famous passages in the writings attributed to Solomon.

27 The scribe has barred lightly through *le sage* between *fist* and *message*. *de non*: 'renowned, famous'; cf. XV 12 and T-L 6.745.

28 *roïne*: see p. 37 above.

33 *Apoüs* is perhaps Alpheus, the river god of Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 5.572-641, who mingled his waters with the pool that Arethusa became to escape him. If the reference of the possessive *son* is to Alpheus, the river god perhaps gains the horn from association with Triton, sea-god and son of Neptune, whose usual attribute is a conch horn. Virgil, *Aeneid* 5.824, uses 'Tritones' as a generic name for sea-gods. For Triton's horn, see also *Aeneid* 6.171-174 and *Metamorphoses* 1.330-338 and 2.8.

36-40 For Jason's killing the dragon, see note to VIII 45-49. In speaking of the 'horse of Jason', our author has perhaps confused Jason and Perseus; in *Metamorphoses* 4.772-786, Ovid narrates the birth of Pegasus from the blood of Medusa when Perseus slew her. Or it may be that classical mythology does not provide the most relevant originals for the narrator's guides, the eagle and the horse, despite the Latin names attached to them. In two oriental tales, as here, the central figure is carried first by a great bird to an exotic locale, then taken further by a magical

La Mort happe Cupido et Venus,
 et dansay tant qu'encore m'en repent,
 car entrez sui en l'ostel Dedalus;
 ne je ne sceu de quel part issir ent.
 Ou lit Gauvain m'endormi longuement, 45
 et la songay que veoye Sanson
 rere tout jus, deffacier sa façon;
 si tressailli, mais je veil qu'on me traine
 se je ne fu mieux trompez a claron
 qu'onques ne fist Orpheus ne Seraine. 50

L'envoy

Prince, je fu en si hideux prison
 que j'en perdi sens fors l'alaine.
 Ce fist Amours, pas ne le descripts on,
 car plus y puet qu'Orpheus ne Seraine.

PASTOURELLE AMOUREUSE [XII]

Es plus lons jours de la saint Jehan d'esté
 trovay Robin et Maret a plain champs.
 Or primes yert l'aube du jour crevé;
 brebis furent joyeusement paissans,

horse; see William Alexander Clouston, *On the Magical Elements in Chaucer's Squire's Tale* (Chaucer Society, 2nd Ser., 26; London, 1890), pp. 283-85. But neither the oriental horses nor Pegasus sings, as this horse does.

44 We understand *ent* = *en*, adverb with verb of motion, for a labored rhyme; it is indeed separated in the ms. from the infinitive. Translate: 'And I did not know which way to leave.'

45 Gawain's adventure in 'le lit de la merveille' is narrated in the Perceval romances. See Chrétien de Troyes, *Le conte du Graal*, ed. Félix Lecoy, 2 vols. (Paris, 1975), II. 7445-7630.

47 Samson is shaven by Delilah in Jud 16:19.

48 *qu'on*] *q* ms.

48-50 '... but I want someone to draw me (with horses) if I wasn't more fooled by the horn than ever Orpheus or the Siren did (deceive anyone by their music).'

50 *fis*] *fu* ms.

51 The narrator's vision experiences in both poems X and XI have endings thoroughly disagreeable to him.

52 The second hemistich lacks two syllables, complicating the interpretation of this line.

53 *descripts on* and *descripson* are equally possible.

1 John the Baptist's birth is celebrated 24 June, so that his season includes some of the longest days of the year. Yet, by the end of this brief poem, day has run its course.

chascun avoit hoquet, houle, et blans wans, 5
 boete ongnement, et mastin a coler.
 Li bergiers va la bergiere acoler
 en disant: 'Belle, mieux vous ayn que Tristans
 n'ama Yseut, qui tant fust souffissans, f. 6va
 chantant, riant, et plaine de beaux dis. 10
 Je vous di voir, gentils fleur odorans,
 corps gracieux, vrays humains paradis.'

Elle respont: 'Vous m'avez bien loé,
 mais s'ainsi fust qu'aussi feusse doubtans,
 vostre seroye, je vous dy verité. 15
 Estre le doy, tant comme seray vivans;
 car tout aussi que courtailliers entans
 est le greffe en l'ente pour le enter
 sui je en vous entee pour enter,
 et vous en moy; de bon hait neant entans, 20
 c'est trestout un come chose traictans,
 je te dy voir. Cante un po, doulz amis,
 et je seray d'encoste toy dansans,
 corps gracieux, vrays humains paradis.'

Elle, qui sist lez sen destre costé, 25
 crie: 'Hay! Soleil, soyés moy respondans:
 quant m'aras tu cest bien reintegré,
 ce que me tauls? Or ne sçay dire quans
 de douleurs sent. Mort, prens ceste mescans.
 Aÿ, beauls jours! Tu m'as mort et tué. 30
 Lasse! Lasse! que t'as petit duré.'
 Et Robin dist: 'Le cuer me feust crevans

7 *Li bergiers*] *Uns bergiers* ms.

14 *doubtans*] *doublans* ms.

17-20 'For just as the gardener grafts the shoot into the plant in order to graft it, thus am I grafted in you as a graft, and you in me.' In the following two lines, the sense is even more vexed.

18 *le enter*: read *l'enter*.

25 *sist*] *fist* ms.

26-31 In Maret's reproach of the sun and the *beauls jours* for their short stay, there is an inversion of the 'aubade' in which day and the sun are reproved for coming too quickly and night for departing too soon. Cf. Chaucer's aubade passage, also late (c. 1386) in the tradition, in *Troilus and Criseyde* 3.1422-70.

27 *m'aras tu cest*] *maras cest* ms. For the emendation, cf. XV 13.

se ne feust ce, que serons retournans
 demain matin et toutes noz brebis.
 Si danserons, mais qu'il face beau temps, 35
 corps gracieux, etc.'

L'envoy

Prince, la fust Robin Maret disans:
 'Quant jour failli, se Diex me soit aidans,
 je ne cuidoye qu'il feust que midis,
 mais il est nuys, dont je sui tresdolens, 40 f. 6vb
 corps gracieux, vrays humains paradis.'

SERVENVOIS PASTOUREL [XIII]

S'Amours n'estoit plus puissant que Nature,
 il n'est bergier qui peüst endurer
 l'ennuy des champs, le chault ne la froidure,
 ne le mal temps. Mais le deduit d'amer
 leur fait porter et le chault et le froit 5
 si plaisamment, que se chascun tenoit
 la richesce qu'a son encestre fu,
 s'est li mestiers de si noble vertu
 que nulz bergiers laisser ne le voudroit.

Car Sens et Foy, Raison, Droit, et Mesure 10
 font si leurs cuers de tous vices curer,
 que chascun maint en vie nete et pure,
 ne ilz n'ont cuer qui a mal puist penser.
 Mais quant bergiers le beau temps aperçoit
 et ses brebis tresbien pasturer voit, 15
 et de s'amie ot le chant et le hu,
 de joye sent si son cuer esmeü
 com s'estre roys d'un royaume devoyt.

1-48 The praise of the shepherd's life in this lyric invites comparison with the famous 'Dit de Franc Gontier' by the poet-musician Philippe de Vitry (1291-1361), ed. Arthur Piaget, 'Le chapel des fleurs de lis par Philippe de Vitry', *Romania* 27 (1898) 63-64. The dramatic situation, in which the narrator witnesses and reports a pastoral interlude, found in most pastourelles and in Vitry's poem, is not duplicated in this serventois, but the description is nevertheless quite circumstantial and vivid. This is the only poem among the fifteen lyrics which lacks a refrain.

Si me merueille comment nul met sa cure
 fors en la vie prisier et honnourer, 20
 qui si bonne est quë ilz d'orgueil n'ont cure.
 Et puet on bien par leur habit prouver:
 car se chascun souhait d'abit avoit,
 n'aueroient il – et ce est de leur droit –
 fors une houce et le juppel vestu, 25
 ou de beurel un seurecot fort cousu,
 mais cure n'ont de garnement estroit.

Pour ce n'est il si douce nourriture
 com des jouvent tout son temps dispenser f. 7ra
 en poursuivre les champs et la pasture 30
 en bergerois. Qu'on puet veoir au cler,
 que ce sont gens que Bonne Amour pourvoit
 de sens, d'onneur; par quoy s'amour n'estoit,
 de trestous biens seroient tel gent nu;
 mais la grace ont qu'an amer sont vray dru, 35
 par tant Amours faillir ne leur porroit.

Dont a bien cilz plenté d'envoiseüre
 qui adés a voulu continuer
 tout son vivant en la vie seüre
 que bergiers ont; pour ce, a droit parler 40
 il n'est vivant, je croy, s'il le savoit
 autre labour du tout en tout lairoit
 se de leur vie avoit le bien sentu,
 car il n'y a fors que soulas et ju
 en tel vie mener a bel exploit. 45

L'envoy

Prince, depuis que l'estoille apparu

23 'had a desire for (fine) clothing'.

35 *qu'an*] *quant* ms. Cf. XV 45.

38 Weak caesura.

40 *ont pour ce*] *ont et pour ce* ms.

41-43 In spite of the anacoluthon, the meaning is clear: 'There is no one alive who, once he'd heard of the pleasures of shepherding, would not leave any other job behind completely....'

44 The reduction of the diphthong *eu* > *u* is not unusual in Picard; see Gossen, § 25.

46 According to Mt 2:2, the star was seen by the Magi, but the inference is easily drawn that the shepherds saw the star as well as the angels. Cf. the envoy and note in *pastourelle* I above.

aux pastoureaux, le a Dieus bien volu
si que chascun le mestier amer doit.

PASTOURELLE [XIV]

Decha Brimeu sur un ridel
coisi Maret la fille Ansel
qui brebis et moutons garda
droit au dessoubz d'un vert ourmel.
En son gron tenoit son wadel 5
et si canta.
La vint Brun qui les salua
en disant: 'Douche, sans amer
.....
trop vous aim par especial.' 10
Elle respont: 'Alez glaner
et pensez d'un autre ruser. f. 7rb
Tant grate chievre que gist mal.'

'Nouvelle, bon saint Gabriel!
dist chieux qu'onques mais ouÿ tel, 15
'se Dieu plaist, tout a bien venra.
Comment m'est elle si cruel?
Orains lui donnay men wastel
qui cauls esta.'
Elle respont: 'Veés le la; 20
je n'en daigneroye gouster;
vilains estes du reprouver.

47 The neuter pronoun *le* anticipates the final line. See Ménard, § 47.

1 *Brimeu*: modern Brimeux, 5 km from Montreuil-sur-Mer (near Calais).

5 *gron*: here 'lap'; cf. XI 16.

9 Line omitted.

13 This proverb is recorded in Joseph Morawski, *Proverbes français antérieurs au xv^e siècle* (Paris, 1925) as no. 2297. Its source is the collection *Li proverbe au vilain. Die Sprichwörter des gemeinen Mannes...*, ed. Adolf Tobler (Leipzig, 1895). It is found in a similar context in Bartsch, *Romanzen und Pastourellen* II.12 75.

15 *chieux*: Picard form for *cils* (NS).

18 *wastel*: 'small cake, pastry'.

Je le vous dy, par fel, senz gal:
 vo quief y porriez hurter,
 qu'a l'uis d'un sourt pour ens entrer. 25
 Tant grate chievre que git mal.'

'Las', dist il, 'quel parler mortel.
 Ce sont des mos lua Abel,
 qui de paradis tresbuca. 30
 Puis que noua l'arche Noel
 et qu'on fonda la tour Babel
 et esleva,
 femme ainsi gens ne ravala.'
 'Brun', dist elle, 'or du souffler!
 Mais foy que je doy saint Omer, 35
 s'aviez teste de metal
 et langue d'acier pour parler,
 en parlant le porriez user.
 Tant grate chievre que gist mal.

'S'eussiez par moy Raguel, 40
 qui fu varlés de Thobiel,
 fil Thobie que Dieux ama,
 par quoy il ot Sare l'ainsnel
 fille de son oncle Gabel
 et l'espousa; 45 f. 7va
 vers moy ne tarderoit il ja.'

23-25 Meaning unclear.

28-29 In the Bible, Brun to the contrary, Abel has not been mentioned when Adam and Eve are driven from Paradise.

30 *noua*: here 'sailed' (< *noer*, 'to swim').

33 *ravala*: 'treated with disdain, scorned'. Used with the same meaning in Froissart's *Pastourelle* XIX 37 (*Poésies* 2.349).

35 *or du souffler*: probably colloquial for 'Shut up!'. St. Omer (Audomarus) was a seventh-century bishop of Thérouanne in northeast France.

36 This line is one syllable short, unless *aviez* has three syllables.

37 See note to VIII 55.

40 This line is one syllable short, unless *s'eussiez* counts for four syllables.

40-46 Maret is not exact in her account of Tobias, based on the deuterocanonical Book of Tobit. Raguel is kinsman instead of varlet of Tobias (Tob 6:12), and he rather than Gabael is father of Sarah (3:7) whom Tobias marries. The precise meaning of this passage is not clear, but Maret seems to be taunting Brun that a man like Tobias, who insisted on marrying Sarah despite the deaths of seven previous fiancés, would not have delayed in claiming her. She thereby eggs him into trying his own luck, to his ultimate discomfort.

Adont ala Brunes tranler
 et dist: 'Tout faut aventurer.'
 Atant l'accolé par trigal
 et elle commence a crier 50
 si que les vauls fist responner:
 'Tant grate chievre que gist mal.'

Quant Robines oÿ parler,
 si sault et ahert un tibel
 et courut tant qu'il vint droit la. 55
 Brun frappa dessus le musel
 tant qu'il lui rompi char et pel;
 pour ce sainna.
 Bruns illecques s'agenouilla
 et Robins l'ala pourpiler 60
 si qu'a poy ne le fist crever.
 Et puis le toilla ou bodal,
 disans: 'Layés m'amie ester
 et ne vueilliez pas oublier:
 tant grate chievre que gist mal.' 65

L'envoy

Princes, Brun revint sans parler,
 puis dist, je l'ouÿ souspirer:
 'Tant grate chievre que gist mal.'

SERVENTOIS [XV]

Par bas cavech et pesant couverture

47 *tranler*: 'tremble'. The development is Picard; see Gossen, § 61.

49 *par trigal*: 'passionately'. Cf. the verb *trigaler*, which Godefroy 8.75 defines, 'mener une vie de débauche'.

54 *tibel*: variant of *tinél*; see T-L 10.293-94. Godefroy does not record the form.

60 *Robins*] *Robers* ms. *pourpiler*: 'to beat him up'; Godefroy 6.301 cites but one example with this meaning, 'fouler'.

62 *le toilla ou bodal*: 'shoved him into the mud'; *toilla* is a preterite form of OF *tooillier*, 'trainer qn. (dans la boue, etc.), salir en renversant' (FEW 13.392-93); *bodal* is most likely a deformation of *boue* for the rhyme. However, if one understands *bodal* as a deformation of OF *boude*, *boudine* (mod. Fr. *bedaine*) and corrects *toilla* to *roilla*, then read 'struck him in the gut'.

1 *cavech*: perhaps a form of *chevecel*, *cheveceul*, 'pillow'.

ay maintesfois vrayement songié ch'Aymon,
 et l'endemain sens pourtrait ne peinture
 j'en ay veü le plus grant porcion.
 L'autrier songay que veyoie un lyon 5
 qui estoit noirs et accolé l'avoit
 un grant liepart qui de fin or sambloit, f. 7vb
 et au dessus d'icelle accolée
 dame se sist qu'une reue tournoit,
 qui se nommoit Fortune la derree. 10

Ycilz liepars qu'ot couronnée hure
 disoit souvent a le dame de nom:
 'Pourquoy m'as tu de te reue inseüre
 desmis? Di moy, j'en sui en grant frichon.'
 Elle respont: 'Quant Dieu fait du buief don 15
 pas ne le livre par les cornes, de droit;

2 The line is hypermetric and unclear. *ch'Aymon* = *com Aymon*, 'dreamed like Aymon'? Highly conjectural. Aymon (or Emenidus) is an important figure in the Alexander romances (see note to X 54), but there do not seem to be any important dreams of his reported in those works. Nor does the Aymon of the William of Orange cycle have any noteworthy dreams.

5-7 This poem involves a political allegory, built about the heraldic emblems of (1) the house of Flanders, a black lion on a field of gold (ll. 5-6, 42); (2) England, a golden leopard (l. 7; in French the lion passant emblematic of England was a 'lion pardé' or leopard); and (3) France, the fleur-de-lis on an azure field (l. 32). In about 1380 Deschamps wrote a *chant royal* (*Œuvres complètes* 2.159-61) attacking Louis de Male (1333-84) in the guise of the 'lion noir'; near this time he also wrote two ballades (*Œuvres complètes* 1.106-107 and 5.350-51) in which he presents the leopard as about to be attacked by beasts that represent France and her allies. In the *serventois* here an alliance of England and Flanders in opposition to the fleur-de-lis clearly provides the subject. The poet is probably writing some time before 1369, the year when Louis de Male's daughter Marguerite married Philip of Burgundy, brother of Charles V, which reduced the danger of the military alliance between Flanders and England concluded in 1367 (see Pirenne, *Histoire* 2.187-89). Flanders constantly vacillated between England and France so that several sets of events after the opening of the Hundred Years War in 1337 might agree with the general presentation, but the uncertain meaning of some passages makes speculation difficult.

11-14 The crowned leopard, now cast from Fortune's wheel, must represent specifically Edward III (reigned 1327-77), who had continual trouble with his allies in the Hundred Years War and more than once seemed either adopted or disowned by Fortune. The years 1356-61 saw the high point of his reign, and the situation deteriorated afterward till his death. But there had been highs and lows before.

12 See note to XI 27.

13 *te*: Picard for the possessive adjective *ta* (see Gossen, § 67).

15-16 This proverbial statement is collected by Morawski, *Proverbes français*, no. 580 and also by James Woodrow Hassell, Jr., *Middle French Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases* (Toronto, 1982), B116 (p. 55). It implies that one must work diligently for whatever one receives. An English equivalent is given in *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (Oxford, 1970), p. 309: 'God gives the cow, but not by the horn.'

aussi n'a on sans paine ce qu'on voit
 quant assis est sus me reue doree,
 terre ne mer, s'il ne te souffissoit;
 je le te dy com Fortune derree. 20

'Quant damps Orguelz, qu'est de me nourreture,
 et Fauls Cuidiers, le servant de maison,
 t'orent assis – entens ceste figure –
 dessus me reue et droit ou couperon,
 tu ne daignas Dieu, homme, ne Raison. 25
 Se Jhesu Crist qui tout puet t'ordenoit
 pour chastoier du peuple qu'il avoit,
 c'estoit en temps; si que remest t'espee,
 t'az bien mestier de carier tresdroit.'
 Ainsi disoit Fortune la derree. 30

Lez c'enimi et Leo sans armeure
 sist le lis d'or en azur qu'estoit bon.
 Par doulz ratrect, en pesant nourreture,
 choisi maint ours, maint cengliour, maint griffon, 35
 obeissans a le lis de renon.
 Quant li lyons s'aperçoit et voit,
 au fier lieppart le moustra, puis disoit:
 'Or pues tu veir te feste retournee:
 chu pules la obeïr te souloit, f. 8ra
 ce t'a brassé Fortune la derree.' 40

18 *assis est sus*] *assis sus* ms. *me*: Picard for the possessive adjective *ma* as also in ll. 21, 24, 46.

21 *nourreture*: here and in l. 33 it appears to have the figurative meaning, 'lineage'.

24 i.e., 'right on the top'.

25 *tu ne daignas*: 'you had nothing to do with'; see T-L 2.1315.

27-29 Meaning uncertain. Perhaps: 'If Jesus Christ the Almighty ordered you (in the past) to punish his people, it was proper; (now) you must conduct yourself most fittingly (*carier tresdroit*, see Godefroy 9.49) and put up your sword.'

30 *disoit*] *disot* ms.

31 *c'enimi* (?). In line with the allegory developed in this poem, we might expect a proper name to signify England, as *Leo* signifies Flanders. But perhaps what we have is a garbling of 'his enemy' (*son enemi*), referring to the lily's opponent, England.

33 *pesant*: 'powerful, important'.

36 The second hemistich lacks a syllable; perhaps read *se aperçoit*.

39 *chu pules la* is Picard for 'ce peuple-là'. For the forms, consult Gossen, §§ 52 (*pules*) and 64 (*chu*).

Du grant lieppart coisi gris et denture,
 mais le lyon qu'en or fait mansion
 lui disoit haut: 'Saturne ne Cheüre
 ne luisent plus pour ti ny en ton nom.
 Si ay grant peur qu'an le conclusion 45
 me grant forest exillie n'en soit.
 Se ten paÿs a le fleur s'appaisoit,
 chascun courroit sur moy gueule baeë,
 et toy aussi.' Et de ces mos rioit
 et se moquoit Fortune la dervee. 50

L'envoy

Princes, adont li miens cuers s'esveilloit
 qui longuement et fort songié avoit;
 se tressailli et eus en ma pensee
 quë assez tost s'averoit son pouoir
 a gens plusieurs, s'aucuns exposeroit 55
 ce qu'ay songié de Fortune dervee.

University of Texas at Austin.

43-44 *Cheüre* (?), or read *Chevre*, which would destroy the rhyme, but could refer to Capricorn. The general meaning seems to be: 'The stars no longer shine for your benefit.'

44 *ti*: another Picard dialectal form (see Gossen, § 65).

45 *ay grant peur qu'an*] *ay tresgrant peur quant* MS. Cf. XIII 35.

46 For the reduction of *-iëe* to *-ie* in Picard, see Gossen, § 8.

47 *ten* for *ton*. See Gossen, § 66.

54 *s'averoit*] *saveroie* MS.

ILLVSTRE CIVITATIS ET POPVLI EXEMPLVM:

PLATO'S *TIMAEVS* AND THE TRANSMISSION
FROM CALCIDIVS TO THE END OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY
OF A TRIPARTITE SCHEME OF SOCIETY

Paul Edward Dutton

MEDIEVAL thinkers were wont to conceive of society as composed of three orders of men. In this they were the recipients, as Georges Dumézil has established, of a tradition of social speculation stretching back to the beginnings of Indo-European culture itself.¹ Despite the considerable interest which medievalists have shown in the various evocations of the theme,² one particular formulation has been neglected: readers of Plato's *Timaeus*, as translated and commented on by Calcidivus, encountered a specific tripartite division of society.³ Yves Congar freely admitted that it was difficult to say if the Platonic

¹ Among the many works of Georges Dumézil which address this subject, see *L'idéologie tripartite des Indo-Européens* (Collection Latomus 31; Brussels, 1958) and *Mythe et épopée: l'idéologie des trois fonctions dans les épopées des peuples indo-européens*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1968-73).

² See especially Georges Duby, *Les trois ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme* (Paris, 1978); Daniel Dubuisson, 'L'Irlande et la théorie médiévale des "trois ordres"', *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 188.1 (1975) 35-63; Jacques Le Goff, 'Note sur société tripartite, idéologie monarchique et renouveau économique dans la chrétienté du ix^e au xii^e siècle' in *L'Europe aux ix^e-xi^e siècles*, eds. T. Manteuffel and A. Gieysztor (Warsaw, 1968), pp. 63-72 and reprinted in Jacques Le Goff, *Pour un autre Moyen Age. Temps, travail et culture en occident: 18 essais* (Paris, 1977), pp. 80-90, and Le Goff, 'Les trois fonctions indo-européennes, l'historien et l'Europe féodale', *Annales: E.S.C.* 34 (1979) 1187-1215; Otto Gerhard Oexle, 'Die funktionale Dreiteilung der "Gesellschaft" bei Adalbero von Laon: Deutungsschemata der sozialen Wirklichkeit im früheren Mittelalter', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 12 (1978) 1-54; and Claude Carozzi, ed. and trans., *Adalbéron de Laon, Poème au roi Robert* (Les classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Age 32; Paris, 1979), pp. cxix-cxxxv.

³ Two exceptions should be mentioned: Gaines Post, *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought: Public Law and the State, 1100-1322* (Princeton, 1964), pp. 505-508 drew attention to the importance of the *Timaeus* for concepts of justice in general, and Tilman Struve, *Die Entwicklung der organologischen Staatsauffassung im Mittelalter* (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 16; Stuttgart, 1978), has insisted upon the importance of the *Timaeus* for the development of organic theories of state, particularly as a background for John of Salisbury's political thought.

scheme of the three orders had played any role in the development of the theme in the Middle Ages.⁴ Another scholar went so far as to dismiss the *Timaeus* as a source for social tripartition, at least for the early Middle Ages, because he believed that Calcidius' translation had obscured an already obscure reference to the three orders in Plato's dialogue.⁵

The purpose of this article is to draw together, for the first time, a significant number of references to this Platonic scheme of society from both edited and unedited sources. The image in question is so specific in character – three functional groups of men inhabiting a city-state which can be likened to the pattern of both the cosmos and the human body – that it is possible to trace its transmission through a series of stages. The first of these (examined below in part I) was Calcidius' reception and explication of Plato's idea of the city-state as sketched in the prologue to the *Timaeus*. Then, after centuries of comparative neglect, the renewed reading of the *Timaeus* in the twelfth century brought about a recovery of the image. In the first half of the century the glossators of the text (to be considered in part II) established a more or less standard gloss on the passage in question. This popularization of the image of the city-state led in turn, around the middle of the twelfth century, to a fairly widespread circulation of the idea among learned men generally linked with Chartres (the subject of part III). Beyond merely collecting and presenting the transmission of these overlooked references to the three orders, I want to suggest to the reader that the appearance, popularity, and ultimate eclipse of the *illustre ciuitatis et populi exemplum* in the twelfth century arose quite naturally out of contact with a specific text. We need not, in other words, reduce every medieval mention of the three orders to issues of prevailing social and political realities. Men might more simply have encountered a text which they did not know before. In employing the Platonic image of the city-state, these thinkers were making primary reference to the *Timaeus*. It is this tradition of interest in the political material of the *Timaeus* which we need to add to our knowledge of the history of the three orders.

I

In book 3 of the *Republic* (412A-417B) Plato divided the classes of his ideal city into three functional groups: wise rulers governing the city, soldiers or

⁴ 'Les laïcs et l'ecclésiologie des *ordines* chez les théologiens des XI^e et XII^e siècles' in *I laici nella 'societas christiana' dei secoli XI et XII* (Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali 5; Milan, 1968), p. 90 [83-117]. In *Les trois ordres* Duby, for instance, makes no mention of the influence of either the *Timaeus* or Calcidius' commentary. Moreover, he could find no trifunctional image of society between the end of the eleventh century and the middle of the twelfth (p. 323).

⁵ Jean Batany, 'Des "trois fonctions" aux "trois états"?', *Annales: E.S.C.* 18 (1963) 936 [933-38], referring to *Timaeus* 23E.

auxiliaries guarding it, and the rest (artisans, laborers, and farmers) providing for it. Later he identified reason, courage, and appetite as three principles operating in the soul of man (436A) which correspond to the classes making up the city (580D-581E).⁶ Although the *Republic* was widely known by reputation, only bits and pieces of the actual work filtered through to the medieval Latin world.⁷ Macrobius briefly spoke of the respective *Republics* of Plato and Cicero at the start of his *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*.⁸ Apuleius, in his résumé of Plato and his teachings, reported upon both the *Timaeus* and the *Republic*.⁹ But the most important source for knowledge of the social material of the *Republic* available to medieval thinkers was the *Timaeus* itself.¹⁰ This Platonic dialogue was translated into Latin by both Cicero and Calcidius; the latter's translation, though terminating midway through the work at 53c, is still the more complete version. Perhaps because it was also accompanied by a commentary, Calcidius' rendering was the more popular and influential of the two.¹¹

⁶ See Francis M. Cornford, 'Psychology and Social Structure in the *Republic* of Plato', *The Classical Quarterly* 6 (1912) 246-65; Dumézil, *Mythe et épopée* 1.493-96; and Bernard Sergent, 'Les trois fonctions des Indo-Européens dans la Grèce ancienne: bilan critique', *Annales: E.S.C.* 34 (1979) 1173-76 [1155-86].

⁷ On the fortune of Plato's works in the Middle Ages, see Raymond Klibansky, *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition during the Middle Ages: Outlines of a Corpus Platonicum Medii Aevi* (London, 1939, rpt. 1950; rpt. with new preface and supplement, 1981). The supplement to the new edition, pp. 66-67, contains, it should be noted, a partial edition of a fourteenth-century commentary on the *Timaeus* found in Vatican ms. Chigi E. V. 152. This text had been discovered and edited by Édouard Jeuneau, 'Gloses sur le *Timée* et commentaire du *Timée* dans deux manuscrits du Vatican', *Revue des études augustiniennes* 8 (1962) 370-73 [365-73] and reprinted in Jeuneau, *Lectio philosophorum: Recherches sur l'École de Chartres* (Amsterdam, 1973), pp. 200-203 [195-203].

⁸ *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 1.1, ed. J. Willis (Leipzig, 1963), pp. 1-3.

⁹ Apuleius touches upon material of relevance to the tripartite division of society in *De Platone et eius dogmate* 1.13 and 2.24, ed. Paul Thomas, *Apulei Platonici Madaurensis Opera quae supersunt*, vol. 3: *De philosophia libri* (Stuttgart, 1970), pp. 97, 127-29. On this work, see Claudio Moreschini, *Studi sul 'De dogmate Platonis' di Apuleio* (Studi di lettere, storia e filosofia 29; Pisa, 1966).

¹⁰ On the relation of the social material of the prologue of the *Timaeus* to the *Republic*, see Anders Olerud, *L'idée de macrocosmos et de microcosmos dans le 'Timée' de Platon: étude de mythologie comparée* (Uppsala, 1951), pp. 34-35.

¹¹ Cicero's translation runs from *Timaeus* 27D to 47B, with the rest apparently lost; see the edition of Remo Giomini in *M. Tulli Ciceronis scripta quae manserunt omnia*, vol. 46: *De diuinatione, De fato, Timaeus* (Leipzig, 1975), and also A. C. Clark, *The Descent of Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1918; rpt. 1969), pp. 337-40. On the nature of his translation of Plato, see Roland Poncelet, *Cicéron, traducteur de Platon: l'expression de la pensée complexe en latin classique* (Paris, 1957) and Remo Giomini, *Ricerche sul testo del Timeo ciceroniano* (Studi e saggi 9; Rome, 1967). On the mss. of Calcidius' translation of the *Timaeus*, see Margaret Gibson, 'The Study of the *Timaeus* in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Pensamiento* 25 (1969) 183-85 [183-94]; the extensive list of mss. containing Calcidius' translation assembled by J. H. Waszink, ed., *Timaeus*

At the outset of the *Timaeus* (17c) Socrates informs us that on the previous day he and his companions, four in number, had described what would be the best form of society and the sort of men who would compose it.¹² The work thus begins with a recapitulation of the previous day's discussion of the theme of the *Republic*. First off, Socrates reminds his listeners, they had separated farmers and craftsmen from the young men who were to be soldiers.¹³ Each member-group of the city was said to be blessed in some way by nature, but those who were to fight for the well-being of all had imposed upon them the duty of protecting the city against external or internal and domestic enemies (17c-18A). These soldiers were to act gently towards their own people, relatives, and friends, but fiercely towards foreign intruders and armed gatherings. The dialogue then outlines the double education of these highborn young men through exercise in the gymnasium and music for their souls (18A). They were not, Socrates notes, to possess gold or silver, but were to be satisfied with a form of tribute while they lived a common life in a garrison (18B). Next Plato proceeded to the issues of women, procreation, and the education of children (18c-19A). While recounting the myth of Atlantis, Critias, another interlocutor, describes how Solon once met an Egyptian priest who invited him to compare the ancient laws of Athens with those of his own time. He observed a similar separation of classes into priests, laborers (shepherds, hunters, and farmers), and soldiers (24A-B).¹⁴ But for medieval students of the *Timaeus* the important passage about social tripartition occurred at 17c and this was, in large part, due to Calcidius' striking commentary on it.

a Calcidio translatus commentarioque instructus, 2nd edition (Plato Latinus 4; London, 1975), pp. cvi-cxxxi; and Eckart Mensching, 'Zur Calcidius-Überlieferung', *Vigiliae christianae* 19 (1965) 42-56. For a comparison of the translating styles of Cicero and Calcidius, see the parallel texts supplied by Giomini, *Ricerche sul testo*, pp. 47-125 and Roland Poncelet, 'Deux aspects du style philosophique latin: Cicéron et Chalcidius, traducteurs du *Phèdre* 245c', *Revue des études latines* 28 (1950) 145-67.

¹² For an English translation, see Francis M. Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology: The 'Timaeus' of Plato Translated with a Running Commentary* (London, 1937), p. 9. See also the précis of Post, *Studies*, p. 506.

¹³ According to the version of Calcidius, ed. Waszink, p. 8, ll. 4-5: 'Nonne inter initia cultores agrorum ceterarumque artium professores a destinata bellicis negotiis iuuentute secreuimus?' This work had earlier been edited by J. Wrobel as *Timaeus interprete Chalcidio cum eiusdem commentario* (Leipzig, 1876).

¹⁴ Ed. Waszink, p. 16, ll. 2-9. Modern commentators have noted that this report of the Egyptian social system is also to be found in Herodotus, *Historiae* 2.164-68 and Isocrates, *Busiris* 15-20. See also the interpretation of this passage in the fragmentary commentary of Iamblichus, ed. John M. Dillon under the title *Iamblichi Chalcidensis in Platonis dialogos commentariorum fragmenta*, frag. 16 (*Philosophia antiqua* 23; Leiden, 1973), pp. 120-22, which does not seem to have influenced Calcidius.

Without an interpretation of the scheme suggested sketchily in the opening pages of the *Timaeus*, medieval readers would have been left somewhat in the dark about its fuller significance. But Calcidius, who seems to have lived and worked in the early part of the fourth century,¹⁵ knew the entire *Timaeus*, including sections 70A-D where the human body is compared in military terms to the workings of the city-state, and the *Republic*, which he frequently cites. Modern readers of the dialogue who have overlooked Calcidius' commentary have often failed to see the full medieval influence of the *Timaeus*. In the *accessus* to his commentary, Calcidius emphasizes the centrality of Socrates' summary of the *Republic* to the purpose of the *Timaeus*. For just as Socrates had introduced a likeness of the civil state (*effigies ciuilis rei publicae*), so Timaeus of Locri wished to understand the operations of this sensible cosmos as if in a universal city-state (*ueluti quadam communi urbe ac re publica*).¹⁶ This was the *illustre ciuitatis et populi exemplum* to which Calcidius turned in his commentary.

When commenting on the structure of the human body (*Timaeus* 44D-45B), Calcidius followed the lead of Plato in employing terms derived from a city-state to describe the parts and functions of the body.¹⁷ The head, for instance, is said to be located in a lofty and prominent place, the citadel of the whole body (*arx totius corporis*) and the home of reason.¹⁸ In the head, which is fashioned smooth and round like the world, the senses are located. These as if the messengers of reason and sign-bearers interrupt the deliberations of the mind and call it forth to record.¹⁹ In chapter 232 of his commentary Calcidius draws a

¹⁵ For recent consensus on Calcidius' dates, see John M. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists: A Study of Platonism, 80 B.C. to A.D. 200* (London, 1977), pp. 401-408, and John M. Rist, 'Basil's "Neoplatonism": Its Background and Nature' in *Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic. A Sixteen-Hundredth Anniversary Symposium* 1, ed. Paul Jonathan Fedwick (Toronto, 1981), pp. 151-55 [137-220]. On Calcidius' work and thought, see Waszink, *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus*, pp. ix-cvi and *Studien zur Timaios-kommentar des Calcidius*, vol. 1: *Die erste Hälfte des Kommentars (mit Ausnahme der Kapitel über die Weltseele)* (Philosophia antiqua 12; Leiden, 1964); Władisław Switalski, *Des Chalcidius Kommentar zu Plato's Timaeus: eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters 3.6; Münster, 1902); J. C. M. van Winden, *Calcidius on Matter: His Doctrine and Sources. A Chapter in the History of Platonism* (Philosophia antiqua 9; Leiden, 1959, rpt. 1965); Jan Franciszek Sulowski, 'Studies on Chalcidius: Anthropology, Influence, and Importance (General Outline)' in *L'homme et son destin d'après les penseurs du Moyen Age. Actes du premier Congrès international de philosophie médiévale, Louvain-Bruxelles 28 août-4 septembre, 1958* (Louvain, 1960), pp. 153-61; J. den Boeft, *Calcidius on Fate: His Doctrine and Sources* (Philosophia antiqua 18; Leiden, 1970) and *Calcidius on Demons (Commentarius, ch. 127-136)* (Philosophia antiqua 33; Leiden, 1977).

¹⁶ *Accessus* 6, ed. Waszink, pp. 59-60.

¹⁷ See especially *Timaeus* 70A-71A.

¹⁸ *Comm.* 213, ed. Waszink, p. 228 and *Comm.* 231, p. 245.

¹⁹ *Comm.* 231, ed. Waszink, p. 245, ll. 7-8.

comparison between the cosmos and the human body since, of course, the parts of man follow the arrangement of the cosmic body.²⁰ The summit of the cosmos is crowded with divine powers; under these are angels and demons, and below these on earth are terrestrial powers. Celestial powers command, angelic powers carry out, and earthly things are ruled in this trispatial and trifunctional design of the cosmos.²¹ From this it follows that:

In the nature of man there is something royal, another is placed in the middle, and a third is set in the lowest part; it is the highest which commands, the middle which acts, and the third which is ruled and governed. Therefore the soul commands, the energy placed in its breast carries out, and the other parts of the body down to the genitals and below are ruled and managed.²²

Thus before elucidating the meaning of the social division found in the *Timaeus*, Calcidius linked the designs of the cosmos and the human body. In fact his consideration of the city-state was to be but another illustration of the tripartite nature of this scheme.

Calcidius begins chapter 233 of his commentary by announcing that he has discovered this same tripartite arrangement in the *Republic*.²³ There Plato, examining the question of justice, 'turned from the nature of one man to the famous example of a city and its people'²⁴ He saw, in other words, a parallel established between man's physical and social worlds:

He ordered the chief men of this city as the most prudent and wise to dwell in the highest places of the city, under these were to live the young soldiers outfitted with arms, to whom he subjected the tradesmen and masses, so that the chief men as ones full of wisdom might give orders, the soldiers might act and carry out, and the masses might furnish appropriate and useful service. So we see the soul also ordered: indeed its rational part as the wisest holds the chief part just like the Capitol of the whole body, its energy which is similar to temper is like young

²⁰ *Comm.* 232, ed. Waszink, p. 246.

²¹ *Comm.* 232, ed. Waszink, p. 246, ll. 15-19: 'ut summitas quidem sit dimensa caelestibus hisque subiecta diuinis potestatibus quae appellantur angeli et daemones, [in] terra uero terrestribus, et imperant quidem caelestia, exequuntur uero angelicae potestates, reguntur porro terrena, prima summum locum obtinentia, secunda medietatem, ea uero quae subiecta sunt imum'

²² *Comm.* 232, ed. Waszink, p. 246, ll. 20-23: 'In natura hominis est quiddam regale, est aliud quoque in medio positum, est tertium in imo, summum quod imperat, medium quod agit, tertium quod regitur et administratur. Imperat igitur anima, exequitur uigor eius in pectore constitutus, reguntur et dispensantur cetera pube tenus et infra.'

²³ *Comm.* 233, ed. Waszink, p. 246, ll. 24-25.

²⁴ *Comm.* 233, ed. Waszink, p. 247, ll. 1-2: 'ex unius hominis ingenio ad illustre ciuitatis et populi confugit exemplum' A version of the same expression occurs in *Accessus* 5, ed. Waszink, p. 59, l. 8. Cf. *Republic* 580D-581E.

soldiers abiding in camps of the heart, and the masses and tradesmen, that is, desire or passion, are hidden in the lower regions and are concealed by nature.²⁵

Knowing, then, of the fuller social theory of the *Republic*, Calcidius attempted to make sense of the inclusion of the social material of the prologue, specifically at 17c, in the overall cosmological content of the *Timaeus*.

The scheme, with its basic division into the highest, middle, and lowest, has an obvious and all-important comparative quality. Each tripartite scheme, in other words, supports the claims of the next to be a true and telling pattern. The entire sequence can be schematized as follows:²⁶

COSMOS		CITY-STATE		MAN	
Location	Orders with functions	Location	Orders	Location	Faculties
Summus	Caelestia imperant	Editiores urbis loci	Principales uiri: sapientes	Caput	Ratio
Medius	Angeli et dae- mones exequuntur et agunt	Castra	Militaris iuuentus	Pectus	Vigor, iracun- diae similis
Imus	Terrena reguntur	Inferiores loci	Sellularii et uulgares	Cetera pube tenus et infra	Cupiditas seu libido

The implications of this scheme for an understanding of the state are important, since a static, hierarchical, and elitist conception of the state could be justified by recourse to the nature of the human body: men were to obey those above them just as the members of the body are subject to the head; this is a theme which Calcidius stresses.²⁷ The exemplar for the entire scheme, both in order of

²⁵ *Comm.* 233, ed. Waszink, p. 247, ll. 2-12: 'Principales quidem urbis illius uiros ut prudentissimos sapientissimosque editiores urbis locos habitare iussit, post hos militarem atque in armis positam iuuentutem, quibus subiecit sellularios atque uulgares, ut illi quidem ut sapientes praecepta dent, militares agant atque exequantur, uulgares uero competens et utile praebeant ministerium. Sic animam quoque ordinatam uidemus: rationabilem quidem partem eius, ut sapientissimam, principem partem obtinentem tamquam totius corporis capitolium, uigorem uero qui est iracundiae similis ut militarem iuuentutem in cordis castris manentem, uulgare et sellularium, quod est cupiditas seu libido, inferioribus abditum occultatumque natura.'

²⁶ See also Struve, *Die Entwicklung*, pp. 67-71.

²⁷ See *Comm.* 235, ed. Waszink, pp. 247-48.

priority and presentation, is the cosmos, from which the trispatial design emerges. The cosmic pattern embraces the others and establishes the identities of their functional roles. Man, who stands at the bottom third of the macrocosm, possesses his own corporeal and social subsets of the larger design. In both of these subsets each member-part contributes to the well-being of the whole and its role is specified. Thus we have a system which recognizes both the position and function of its members. Interestingly enough the functions of the members change progressively from active to passive as they descend from top to bottom; the verbs employed by Calcidius reflect this functional shift from activity to passivity. The image of the city provides yet another demonstration of the way in which the relationships of members of the state are predetermined and delineated. Like the reality of the body and an all-inclusive cosmos, the city stands as a single, self-contained entity whose members must function properly in order to achieve a harmonious whole. Moreover, each tripartite division aids the reader in understanding the nature of the others. From the perspective of the city-state a set of similarities can be drawn. The courageous and impetuous nature of young soldiers, for instance, is like both the active agency of the angels and the energy found in the human heart. The masses and tradesmen are set in the furthest reaches of the city, at its periphery, as man himself is set in the cosmos. They are also associated with the genitals, the organs of desire and passion, which are placed far away from the head and are hidden by a covering of hair. On high, presiding over all, are the wise rulers who are, as imperial ideology would have it,²⁸ God-like and the height of wisdom in the state just as reason commands the citadel of the human head.

II

The *Timaeus* appears to have had little influence on social speculation in the west before the twelfth century. A suggestive parallel does arise, however, in the case of Corippus who wrote an elaborate poem celebrating the accession of the Byzantine Emperor Justin II in 565. Thinking of his new ruler, he asserts that wisdom is joined to the head, the citadel of the body (*corporis arx*), in order to rule the members of the body.²⁹ Senators are the breast of this body, while the inferior classes are lower down and protected by the head. But we should not forget that there was a tradition of imperial ideology along these lines.

²⁸ The postulated connection of Calcidius with the circle of Constantine should be kept in mind: see Rist, 'Basil's "Neoplatonism"', 155-59, and T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), pp. 73-76.

²⁹ *In laudem Iustini* 2, ed. Joseph Partsch (MGH *Auctores antiquissimi* 3; Berlin, 1879), pp. 131-33, ll. 186-274. On Corippus, see Averil Cameron, *Agathias* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 12-15.

Justinian's *Code*, repeating a similar pronouncement from the *Theodosian Code*, had referred to senators as part of the imperial body.³⁰ A later introduction to the *Institutes*, moreover, likened the imperial bureaucracy to the members of a body.³¹ But none of these references bears specific resemblance to the tripartite division of society outlined by Calcidius: they lack, in particular, the *illustre ciuitatis et populi exemplum* which is its distinguishing feature. They owe more, it would seem, to the familiar notion that the state is organic in nature, that it is another body.³²

In western Europe before the eleventh century the *Timaeus* seems, from the record of surviving manuscripts, to have had a restricted readership.³³ No hint of Calcidius' interpretation of its social scheme appears among Carolingian thinkers, who were supposedly on intimate terms with the text. The *Timaeus* was rather, as one scholar has suggested, a venerated curiosity,³⁴ admired but not systematically studied. Even Haimo of Auxerre's statement that among the Jews and Romans there were three orders, namely, senators, soldiers, and farmers, as distinguished from the division into priests, soldiers, and farmers prevailing in the church of his own day would seem to have been the expression of a late Carolingian commonplace,³⁵ one which became a familiar gloss on Revelation 5:9-10 at Laon.³⁶ If Haimo's tripartite formulae were among the first explicit expressions of this type, many more were to follow. During the Carolingian period the most popular division of society was into monks, clerics, and laymen (either *monachi*, *praelati et laici* or *continentes*, *praedicatores et coniugati*).³⁷ In the eleventh century, as Duby has illustrated, a

³⁰ *Codex Theodosianus* 9.14.3 and *Codex Justinianus* 9.8.5.

³¹ See Hermann Fitting, ed., *Juristische Schriften des früheren Mittelalters* (Halle, 1876; rpt. Aalen, 1965), p. 148.

³² On the organic metaphor of state in the Middle Ages, see especially Struve, *Die Entwicklung*. For the early medieval use of the theme, see Suzanne F. Wemple, 'Claudius of Turin's Organic Metaphor or the Carolingian Doctrine of Corporations', *Speculum* 49 (1974) 222-37.

³³ See Gibson, 'The Study of the *Timaeus*', 183-85.

³⁴ *ibid.*, 184.

³⁵ *Expositio in Apocalypsin* 1 (PL 117.953b1-6). Cf. Hrabanus Maurus, *De uniuerso* 16.4 (PL 111.452c14-d4) [the passage depends on Isidore, *Etymologiae* 9.4.7].

³⁶ At Laon the reading of Revelation led the masters to formulate a notion of the three orders: see Guy Lobrichon, *L'Apocalypse des théologiens au XII^e siècle* (Diss. École des Hautes Études en sciences sociales, l'Université de Paris X-Nanterre, 1979), pp. 148-65 and Duby, *Les trois ordres*, pp. 289-93. For other medieval formulations of the three orders, see the studies listed above in nn. 2, 4-5, and below in n. 37.

³⁷ See Giles Constable, *Monastic Tithes from Their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, N.S. 10; Cambridge, 1964), pp. 147-48. See also the background studies of F. Châtillon, 'Tria genera hominum: Noe, Daniel, et Job', *Revue du Moyen Age latin* 10 (1954) 169-76 and Georges Folliet, 'Les trois catégories de chrétiens' in *Augustinus Magister. Congrès international augustinien, Paris, 21-24 septembre 1954* 2 (Paris, 1954), pp. 631-44.

division into priests, warriors, and workers (*oratores, bellatores et laboratores*), which had earlier been employed in the circle of King Alfred, found new and pointed expression among royalists in northern France.³⁸ During the eleventh century as well the polemics of the Investiture Controversy had brought a series of dualistic distinctions of Christian society to the fore. A deep rethinking of the fundamentals of Christian society may well have led theorists to consider afresh man's place in nature, his standing in the scheme of things.³⁹ By the twelfth century there was a profusion of overlapping and often confusing ways to divide society into social, anthropological, theological, and political twos and threes. When speaking of church and society some thinkers simply chose to repeat a number of classificatory schemes as though this would encompass all.⁴⁰ The abundance of *ad status* statements in the twelfth century represents in part only the persistence of past expressions, but it may also reflect a new awareness – this is particularly true of sermons – of audience, or rather audiences. In view of the multiplicity and general confusion of competing conceptions of society,⁴¹ one might almost say that the early twelfth century witnessed a crisis

³⁸ *Les trois ordres*, pp. 25-81. For the Anglo-Saxon scheme of *gebedmen 7 fyrdmen 7 weorcmen*, see King Alfred's *Old English Version of Boethius' 'De consolazione philosophiae'*, ed. Walter John Sedgefield (Oxford, 1899), p. 40 and, for the formulations of Ælfric and Wulfstan, Marguerite-Marie Dubois, *Ælfric: sermonnaire, docteur et grammairien* (Paris, 1943), pp. 209-13.

³⁹ On notions of Christian dualisms, see Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957; rpt. 1981). On attitudes towards nature and consequently man's place in the social and political scheme of things during and after the Investiture Controversy, see Post, *Studies*, pp. 494-561; Wilhelm Kölmel, 'Imago mundi: das Weltverständnis im Schrifttum des Investiturstreites', *Studi gregoriani* 9 (1972) 167-98; August Nitschke, 'Das Verständnis für Gregors Reformen im 11. Jahrhundert', *Studi gregoriani* 9 (1972) 141-66. For more general studies of the interaction of political thinking and the perception of nature in the Middle Ages, see August Nitschke, *Naturerkenntnis und politisches Handeln im Mittelalter: Körper – Bewegung – Raum* (Stuttgarter Beiträge zur Geschichte und Politik 2; Stuttgart, 1967) and Wolfgang Stürner, *Natur und Gesellschaft im Denken des Hoch- und Spätmittelalters: naturwissenschaftliche Kraftvorstellungen und die Motivierung politischen Handelns in Texten des 12. bis 14. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgarter Beiträge zur Geschichte und Politik 7; Stuttgart, 1975).

⁴⁰ For instance, the twelfth-century monk William of Ramsey wrote in his *Distinctiones super Cantica Canticorum*: 'Diuersi sunt ordines in ecclesia, quasi acies ordinati. Sunt clerici, milites, coloni. Sunt uirgines, continentes et coniugati. Sunt actiui, sunt contemplatiui et prelati', ed. J. Leclercq, 'Les *Distinctiones super Cantica* de Guillaume de Ramsey', *Sacris erudiri* 10 (1958) 345 [329-52].

⁴¹ For other twelfth-century theories of social structure, see Giles Constable, 'The Structure of Medieval Society according to the *Dictatores* of the Twelfth Century' in *Law, Church, and Society: Essays in Honor of Stephan Kutner*, ed. Kenneth Pennington and Robert Somerville (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 252-67 and D. E. Luscombe, 'Conceptions of Hierarchy before the Thirteenth Century' in *Soziale Ordnungen im Selbstverständnis des Mittelalters*, ed. Albert Zimmermann, 2 vols. (Miscellanea mediaevalia 12; Berlin, 1979), 1.1-19.

in tripartite thinking. For one group of thinkers, though, the *Timaeus* threw new light on what the three orders had been or were supposed to be. These were the glossators of the *Timaeus*, whose work we shall now examine.

A number of twelfth-century glosses and commentaries on the *Timaeus* survive⁴² and many of these have something to say about the famous example of the city-state. No doubt an eleventh-century tradition of *Timaeus* glosses existed, but these were, so far as is known, minor in nature and their unsystematic and scattered references do not appear to reveal a major interest in the social implications of the prologue; rather these early glossators turned to the *Timaeus*, as readers would continue to, for its physical, mathematical, and medical information.⁴³ An abundant series of marginal and interlinear glosses which seems to date from the first half of the twelfth century is to be found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. lat. 16579.⁴⁴ The glosses reveal an almost exclusive dependence upon the commentary of Calcidius. This is generally not a common characteristic of glosses on the *Timaeus* and tends to distinguish this set of glosses from eleventh-century examples. At *Timaeus* 17c the writer noted that the state is fashioned like the human body whose *res publica* has been arranged by God. Employing many of the terms found in Calcidius' commentary, he states that reason is located in the citadel of the head, which is the brain, temper like the energy of youth is found under the citadel in the heart, and desire has its abode in the loins, the lower members of the body as if on the outskirts (*suburbium*) serving the higher.⁴⁵ With a few minor changes

⁴² On the major glosses and commentaries on the *Timaeus*, see Klibansky, *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition*, pp. 29-31 and Gibson, 'The Study of the *Timaeus*', 186-88.

⁴³ See Gibson, *ibid.*, 183-94. On the study of philosophical glosses in general, see Édouard Jeuneau, 'Gloses et commentaires de textes philosophiques (ix^e-xii^e s.)' in *Les genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales. Actes du Colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve, 25-27 mai 1981* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982), pp. 117-31.

⁴⁴ On Paris lat. 16579, see Waszink, *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus*, p. cxxii. In the thirteenth century this ms. was in the possession of Gérard d'Abbeville who eventually donated it and other Platonic material to the Sorbonne: see Klibansky, *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition*, p. 29. Portions of this set of glosses have been edited by Tullio Gregory, *Platonismo medievale: studi e ricerche* (Rome, 1958), pp. 71-73, 77-78 n. 1, and 95-96 n. 3.

⁴⁵ Paris lat. 16579, fol. 3v left margin, a gloss corresponding to *Nonne* in the text of the *Timaeus*, ed. Waszink, p. 8, l. 4: 'Quod ad imitationem humani corporis factum est, cuius res publica sic a summo ordinata est opifice. In arce enim capitis, id est in cerebro, uersatur ratio. Sub arce uero, id est in corde, iracundia quasi uigor iuuentutis. Postea autem considerantur cetera membra inferiora, quasi in suburbio, altioribus membris subseruientia. Et, ut breuius dicamus, ratio est in capite, uigor iracundiae in corde, cupiditas in inferioribus circa lumbos cui illa superiora dominantur.' Another gloss at *sed secundae* (*Timaeus* 44b, ed. Waszink, p. 36, l. 17) in Paris lat. 16579, fol. 35r right margin, notes: 'Ratio quae habet locum in arce capitis est primae dignitatis; circa cor ira, secundae; cupiditas circa genitalia, tertiae.'

and additions, this gloss is also to be found in Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale ms. 226 (fol. 96v) which contains a gloss on the *Timaeus* from the second half of the twelfth century.⁴⁶ In neither of these are the various orders of men who occupy the city-state specified, but the Paris glossator certainly knew the outline of the scheme, since he says slightly later that by *iuuentus* at 17c was meant the young men who, placed beneath the citadel, guard the entire state.⁴⁷ When the author reached *Timaeus* 44b, which immediately precedes Plato's discourse on the body, he copied chapters 232 and 233 of Calcidius' commentary outright, with some changes in spellings, verb tenses, and occasional words.⁴⁸ At the very least, even if he demonstrates little originality, we know that the glossator was familiar with Calcidius' commentary, something few medieval readers could claim before the twelfth century. There he encountered, and to some extent absorbed (as his earlier gloss at 17c indicates), Calcidius' formative explanation of the city-state and its likenesses.

With William of Conches we enter a period of mature interest and systematic study of the *Timaeus* and its teachings, including the social material of the prologue. A student of the famous Bernard of Chartres, probably in the 1120s, William himself went on to teach such renowned students as John of Salisbury.⁴⁹ At the center of William's pedagogics, and this he had learned from the example of Bernard, lay the reading of texts, the *lectio philosophorum*. At a

⁴⁶ Édouard Jeuneau, ed., 'Gloses marginales sur le *Timée* de Platon du manuscrit 226 de la Bibliothèque municipale d'Avranches', *Sacris erudiri* 17 (1966) 76 [71-89] and reprinted in Jeuneau, '*Lectio philosophorum*', pp. 214-15 [209-27]: 'Hec ciuitas ad exemplum humani corporis sic descripta est. Uniuscuiusque hominis enim publica res a Deo summo artifice sic ordinata est. In arce enim capitis, id est in cerebro, conuersatur ratio, quia ibi V sensus corporis notantur per quos discernimus. Sub arce uero, id est in corde, iracundia, quasi uigor iuuentutis. Postea autem considerantur cetera membra inferiora, quasi in suburbio, alcioribus membris subseruiencia. Et, ut breuius dicamus, ratio est in capite, uigor in corde, cupiditas in inferioribus circa lumbos, cui ratio et iracundia dominantur.'

⁴⁷ Corresponding to *Timaeus*, ed. Waszink, p. 8, l. 5, Paris lat. 16579, fol. 3v left margin states: 'A iuuenibus, qui totam rem publicam illam defenderent positi iuxta arcem.' Compare the wording of this gloss with the one contained in n. 67 below.

⁴⁸ In Paris lat. 16579, a long gloss corresponding to *Ac si ad hunc statum* (*Timaeus* 44b, ed. Waszink, p. 40, l. 12) runs from the right margin of fol. 39r, the left margin of fol. 39v, the right margin of fol. 40r, to the left margin of fol. 40v. The section from fol. 40r to 40v repeats chapters 232-233 of Calcidius' commentary, ed. Waszink, pp. 246, l. 12-247, l. 12. See nn. 22, 23, and 25 above.

⁴⁹ For concise treatments of William's life, see Édouard Jeuneau, ed., *Guillaume de Conches, Glosae super Platonem* (Textes philosophiques du Moyen Age 13; Paris, 1965), pp. 9-10; Richard W. Southern, 'Humanism and the School of Chartres' in Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 71-73; John Howle Newell, *The Dignity of Man in William of Conches and the School of Chartres in the Twelfth Century* (Diss. Duke, 1978), pp. 24-35; and Tullio Gregory, '*Anima mundi*': la filosofia di Guglielmo di Conches e la Scuola di Chartres (Florence, 1955), pp. 1-4.

personal level this reading was ongoing so that his study of one text was informed by his investigation of another, and his works reflect the fruitful cross-fertilization. His glosses on Macrobius' *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* are a case in point. Although this work is tentatively assigned to the early part of William's career, it nevertheless reveals a keen awareness of the contents of the *Timaeus* and a projected set of glosses on the dialogue.⁵⁰ Near the beginning of one redaction of this work, when commenting on Macrobius' discussion of the *Republics* of Plato and Cicero, William introduced a lengthy, but for our purposes pertinent, digression:

In the state Plato wanted there to be some men commanding and overseeing such as the senate, some fighting such as soldiers, and some serving such as the lower classes. Plato and Socrates, in their arrangement of the state, imitated the divine arrangement which in the human body is the following: the head holds the highest place and, so to speak, lordship over the other members, and in it is the abode of wisdom on account of its three chambers, which we will discuss elsewhere. Therefore just as wisdom is located in the head and oversees the remaining members of the body, so the senators being in the highest place, that is, in the citadel of the city, oversee the lower classes and regulate their movements and actions. Under the head are hands which are disposed to act and the heart where the abode of courage is located; so under men from the senatorial order are soldiers who are disposed to endure hardship and are courageous in defense of the state. The kidneys, in which human desire flourishes, are located under the heart and so under the soldiers are found confectioners, cobblers, skimmers, and other craftsmen. At the remotest part of the body feet are found, so outside the walls on the outskirts of the city are farmers to cultivate the fields.⁵¹

⁵⁰ For a tentative chronology of William's work and the place of the *Glosae super Macrobius* and *Glosae super Timaeum* in it, see Jeauneau, *ibid.*, pp. 10-16, especially pp. 13-15. See also É. Jeauneau, 'Gloses de Guillaume de Conches sur Macrobie. Note sur les manuscrits', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 27 (1960) 17-28 (reprinted in Jeauneau, 'Lectio philosophorum', pp. 267-78) and Helen Eunice Rodnite, *The Doctrine of the Trinity in Guillaume de Conches' Glosses on Macrobius: Texts and Studies* (Diss. Columbia, 1972), pp. 10-37.

⁵¹ *Glosae super Macrobius* (Comm. 1.1.1), quoted by Jeauneau in *Glosae super Platonem*, p. 75 n. e: 'Plato uoluit in re publica esse quosdam inperantes et prouidentes ut senatum, quosdam pugnantes ut milites, quosdam seruientes ut plebem. Et est Plato et Socrates in ordine rei publice diuinam imitatus dispositionem que est in humano corpore talis: caput alciozem locum optinet et quasi dominium supra cetera membra, in quo est sedes sapientie propter tres cellulas, de quibus alibi. Quemadmodum igitur sapientia est in capite et in reliquis membris prouidet, ita senatores in alciori loco existentes, id est in arce ciuitatis, inferioribus prouident et eorum motus et acciones dispensant. Sub capite sunt manus que sunt prone ad agendum, et cor in quo est sedes animositatis. Ita sub illis de senatorio ordine sunt milites qui ad laboris tolerantiam proni sunt et ad rei publice defensionem animosi. Sub corde sunt renes in quibus humana uiget concupiscentia. Ita sub militibus sunt cupedenarii, sutores, pelliparii et ceteri artifices. Ad ultimum sunt pedes: sic extra muros in suburbio sunt agricole ad colenda rura.'

William does not mention the *Timaeus* in this gloss because, no doubt, he understood from chapter 233 of Calcidius' commentary that this scheme of the city-state derived from the *Republic* and it was this work to which the gloss on Macrobius referred. However, even at this stage of his career, the master of Conches did not rely entirely on Calcidius, but rather within the basic outline of the tripartite division felt free to interpret and amplify. Senators, although identified with wisdom of the head, replace Calcidius' wise men and oversee as well as command the city and its inhabitants. Under the senatorial order (*senatorius ordo*) are located soldiers who are identified with the heart, the abode of courage, and, in a departure from Calcidius' commentary, with hands disposed to act. The confectioners (*cupedenarii*) head the list of workers from the lower classes. Whereas Calcidius had only mentioned tradesmen and the masses and associated them with the genitals, William names confectioners, cobblers, skimmers, and craftsmen as tradesmen and likens them to the kidneys as the seat of human desire. Finally William added feet to his analysis and associated farmers, who live outside the walls of the city on its outskirts, with them. Farmers support, in other words, the state as feet support the human body.

William introduces, it needs to be noted, an element of complexity absent in Calcidius' presentation of the scheme. At several levels his tripartite divisions expand in order to embrace more social and anatomical realities, as can be seen from the following schematization:

Location	CITY-STATE	Location	MAN
	Orders with functions		Faculties
Alcior locus, in arce ciuitatis	Senatores <i>inperantes</i> <i>et prouidentes</i>	Caput	Sapientia
Sub senatorio ordine	Milites <i>pugnantes</i>	Manus	Pronitas ad agendum
		Cor	Animositas
Sub militibus	Plebs: <i>cupedenarii</i> , <i>sutores</i> , <i>pelliparii</i> , <i>artifices seruientes</i>	Renes	Concupiscentia
Extra muros in suburbio	Agricolae <i>ad colenda rura</i>	Pedes	

By counting farmers as outside the walls of the city, William has in a sense preserved the tripartite division of the city-state. He has merely expanded, or rather recognized, the complex composition of the lower classes. The tri-functionality of the scheme is also maintained through his use of commanding and overseeing, fighting, and serving. But the parts of the body named are now

five and the first four of these possess faculties. A correspondence is likewise worked out between each of the faculties and the activities of the state. By multiplying the signs of the body which could be assigned to members of the state, William has, after a fashion, paved the road down which John of Salisbury was soon to walk.

In his glosses on the *Timaetus* itself, William of Conches approached the material at 17c in a different way. At the outset of chapter 15 of this work, he asserts that since Socrates followed the divine plan of the arrangement of man in his establishment of the state, so shall he.⁵² He proceeds, therefore, from a consideration of the human body to the composition of the state, placing greater emphasis on the former. According to William, God wished man to be able to possess the wisdom to discern good from evil, the irascibility to resist evil, and the desire for good. To this end he gave each of these faculties an abode in man. Wisdom as the most worthy was placed in the human head, the worthiest place in the body. Wisdom consists of three things: the power of understanding quickly, the power of discerning what has been understood, and the power of retaining it in memory. Drawing a metaphor of the brain as a ship from the *Liber de oculis* of Constantinus Africanus, he explains that the three ventricles, or chambers as he had called them in the gloss on Macrobius, are found in the prow, middle, and stern of the head.⁵³ After analyzing the humors of the head, William claimed that this design had been verified by an examination of open wounds.⁵⁴ All of this was to support his contention that the head was the abode of wisdom. Under it was found the heart, the source of anger in men, and under the heart were located the kidneys, which are the abode of desire. Thus William arrived at the city-state, which he mentions only cursorily:

According to this likeness, Socrates wanted there to be a senate in the citadel of the city as wisdom is in the citadel of the head, under it soldiers as courage abides in the heart, and under the soldiers confectioners as desire is in the loins. And as heavy feet in the lowest part of the body tread the earth, so farmers, hunters, and shepherds manage the land outside the walls of the city.⁵⁵

⁵² *Glosae super Platonem* 15, ed. Jeauneau, p. 74.

⁵³ See *Glosae super Platonem* 15, ed. Jeauneau, p. 74 and n. b. See also William of Conches, *Philosophia mundi* 4.21, ed. Gregor Maurach (Pretoria, 1980), pp. 106-107, and William of Conches, *Dragmaticon seu Dialogus de substantiis physicis*, ed. G. Grataroli (Strasbourg, 1567; rpt. Frankfurt, 1967), pp. 276-80.

⁵⁴ *Glosae super Platonem* 15, ed. Jeauneau, p. 75.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*: 'Ad hanc uero similitudinem uoluit Socrates in arce ciuitatis esse senatum ut in arce capitis est sapientia; sub isto esse milites ut in corde animositatem, sub quibus sunt cupidinarii ut in lumbis est concupiscentia. Et ut pedes bruti in inferiori parte calcant terram, ita agricole et uenatores et pastores extra muros terram exercent.'

This gloss differs from the earlier one in several respects. In the first place the *cupidinarii* here stand alone as representatives of the lower classes and tradesmen: they represent, in simple terms, a class of desirous men.⁵⁶ Moreover, the collection of suburban workers (farmers, hunters, and shepherds) has its source, as William seems to acknowledge, in *Timaeus* 24A-B.⁵⁷ The overall impression left by this briefer gloss is that William was engaged in simplifying a subject he had considered some years before, but that only the details and not the substance of his consideration had changed.

When William came to discuss Plato's argument that women should be held in common (*Timaeus* 18B-D), he used the division of society into *classes* to excuse Plato on the grounds that he had merely meant to prohibit intermarriage between men and women of different classes.⁵⁸ These classes, incidentally, do not equate with the tripartite breakdown of the *ordines*. Interestingly enough, William showed little regard for *Timaeus* 24A where we discover the other distinct mention of society's composition. He simply took the reference there to the separation of priests from soldiers and others as a reflection of the fact that priests had lived separately in cloisters then as they did in his own time.⁵⁹ Thus William of Conches, the most influential medieval commentator of the *Timaeus*, had dutifully pointed out the likeness of the city-state to the body. Even if he was more interested in what this meant for our understanding of the human body, his systematic study of Plato and of Calcidius' commentary led him to comment on the shape of the state. Nor should we forget that William was above all a popularizer of ideas, as his *Philosophia mundi* and *Dragmaticon* testify. With the increased twelfth-century interest in the *Timaeus*, which was due in no small measure to William, the famous example of the city-state became more widely known.

⁵⁶ Because of the similarity of the words *cuppedium* (confection), from which the *cupedenarii* of William's gloss on Macrobius derives, and *cupido* (desire or longing), it seems likely that William wanted the *cupidinarii* of his gloss on the *Timaeus* to stand for the entire class of desirous men. In addition the orthography of the second usage draws it closer still to *cupiditas* (desire). On *cuppedinarius*, *cupedinarius*, seu *cupidinarius*, see *Thesaurus linguae latinae*, vol. 4: *Con-Cyulus* (Leipzig, 1906-1909), col. 1436.

⁵⁷ At *Timaeus* 24B, ed. Waszink, p. 16, l. 7, William, *Glosae super Platonem* 29, ed. Jeaneau, p. 95, wrote: '*Colendi et exercendi*: idem est. Eumdem ordinem exequitur hic quam et Socrates superius.'

⁵⁸ *Glosae super Platonem* 19, ed. Jeaneau, p. 79: '*Dicunt quidem quod in eodem dialogo precepit Plato quod mulieres sortito darentur ut, si aliquis aliquam habere uellet, sors mitteretur an eam habere deberet ita ut nulla sine sorte iungeretur. Nobis uero aliter uidetur, quod Plato populum per classes diuisit ut in una essent senatores, in alia equites, in alia carnifices, in alia agricolae, in alia serui et sic de aliis; et ita quod homo unius classis non iungeretur mulieri alterius sed unusquisque de sua classe acciperet.*'

⁵⁹ *Glosae super Platonem* 29, ed. Jeaneau, p. 95, a gloss on the word *polluatur*.

A major but unattributed *Timaeus* commentary from the twelfth century⁶⁰ asserts at 17c that the state is fashioned after the likeness of man. In describing the tripartite shape of the human body and its faculties or powers, the commentary reflects not only Calcidius but also the phrasing found in Paris lat. 16579 and Avranches 226.⁶¹ The anonymous commentator maintains that the state is established so that in the loftiest part of the city the powerful (*potentes*) reside, in the middle dwell noble citizens (*ciues honesti*), and on the outskirts of the city (*in suburbiis*) are located cobblers and the practitioners of other trades.⁶² Later, however, when commenting upon *Timaeus* 44D, the commentator returned to this theme but altered his use of terms. The state and the human body are similar, he informs us, because just as the greatest men dwell in the highest place of the city, so the greatest power of the soul, namely, reason, is set in the head. Soldiers, who defend the city, live in the middle of it, and so the heart possessing the natural energy of the soul, that is, the anger by which we resist evil, resides in the middle of man. At the outer edges of the city (*circa extremos*) live workers, namely, tradesmen and other servile classes, who always desire to acquire things, and so in man desire lives around the body's hindmost quarters.⁶³ This passage, with few changes, is repeated amongst the

⁶⁰ On the mss. of this commentary, whose incipit is 'Socrates de re publica x libris disputauit', see Klibansky, *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition*, p. 30 and Gibson, 'The Study of the *Timaeus*', 188. Gregory, *Platonismo medievale*, pp. 66-71, 76 n. 1, and 103, has edited portions of this commentary from two mss. Consulted for this study have been the copies of the commentary found in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 540B (on this ms. see Jeaneau, *Glosae super Platonem*, pp. 41-42); Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 2376 (on this ms. see Waszink, *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus*, p. cxxvi); Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale ms. 260 (216) (on this ms. see *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements* [Octavo Series] 12 [Orléans] [Paris, 1889], p. 125); Durham, Cathedral Library ms. C. IV. 7 (on this ms. see R. A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century* [Oxford, 1939], p. 58); and Pommersfelden, Gräfllich Schönborn'sche Bibliothek ms. 76 (2663) (on this ms. see Waszink, *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus*, p. cxxii).

⁶¹ Compare the text printed in n. 62 below with those printed in nn. 45 and 46 above.

⁶² Munich Clm 540B, fol. 4r-v; Vienna 2376, fol. 20v; Orléans 260 (216), p. 178; Durham C. IV. 7, fol. 42va; and Pommersfelden 76 (2663), fol. 43v, corresponding to *Timaeus* 17c, ed. Waszink, p. 8, l. 4 *Quid illud?*: 'id est ordinationem illam qualem esse iudicatis, quae facta est ad similitudinem hominis, cuius res publica a Deo sic ordinata est. In arce enim capitis, id est in cerebro, uersatur sapientia; sub arce, id est in corde, iracundia quasi uigor iuuentutis; concupiscentia in inferioribus, scilicet circa lumbos, cui illa superiora dominantur. Ita in superiori parte urbis, potentes; in medio, ciues honesti; in suburbiis, sutores et ceteri similes locati sunt.'

⁶³ Munich Clm 540B, fol. 29r; Orléans 260 (216), p. 202; Durham C. IV. 7, fol. 47ra; and Pommersfelden 76 (2663), fol. 55r, corresponding to *Timaeus* 44D, ed. Waszink, p. 40, l. 22 *Est autem*: 'Potest uero notari in regione humani corporis dispositio rei publicae, quia sicut in eminenciori loco ciuitatis habitant maiores, ita in capite maior uis animae, id est ratio. Et sicut in medio ciuitatis milites habitant, qui defendunt ciuitatem, ita in medio hominis, id est in corde, naturalis est uigor animae, scilicet ira per quam malis irasci debemus. Et sicut in ciuitate circa

badly rubbed set of twelfth-century *Timaeus* glosses to be found in British Library ms. Royal 12.B.xxii.⁶⁴ In the anonymous commentary, then, one finds two similar presentations of the example of the city-state, neither seemingly influenced by William of Conches but both reflecting the general features of Calcidius' presentation. The most interesting aspect of this commentary for our purposes is its two sets of expressions for the three orders: in the first they are called *potentes, ciues honesti, sutores et ceteri similes* and in the second *maiores, milites, sellarii (sic) et ceteri seruiles*. The second scheme with its reference to tradesmen, soldiers, and chief men of the city seems to draw directly from Calcidius, but the first may suggest an attempt to describe a different social situation particularly with its unusual rendering of the second order as *ciues honesti*. The *seruiles* of the second formulation is also uncommon, but perhaps a natural description for an order whose primary function was, as William of Conches had said, to serve. Labelling the third order as decidedly materialistic or desirous had, of course, become a standard observation of readers of the *Timaeus*. While Calcidius had associated the third order with human genitals and William had likened the *cupidinarii* with the kidneys, thus giving these confectioners or desirous men an alimentary function, the anonymous commentator linked the lowest order of men with the buttocks of the human body. The third order of the city-state was thus characterized by *Timaeus* commentators as given over to passionate pursuits, to acquisitiveness and consumption, and to material waste. Reason, which was restricted to the wise rulers, and even courageous public action, which was the responsibility of soldiers, were denied these men. Their function in the city-state, while not praised by the commentators, was, however, viewed as necessary for the harmonious working of the whole.

extremos habitant opifices, id est sellarii (*sic*) et ceteri seruiles qui semper cupiunt adquirere, ita in homine circa posteriora habitant concupiscentiae.' Vienna 2376 ends abruptly at *Timaeus* 42b and therefore does not include this gloss. In addition, Orléans 260 (216) has a homoeoteleutic lacuna from *maiores* to *milites*, falling between the two *habitant* of the first two sentences. Other than that only word order and orthography separate the mss. for these glosses, except that in the third sentence of this gloss, the Orléans codex has *similes* in place of *seruiles*.

⁶⁴ London, British Library ms. Royal 12.B.xxii, fol. 38r top margin, a gloss corresponding to *Timaeus* 44D, ed. Waszink, p. 40, l. 22 *Est autem*: 'Et potest notari in dispositione humani corporis rei publicae dispositio, quia sicut in eminenciori loco ciuitatis habitant maiores, ita in capite maior uis animae, id est ratio. Et sicut in medio milites qui agunt et defendunt ciuitatem, ita in medio hominis, id est in corde, naturalis uigor animae, id est ira per quam malis irasci debemus. Et sicut seruiles, opifices cupientes aliquod adquirere, circa extrema, ita circa posteriora hominis habitat concupiscentia.' On this ms. see the description of George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *British Museum. Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collection* 2 (London, 1921), p. 18. See also Gibson, 'The Study of the *Timaeus*', 188. Post, *Studies*, p. 507 n. 30 transcribes, incompletely, one small but interesting gloss from this ms.

Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit ms. B.P.L. 64 also preserves an interesting twelfth-century marginal gloss on *Timaetus* 17c.⁶⁵ It states that Socrates established the city in the likeness of the human body: the citadel of the city, which is inhabited by elders (*senes*), is similar to the head and thus the elders are in the citadel as the brain possessing wisdom is located in the head. Soldiers are found under the citadel as the heart, the abode of temper like the energy of youth, is placed under the head. Finally common folk (*rustici*) and others serve the soldiers and elders, just as the other members of the human body serve the head and heart.⁶⁶ The elders of this formulation are certainly meant to represent wise men since it is wisdom which is their equivalent in the head. Moreover, a distinction is implicitly drawn between the youthful soldiers and the rulers of the city who must be their seniors.⁶⁷ The word 'rustici' indicates the lower classes, and, while not common among *Timaetus* glosses, was a rather familiar term for the third order in the Middle Ages. In this particular formulation of the tripartite division of society, the specific functions of the top two orders are not explicitly expressed; only the function of the lowest order to serve the higher orders is specified.

Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Digby 23 is well known to medievalists as the manuscript which contains an important twelfth-century copy of the *Chanson de Roland*, but it also holds a less well-known text of the *Timaetus* which is

⁶⁵ On this ms. see *Catalogus compendarius continens codices omnes manuscriptos qui in Bibliotheca Academiae Lugduno-Batavae asservantur* 1 (Leiden, 1932), p. 102; Waszink, *Timaetus a Calcidio translatus*, p. cxvi; and L. Minio-Paluello, ed., *Phaedo interprete Henrico Aristippo* (Plato Latinus 2; London, 1950), pp. xii-xiii.

⁶⁶ Leiden B.P.L. 64, fol. 37v left margin, a gloss corresponding to *Timaetus* 17c, ed. Waszink, p. 8, l. 4: 'Notandum est urbem a Socrate constitutam ad similitudinem humani corporis. Quod sic possumus uidere. Arx quidem ubi senes habitabant ad similitudinem capitis dicitur. In capite enim est cerebrum, in quo uersatur sapientia, sicut in arce senes. Sub arce uero sunt milites, sicut sub capite est cor ubi est sedes iracundiae, quae est quasi uigor iuuentutis. Postea uero sunt rustici et ceteri militibus et senibus seruientes, sicut sub capite et corde sunt cetera membra cordi et capiti seruientia.'

⁶⁷ On the *imago iuuentutis* and *patres-senatores* in tripartite formulations, see Carozzi, *Adalbéron de Laon, Poème au roi Robert*, pp. cxxvii-cxxx. Interestingly enough the term *senes* is employed for the first order in another set of *Timaetus* glosses. Pommersfelden 76 (2663), which contains as we have seen the text of the anonymous commentary on the *Timaetus*, also possesses a copy of the *Timaetus* in Calcidius' translation with an abundant set of late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century glosses. These in part reflect the anonymous commentary, but fol. 3v (right margin) glosses *Timaetus* 17c, ed. Waszink, p. 8, l. 5 *iuuentute*: 'id est a iuuenibus, qui totam rem publicam illam defendunt positi iuxta arcem, in qua senes, cum aliis in suburbio.' Another gloss to *Timaetus* 17c in the left margin of the same folio speaks of the fuller scheme: 'Similitudinem seruauit de re publica humani corporis: ratio est in altiori parte hominis, id est in capite, ut senes in arce; ira inferius circa cor, ut iuuenes circa arcem; cupiditas in infimis, id est in lumbis, ut pelliparii, cerdones, et ceteri in suburbio.' *Senes*, we should remember, were identified with *senatores* and the senate was thought to be a deliberative body of *senes*: see Cicero, *Cato Maior de senectute* 6.19 and 16.56.

richly glossed.⁶⁸ A glossator from the second half of the twelfth century introduced a long gloss on our theme at *Timaetus* 17c. He remarked that Socrates, unable to find any state or kingdom established according to the reason of positive justice:

proposed, therefore, a certain state and arranged it according to a pattern which he had contemplated in the macrocosm and microcosm. For he saw in the macrocosm, that is, in the greater world, certain lofty things such as God and the planets, certain middle things such as the active and ministering spirits, and certain lowest things such as other spirits like cacodemons whirling about in the air above us.⁶⁹

In the microcosm, that is, in man, Socrates saw wisdom set on high in the head, which possesses three chambers: imagination is set in the forehead, logical reasoning in the middle, and memory in the back of the head. In the middle of man, Socrates observed the heart where courage abides and desire which abides in the vicinity of the kidneys and loins. The lowest parts of the human body are the feet and hands.⁷⁰ Socrates' observations of the macrocosm and microcosm aided his creation of the state: 'Therefore he established the state according to this pattern, making highest things such as the senators, the middle as active soldiers, and the lowest as the practitioners of the mechanical arts, namely, skimmers, cobblers, tanners, and farmers, but outside the city.'⁷¹

⁶⁸ On this ms. see *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, vol. 9: *Codices a viro clarissimo Kenelm Digby ...*, ed. W. D. Macray (Oxford, 1883), cols. 19-20; Charles Samaran (historical and palaeographical study) and Alexandre de Laborde (introduction), *La chanson de Roland: reproduction phototypique du manuscrit Digby 23 de la Bodleian Library d'Oxford* (Paris, 1933), pp. 1-41; and Raoul Mortier, *Les textes de La chanson de Roland*, vol. 1: *la version d'Oxford* (Paris, 1940), pp. xvii-xviii.

⁶⁹ Oxford Digby 23, fol. 5r, a gloss corresponding to *Timaetus* 17c-D, ed. Waszink, p. 8, ll. 4-10: 'Proposuit ergo rem publicam quamdam et eam ordinavit secundum dispositionem quamdam quam considerauerat in macrocosmo et microcosmo. Vidit enim in macrocosmo, id est in maiori mundo, quedam summa ut Deum et planetas, quedam media ut spiritus agentes et ministratorii (sic), quedam infima ut alios spiritus in nostro aere uersantes ut cacodemones, etc.' In this passage and in n. 90 below, the expression *ministratorii spiritus* recalls 'the ministering spirits' of Heb 1:14. Gregory, *Platonismo medievale*, p. 61 n. 3 edited a portion of this gloss, including the first sentence which I have omitted. My study of this set of glosses was greatly facilitated by an unpublished study of this ms. which Édouard Jeaneau generously placed at my disposal.

⁷⁰ The gloss continues from 'cacodemones, etc.' on the same folio: 'Vidit similiter in microcosmo, id est homine, quedam summa ut sapientiam hominis, cuius sedes in summis partibus eius est, id est in capite, in tribus cellulis: fantastica scilicet, que in fronte est, in qua uis imaginandi, id est percipiendi res ipsas, continetur; et logistica, que in medio, ubi uis est discernendi res ipsas; sequitur memorialis in occipicio, in qua uis retinendi et memorandi res ipsas continetur. Vidit etiam in homine quedam media ut animositatem, cuius sedes est in corde, et concupiscentiam, cuius est sedes in renibus uel in lumbis; infima, ut pedes, manus, etc.'

⁷¹ Same gloss, continuing directly from 'manus etc.': 'Secundum ergo hanc dispositionem disposuit rem publicam, faciens summa ut senatores, media milites agentes, infima ut meca-

The interpretation of this anonymous glossator reflects both the influence of Calcidius and a twelfth-century tradition of reading the *Timaeus*. Although the theme had been implicit in all the glosses, the glossator of Digby 23 is the first to call forth the specific notions of the microcosm and macrocosm.⁷² The macrocosmic design was, of course, directly derived from chapter 232 of Calcidius' commentary.⁷³ His description of the microcosm of man, however, would seem to depend on a source similar to William of Conches' glosses on the *Timaeus*. Thus his three orders correspond closely to William's, except that they differ in some details regarding the last order. His analysis of the makeup of the human body, moreover, turns into an extended discussion of the three chambers of the head at exactly the same point as William's. He also mentions feet and hands as the extremities of the body and counts farmers as a group of men living outside the walls of the city. Nonetheless there are noticeable differences from William's gloss: this author does not, for instance, speak of the senators as dwelling in the citadel of the city, his description of the three powers of the brain differs in specifics, and in an unusual feature he seems to place both courage abiding in the heart and desire from the kidneys and loins in the middle of the human body. More importantly, other glossators had spoken chiefly of the similarities of the body and the state. Here, however, the Digby glossator moved as Calcidius had from a consideration of the higher world to the lower. In fact, the purest expression of the tripartite nature of the worlds occurs in the macrocosm. The remaining realms admit of other realities, social and anatomical. There was a tendency, which we witnessed in William of Conches' gloss on Macrobius, for the *illustre ciuitatis et populi exemplum* to expand to include new features and details, but there were limits to the scheme's flexibility. Throughout the twelfth century this tension would persist.

A scheme of social tripartition, therefore, became a standard way of interpreting *Timaeus* 17c in the twelfth century, almost a *glossa ordinaria*, and later medieval glosses continued to follow this lead.⁷⁴ It was, as we have seen, greater

nicarum artium professores, scilicet pelliparios, sutores, alutores, agricolas uero extra ciuitatem, etc.'

⁷² For the Platonic contribution to the idea, see Olerud, *L'idée de macrocosmos et de microcosmos dans le 'Timée'*. For medieval interest in the theme of the microcosm, see Rudolf Allers, 'Microcosmus from Anaximandros to Paracelsus', *Traditio* 2 (1944) 319-407; M.-T. d'Alverny, 'L'homme comme symbole: le microcosme' in *Simboli e simbologia nell'alto medioevo* 1 (Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 23; Spoleto, 1976), pp. 123-83; and F. Rico, *El pequeño mundo del hombre. Varía fortuna de una idea en las letras españolas* (Madrid, 1970).

⁷³ See nn. 22 and 23 above.

⁷⁴ To take just two examples. Cambridge, Trinity College ms. R.9.23 (James 824) offers the following thirteenth-century gloss in the right margin of fol. 75v, corresponding to *Timaeus* 17c, ed. Waszink, p. 8, l. 4: 'Nota. Hec res publica ad imitationem humani corporis ordinata est. Sicut

familiarity with the commentary of Calcidius that allowed the glossators to conceive of the importance of the prologue of the *Timaeus*. Some glosses, such as those to be found in Paris lat. 16579, merely repeated large sections of Calcidius, while others, such as Digby 23, adapted, interpreted, and so transformed the Calcidian explanation. In William of Conches' gloss on Macrobius and even in Digby 23 we see the complexity to which the system could tend: the human body, after all, could supply an almost endless set of potential signs for members of society and the city could be counted to have at least four areas in and around it: a citadel in the center, an area below the citadel, the outskirts of the city, and an area outside the city's walls. In a sense these two metaphors for society, the human body and the city, were competing for popularity. The example of the body as a more plentiful set of signs was, of course, to triumph, but the current reading of the *Timaeus* in the twelfth century temporarily bound them together in an elaborate scheme.

The words employed to name the member-groups of the city-state adhere to a fairly regular tripartite pattern:

Commentary of Calcidius	William of Conches on: <i>Macrobius Timaeus</i>		<i>Unattributed</i> Commentary on: 17c 44D		Leiden ms. B.P.L. 64	Bodleian ms. Digby 23
sapientes	senatores	senatores	potentes	maiores	senes	senatores
militares	milites	milites	ciues honesti	milites	milites	milites
sellularii et uulgares	plebs: cupedenarii sutores pelliparii artifices	cupidinarii	sutores et ceteri similes	sellarii et ceteri seruiles	rustici et ceteri	mecanicarum artium professores: pelliparii sutores alutores
	agricolae	agricolae uenatores pastores				agricolae

uel in arce capitis, id est in cerebro, ratio uersatur, id est scientia, ita sapientes in arce. Inferius autem milites, proximo loco iuxta, sicut ira in corde. Dehinc cultores agrorum et huiusmodi in suburbio, sicut cupiditas in inferioribus membris corporis, uidelicet lumbis, sita.' On this ms. see Montague Rhodes James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue* 2 (Cambridge, 1901), pp. 265-66 and Waszink, *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus*, p. cxi. Trevor Kaye, Sub-Librarian of Trinity College, kindly consulted this tightly bound ms. in order to confirm a point unclear in my microfilm.

In Oxford, Corpus Christi College ms. 243, there exists a commentary on the *Timaeus* by the so-called 'Anonymus Oxoniensis' (see Klibansky, *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition*, pp. 30

A certain consistency is to be observed in the first two orders. Established in the citadel or Capitol of the city, the first group of men was naturally called senators by the Latin glossators. The *potentes* and *maiores* of the unattributed commentary may well reflect Calcidius' use of *principales uiri* to describe the first order. Soldiers is the common name for the second order, except in the same unattributed commentary where they are called *ciues honesti*, almost as if they were wealthy burghers of a medieval city. The third order clearly comprises all the rest as the phrase *et ceteri* suggests. This is a class of laborers and, for this reason no doubt, the glossator of Digby 23 assigned hands as the corporeal equivalent, while both he and William placed feet as the equivalent of the farmers. From Calcidius' simple reference to tradesmen and the masses, the twelfth-century glossators proceeded to specify and enrich the makeup of the last order. William adds a list of specific occupations to his general order of *plebs*, and in his gloss on the *Timaetus* he allows the *cupidinarii* to stand for all the desirous men of the third order. With the glossator of Digby 23, he counts farmers as part of the third order, but recognizes that they live outside the walls of the city with hunters and shepherds. They rest uneasily in the scheme, not properly part of the city-state and yet admittedly necessary for its support. At best, the glossators were attempting to suggest the diverse composition of the third order by allowing a few examples of medieval trades to stand as representatives. Taken as a whole we are introduced to a series of occupations: tradesmen, confectioners, cobblers, skimmers, tanners, artisans, farmers, hunters, and shepherds.⁷⁵ It is a list which could not hope to capture the complexity of twelfth-century urban society, nor was it the intention of the glossators to do so. We lack, for instance, any mention of bakers, butchers, or fishmongers. The emphasis of the glossators was rather upon characterizing the functional role of the third order: to serve the first order which commands and oversees the city and the second which was to fight on behalf of the rest. The nature of the orders, and William had called them *ordines* and not *classes*, was thus determined by their function within society as a whole.

and 52) which was copied out by a certain Frederick Nagel of Oxford in 1423. On this ms. see Henry O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum MSS. qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adseruantur*, pars 2 (Oxford, 1852), pp. 100-101 and Minio-Paluello, *Phaedo interprete Henrico Aristippo*, p. x. At fol. 139va one reads, corresponding to *Timaetus* 17c, ed. Waszink, p. 8, l. 4: 'Preterea sic disposuit homines in ciuitate. In suburbio agriculatores, statim infra menia professores arcium mechanicarum sicut pelliparios, sutores et huiusmodi, in tercio loco milites, in quarto et medio sapientes et philosophos disposuit.' For another late use of the scheme, see Klubansky, *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition*, p. 64.

⁷⁵ A number of other occupations are listed in interlinear glosses at the words 'ceterarumque artium professores' of *Timaetus* 17c, ed. Waszink, p. 8, ll. 4-5.

Thus, although the glossators were principally interested in what a tripartite division of society could tell them about the configuration of the human body, their systematic study of the *Timaeus* led them to a form of basic social typing. As commentators, in other words, they were forced to comment on and make sense of the description of the city-state which they encountered in the opening pages of the *Timaeus*. They aided in two ways the transmission of the famous example of the city and its people. On the one hand, some of the glossators like William of Conches must have made the scheme known to students through their teaching; on the other, when learned men turned to copies of the *Timaeus* they must frequently have found a gloss at 17c similar to those we have examined. Throughout the twelfth century a series of influential thinkers found the image of the *illustre ciuitatis et populi exemplum* to be significant, proof enough of the success of the act of popularization in which the *Timaeus* glossators were engaged.

III

Among thinkers usually associated with the school of Chartres,⁷⁶ the comparison of the city-state to the cosmos and the human body finds recurring expression. Of course, in the early twelfth century, before the reception and translation of Greek and Arabic works on a large scale,⁷⁷ the *Timaeus* along with the works of Macrobius and Martianus Capella was one of the most influential texts.⁷⁸ Indeed the well-known commentary on the first six books of

⁷⁶ For views of the school of Chartres, see Richard W. Southern, 'Humanism and the School of Chartres' in *Medieval Humanism*, pp. 61-85; Nikolaus Häring, 'Chartres and Paris Revisited' in *Essays in Honour of Anton Charles Pegis*, ed. J. Reginald O'Donnell (Toronto, 1974), pp. 268-329; and Peter Dronke, 'New Approaches to the School of Chartres', *Anuario de estudios medievales* 6 (1969) 117-40.

⁷⁷ On the inroads made by Arabic texts at Chartres, see Heinrich Schipperges, 'Die Schulen von Chartres unter dem Einfluss des Arabismus', *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften* 40 (1956) 193-210 and *Die Assimilation der arabischen Medizin durch das lateinische Mittelalter* (Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften, Beihefte ..., Heft 3; Wiesbaden, 1964), pp. 111-23; and Dronke, 'New Approaches', 124-27.

⁷⁸ On the importance and influence of the *Timaeus* in the twelfth century, see Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, 'Le cosmos symbolique du XII^e siècle', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 20 (1953) 69-81 [31-81]; M.-D. Chenu, 'The Platonisms of the Twelfth Century' in Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago, 1968), pp. 49-98; Gregory, *Platonismo medievale*, pp. 53-153; Eugenio Garin, *Studi sul platonismo medievale* (Quaderni di letteratura e d'arte 17; Florence, 1958), pp. 46-87; and Winthrop Wetherbee, *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century: The Literary Influence of the School of Chartres* (Princeton, 1972), pp. 28-77.

Virgil's *Aeneid*, written in the first half of the twelfth century by an author long assumed to have been Bernard Silvestris,⁷⁹ attests throughout to the direct influence of the *Timaues*. Several times the commentator mentions the duty imposed upon soldiers of protecting the city against external, internal, and domestic attack (*Timaues* 17D).⁸⁰ He even quotes Calcidius' translation of the dialogue at 17C-D, in which the functional role of the soldiers is separated from the duty of others.⁸¹ Furthermore, in his discussion of the shape of the human head, he reveals a familiarity with Calcidius' commentary in the sections leading up to the treatment of the city-state.⁸² His various statements about the three ventricles of the brain and their respective powers also suggest either that the commentator was familiar with the teaching of William of Conches or vice versa.⁸³

When dealing, therefore, with an author intimately familiar with the *Timaues* and its interpretation, one is not surprised to come across the famous example of the city-state. The commentary on book 3 of the *Aeneid* opens with an identification of Aeneas' city with the human body. Just as there are four divisions of dwelling places in the city and four orders (*ordines*) of men who inhabit these, so too, says the commentator, there are four dwelling places with four powers in the human body. In the city the first dwelling is the citadel inhabited by wise men; in the body the head holds down the citadel, and in it abide wisdom, the instruments of the senses, and the three chambers of the brain. The second dwelling of the city is the home of the soldiers, as in the body courage holds forth in the heart. The third dwelling place is held by the desirous ones, the *cupidinarii*, and so in the third abode of the body desire is located around the kidneys. At the furthest reaches of the city, on the outskirts, farmers are found, and so at the extremities of the body are located the hands and feet,

⁷⁹ On the author of the commentary, see Julian Ward Jones and Elizabeth Frances Jones, eds., *The Commentary on the First Six Books of the 'Aeneid' of Vergil Commonly Attributed to Bernardus Silvestris: A New Critical Edition* (Lincoln, Neb., 1977), pp. x-xi. They argue that it is by no means certain that this commentary is by Bernard Silvestris, an issue originally raised by Brian Stock, *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century: A Study of Bernard Silvester* (Princeton, 1972), p. 36 n. 42. Peter Dronke, ed., *Bernardus Silvestris, Cosmographia* (Textus minores 53; Leiden, 1978), pp. 3-5 and Édouard Jeuneau in a review of this edition which appeared in *Medium aevum* 49 (1980) 112-13 [111-16], however, accept it as a work of Bernard or at least see no reason at present for denying the attribution.

⁸⁰ See *Aeneid* 6.184 *armis*, ed. Jones and Jones, p. 63, ll. 17-19; 6.483 *glaucum*, p. 97, ll. 19-25; and 6.612 *arma*, p. 112, ll. 10-13. The text of this commentary was earlier edited by W. Riedel, *Commentum Bernardi Silvestris super sex libros Eneidos Virgilii* (Greifswald, 1924).

⁸¹ *Aeneid* 6.478 *secreta*, ed. Jones and Jones, p. 97, ll. 6-10.

⁸² See *Aeneid* 6.207 *circumdare*, ed. Jones and Jones, p. 65, ll. 12-13 and nn. 19, 20, and 23 above.

⁸³ See *Aeneid* 6.68 *Deos*, ed. Jones and Jones, pp. 46, l. 24-47, l. 7; 6.184 *armis*, p. 63, ll. 17-19; and 6.207 *circumdare*, p. 65, ll. 13-15.

which are disposed to action. Thus, he concludes, the city is said to be a body.⁸⁴ This presentation clearly bears great similarity to William of Conches' gloss on the *Timaetus*. There are a number of shared phrases, a comparable breakdown of the compartments of the brain, and in both the *cupidinarium* represent the third order.⁸⁵ In addition both place the farmers outside the city, but this leads the commentator on the *Aeneid* to conceive of the scheme as quadripartite. Their lists of *ordines*, however, are virtually the same.

Near the end of the commentary, when discussing book 6 of the *Aeneid*, the author returns to the image of the city-state. He points out that Elysium signifies the divine form of the state, since the world is a divine work and the state shares this form. Thus it is called another world. Just as the world has four regions, each with its own adornment, so the city is divided into four by statesmen. As there are rational substances in the highest region and brutes in the lowest, so also is the city arranged.⁸⁶ He states that 'Plato and Socrates placed philosophers in the citadel of the city, soldiers in the second quarter, confectioners in the third, and farmers on the outskirts of the city.'⁸⁷ This, the commentator informs us, is the world of Salmoneus. The only change in the list of *ordines* here is that the wise men of the first order are called philosophers following the well-

⁸⁴ *Aeneid* 3, ed. Jones and Jones, pp. 15, l. 16-16, l. 6: 'Ciuitas ergo Enee est corpus humanum quod spiritus humanus incolit et regit ideoque eius ciuitas dicitur. Iterum quemadmodum in ciuitate sunt quattuor mansionum diuisiones et quattuor hominum ordines illas mansiones incolentes, ita quoque in humano corpore quattuor sunt mansiones et potentie sedem in illis habentes. Prima ciuitatis mansio est arcs, quam sapientes incolunt; ita in corpore prima et eminentior mansio et arcs corporis est capud, in quo sapientia sedem habet, et in eo instrumenta sensuum et tres ingenii et rationis et memorie cellule. Secunda ciuitatis mansio est militum: ita secunda corporis mansio est animositatis in corde, scilicet quemadmodum illa est animosorum. Tercia mansio ciuitatis est cupidinariorum: ita tertia est in corpore cupiditatis; hec autem est in renibus. In ultimo ciuitatis est suburbium sedes agricolarum: ita in extremo corporis sunt manus et pedes ad agendum. Ideo ciuitas corpus dicitur.' On this passage, see J. Reginald O'Donnell, 'The Sources and Meaning of Bernard Silvester's Commentary on the *Aeneid*', *Mediaeval Studies* 24 (1962) 242-43 [233-49], who attributed the scheme to Apuleius.

⁸⁵ In addition, there are striking similarities to William's gloss on Macrobius (n. 51 above): 'manus ad agendum', 'cor ... est sedes animositatis', and the placing of desire in the kidneys. But the *Aeneid* commentary does not correspond exactly to either of William's glosses, which suggests perhaps that the commentator was familiar with William's teaching. Moreover, the commentator's use of *cupidinarium*, a term which we saw develop into a representative category in the thinking of William, may suggest that it was William who influenced the commentator of the *Aeneid* and not the other way around.

⁸⁶ *Aeneid* 6.585 *Salmoneus*, ed. Jones and Jones, p. 109, ll. 12-17: 'Elis dicitur Eleydam, id est diuini operis forma, que est res publica. Diuinum autem opus est mundus, res autem publica adeo est eius forme quod etiam alter mundus dicitur. Sicut enim mundus quattuor habet regiones et unaqueque suum habet ornatum, sic ciuitas per quattuor a politicis diuisa est et sicut in celsa regione sunt rationabiles substantie et in infima brute, sic et in ciuitate.'

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, ll. 17-19: 'In arce enim Plato et Socrates ponunt philosophos, in secundo uico milites, in tercio cupidinarios, in suburbio agricolas.'

known Platonic notion of the ideal ruler. In conceiving of the state as quadripartite, the commentator on the *Aeneid* has drawn a conclusion which had remained only a possibility in the gloss of William of Conches on the *Timaeus*. In counting the orders of the city-state, he has said, in effect, that a distinct separation of workers and farmers needs to be made. He could present the scheme in this fashion because he left aside any mention of functional roles, and it had been trifunctionality which preserved the tripartite nature of the city-state. He spoke instead of dwellings in the city and abodes in the body, arbitrarily assigned places which were subject, as we have seen in the case of the *Timaeus* glosses, to increase during the twelfth century.

Some years ago Édouard Jeuneau pointed out that a commentary on the *De nuptiis* of Martianus Capella contained in Cambridge, University Library ms. Mm. 1. 18 may also be ascribed to the author of the celebrated commentary on the *Aeneid*.⁸⁸ In this work the commentator leads us to believe that he had also commented elsewhere on the *Timaeus*, though no set of glosses or commentary has as yet been identified as his.⁸⁹ The commentary does demonstrate, like the one on the *Aeneid*, an intimate knowledge of the *Timaeus* and Calcidius' commentary. And again we find, though in extremely laconic form, the image of the city-state. Here too the city is called a world, but the commentator refers us to the cosmic design. The cosmos is a city, having as its senate an order of superior spirits, as soldiers ministering spirits, and as dwellers on the outskirts man.⁹⁰ Whereas in the *Aeneid* commentary the author had employed a comparison of the city-state to the pattern of the human body, here the commentator turned to the cosmological aspect of the scheme first outlined by Calcidius in chapter 232 of his commentary.⁹¹

Bernard Silvestris himself was influenced, as has long been recognized, by Calcidius' version of the *Timaeus*, particularly with regard to the parts of the soul.⁹² The *Cosmographia* describes the body as divided into three parts (head,

⁸⁸ See É. Jeuneau, 'Note sur l'École de Chartres', *Studi medievali*, 3rd Ser., 5 (1964) 844-65 [821-65] (reprinted in *Lectio philosophorum*, pp. 28-36 [5-49]).

⁸⁹ See Jeuneau, 'Note sur l'École de Chartres' in *Lectio philosophorum*, p. 30.

⁹⁰ Cambridge, University Library ms. Mm. 1. 18, fol. 17rb, part of a passage commenting on *De nuptiis* 8.21: 'Ciuitas quidem mundus sensibilis est, habens senatum ordinem superiorum spirituum, milites autem spiritus ministratorios, suburbanos homines, regem uero summum Deum ad commodum uniuersitatis quecumque in hac re publica fiunt reducentem.' An edition of this commentary is presently being prepared for publication by Haijo Jan Westra.

⁹¹ See n. 22 above.

⁹² See Étienne Gilson, 'La cosmogonie de Bernardus Silvestris', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 3 (1928) 5-24; Theodore Silverstein, 'The Fabulous Cosmogony of Bernardus Silvestris', *Modern Philology* 46 (1948-49) 92-116; Mary F. McCrimmon, *The Classical Philosophical Sources of the 'De mundi uniuersitate' of Bernard Silvestris* (Diss. Yale, 1952); and Stock, *Myth and Science*, especially pp. 106-12. On the life and works of Bernard, see Dronke, ed., *Cosmographia*, pp. 1-15.

breast, and kidneys) and associates the brain, heart, and liver with them.⁹³ Moreover there is a paralleling of the worlds in Bernard's account which testifies to the influence of Calcidius' commentary. Physis realized that she would not err if she created the lesser world of man after the pattern of the greater world or cosmos.⁹⁴ In the higher world the firmament holds preeminent place, the earth is found at its lowest point, and air stretches between them. From heaven the deity rules (*imperat*) and arranges, the powers residing in ether and air carry out (*exequantur*), and earthly things (*terrena*) at the lowest point are governed (*gubernantur*). Similarly in man the soul placed in the head commands, the energy placed in its breast carries out, and the lower parts of the body down to and below the genitals are ruled (*regerentur*).⁹⁵ This entire passage on the operations of the cosmos and the body is demonstrably based on chapter 232 of Calcidius' commentary, including its vocabulary of functions.⁹⁶

But while Bernard follows Calcidius in much of the *Cosmographia* and definitely knew the sections of the commentary which preceded the analysis of the city-state, he does not describe the city-state itself or its tripartite division of orders. Rather he subordinates the state to the task of describing the operations of the human body. Thus the head is said to be raised on high as if it were the citadel or Capitol of the whole body.⁹⁷ The senses are collected about the palace of the head (*regia capitis*) in order to remain in close contact with the messenger senses.⁹⁸ The heart, moreover, is called the king, governor, and creator of our nature and is likened to a noble lord who journeys through the entire city of the body (*tota corporis urbs sui*), visiting the limbs and attendant senses.⁹⁹ The breast is the sacred shrine, seat of power, and imperial throne of the heart.¹⁰⁰ The verse section which concludes the *Cosmographia* moves through a consideration of the brain, heart, and lower body, where the wanton loins and

⁹³ *Cosmographia* 2.13.9, ed. Dronke, p. 148 and 2.13.11, p. 149. The text was earlier edited by C. S. Barach and J. Wrobel as *Bernardus Silvestris, De mundi uniuersitate* (Innsbruck, 1876; rpt. Frankfurt-am-Main, 1964).

⁹⁴ *Cosmographia* 2.13.10, ed. Dronke, p. 148.

⁹⁵ *ibid.* 2.13.10, pp. 148-49: 'In illo subtili mundani corporis apparatu, fastigio celum supereminet altiore. Aer, terra – terra de infimo, aer de medio – circumstant. De celo deitas imperat et disponit. Exequuntur iussionem que in aere uel in ethere mansitant potestates. Terrena que subteriacent gubernantur. Non secus et in homine cautum est, inperaret anima in capite, exequeretur uigor eius constitutus in pectore, regerentur partes infime pube tenus et infra collocatae.'

⁹⁶ See nn. 22 and 23 above and McCrimmon, *The Classical Philosophical Sources*, pp. 143-45.

⁹⁷ *Cosmographia* 2.13.11, ed. Dronke, p. 149: 'capud tanquam arcem, tanquam totius corporis capitolium, tollit et erigit in excelso.' Cf. n. 25 above.

⁹⁸ The phrase *regia capitis* derives from Calcidius, *Comm.* 231, ed. Waszink, p. 245, ll. 3-4, while *internuntia sentiendi* probably comes from Apuleius, *De Platone* 1.16, ed. Thomas, p. 100.

⁹⁹ *Cosmographia* 2.14, ed. Dronke, p. 153, ll. 115-118.

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, ll. 119-120.

private parts are hidden in a remote region.¹⁰¹ The very last lines of the work are dedicated to the body's extremities, the feet and hands.¹⁰² Thus while Bernard knew various details of Calcidius' comparison of the body to the state and even spoke of the body as a city, he preferred to use the latter to describe the former. He moved directly from a description of the cosmos-state to the human body, bypassing the image of the city-state and its orders of men. State imagery, however, aided his consideration of the lesser world of man.¹⁰³

The twelfth-century treatise *De spiritu et anima*, assigned in Migne's *Patrologia latina* to Augustine and later on challengeable grounds to the Cistercian monk Alcher of Clairvaux, is yet another inheritor of the image of the city-state divided in three.¹⁰⁴ In chapter 37 of this work, the author asserts that the soul, this noble creature, is the city of God about which so many glorious things are said (Ps 86:3).¹⁰⁵ This heavenly city is, among other names, fit to be called Jerusalem: 'And because no city exists without people, our creator arranged a people of threefold rank in it: that is, wise men to deliberate, soldiers to fight, and artisans to serve.'¹⁰⁶ The citizens of the city, he proceeds to argue, are the natural and inborn energies of the soul, which are set in the distinct ranks of superior, medium, and inferior. The intellectual senses are like the counsellors of the soul, the rational are like soldiers who resist the enemy (*concupiscentiae*) through the arms of justice, and the animal are like the common folk (*rustici*) and artisans who apply themselves to material things first and who serve the requirements of the body.¹⁰⁷ The author of the *De spiritu et anima* then begins

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, pp. 150-55, ll. 1-182.

¹⁰² *ibid.*, p. 155, ll. 179-182.

¹⁰³ For a description of society by Bernard, see *ibid.* 1.2.13, p. 102.

¹⁰⁴ The work is to be found printed under Augustine's name in PL 40.779-832, and has been attributed to Alcher: see Leo Norpoth, *Der pseudo-augustinische Traktat: 'De spiritu et anima'* (Diss. Munich, 1924; rpt. Cologne, 1971) and the entry of J.-M. Canivez in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 1 (Paris, 1937), 294-95. The attribution to Alcher, however, has been questioned: see Gaetano Raciti, 'L'autore del *De spiritu et anima*', *Rivista di filosofia neo-scolastica* 53 (1961) 385-401 and Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, ed., *Alain de Lille: textes inédits, avec une introduction sur sa vie et ses œuvres* (Études de philosophie médiévale 52; Paris, 1965), pp. 177-78 and n. 69.

¹⁰⁵ PL 40.807, ll. 1-3: 'Nobilis creatura est anima. Ciuitas namque Dei est, de qua tam gloriosa dicta sunt (Ps 86:3), quod ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei facta est.'

¹⁰⁶ PL 40.807, ll. 12-16: 'Et quia nulla est ciuitas absque populo, disposuit in ea noster Conditor populum triplicis gradus, id est sapientes ad consulendum, milites ad propugnandum, artifices ad ministrandum.' On this passage, see Endre von Ivánka, 'Byzantinische Theologumena und hellenische Philosophumena im zisterziensisch-bernhardinischen Denken' in *Bernhard von Clairvaux: Mönch und Mystiker. Internationaler Bernhardkongress, Mainz, 1953*, ed. J. Lortz (Wiesbaden, 1955), p. 173 [168-75] and Congar, 'Les laïcs', 90.

¹⁰⁷ PL 40.808, ll. 8-15: 'Intellectuales igitur sensus sunt tanquam animae consilarii, dicentes ei: "Deum time, et mandata eius obserua. Propter hoc enim est omnis homo (Eccles 12:13)." Rationales sunt tanquam milites, qui hostes, puta concupiscentias, impugnant per arma iustitiae. Animales seu sensuales sunt tanquam rustici et artifices, qui corporalibus rudimentis insistent, et corpori necessaria ministrant.'

to investigate the threefold power of the soul. He has employed the image of the city-state as an *exemplum* for understanding the pattern of the human soul. Like Bernard Silvestris he fits the imagery of the state to the subject under discussion, but unlike Bernard he describes the city-state itself before making his comparison. He conceives of the people of the city as divided into three ranks (*gradus*): *sapientes*, *milites*, and *rustici et artifices*, each possessing its own functional role within the city (deliberating, fighting, and serving). Perhaps with this author, as with Bernard, we stand one step further along in the development of a twelfth-century awareness of the *Timaues*. The image of the city-state, in other words, would seem to arise out of some more general and long-standing familiarity with Calcidius, whose terms the author does not entirely reflect.

The same may be said in a more specific fashion about John of Salisbury's knowledge of the *illustre ciuitatis et populi exemplum*. John was, without doubt, keenly aware of the *Timaues* through a sound reading of Calcidius' translation and commentary. This should not be surprising inasmuch as he was a noted student of William of Conches for three years between 1137 and 1141.¹⁰⁸ Nor should we overlook John's high praise of Apuleius through whom he could have derived another report of Plato's social doctrine.¹⁰⁹ He seems also to have known the commentary on the first six books of the *Aeneid* where the scheme of the city-state is discussed several times, as we have seen.¹¹⁰ In the *Policraticus*, following Macrobius, he observed that both Cicero and Plato had written about the state, one discussing it as it ought to be, the other as it had been established.¹¹¹ Nevertheless both were in agreement that civil life ought to imitate nature, the best guide.¹¹² Indeed in the *Metalogicon*, after citing the *Timaues* in the immediately preceding lines, John remarked that nature, the

¹⁰⁸ On John of Salisbury and William of Conches, see John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon* 1.5, ed. Clement C. J. Webb (Oxford, 1929), pp. 16-17; 1.24, p. 57; and 2.10, pp. 79-80. See also John of Salisbury, *Entheticus*, I. 207, ed. Ronald J. Pepin, 'The *Entheticus* of John of Salisbury: A Critical Text', *Traditio* 31 (1975) 143 [127-93], where John refers to his master as 'meus a Conchis Willelmus'

¹⁰⁹ After quoting Augustine (*City of God* 8.12) to the effect that Apuleius was extremely adept in both Greek and Latin, John followed with his own praise: see *Policraticus* 7.6, ed. Webb, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1909; rpt. Frankfurt, 1965), 1.114, II. 7-11.

¹¹⁰ See *Pol.* 8.24, ed. Webb, 2.415-17.

¹¹¹ *ibid.* 6.21, ed. Webb, 2.59-60; for Macrobius, see n. 8 above. For a similar statement, see *Pol.* 4.1, ed. Webb, 1.235. In addition, *Pol.* 6.25, ed. Webb, 2.73 mentions Socrates and his idea of the state.

¹¹² For a study of this idea within the framework of John's organicism, see Tilman Struve, 'Vita ciuilis naturam imitetur ... Der Gedanke der Nachahmung der Natur als Grundlage der organologischen Staatskonzeption Johanns von Salisbury', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 101 (1981) 341-61.

best parent, placed the senses in the head, which is likened to a certain senate in the Capitol of the soul. There reason sets itself up as though mistress in the citadel of the head; nature allotted it, indeed, a middle place between the chambers of imagination and memory to keep watch over the operations of the head.¹¹³ With this passage John reveals not only his knowledge of Calcidius' commentary on the *Timaeus*, but also that, like many of his contemporaries, he employed terminology derived from the city-state to describe the parts and functions of the body. In the *Policraticus* he further alerts us to his indebtedness by speaking of the state in terms of the body: the prince is said, for instance, to stand in the citadel of the state (*arx rei publicae*) like the head in the human body, an image that was well on its way to becoming a fixed feature of medieval corporatism.¹¹⁴

Given his familiarity with the text, one might be inclined to attribute John's elaborate and sustained organic metaphor of state in the *Policraticus* to the direct influence of the *Timaeus*.¹¹⁵ But John of Salisbury himself claims to have discovered the organic model which he follows in the *Institutio Trajani* of Plutarch, a work which he is careful to distinguish from the political treatises of Plato and Cicero.¹¹⁶ Whether the *Institutio Trajani* was John's invention or a real work of Plutarch,¹¹⁷ it can be seen immediately that the organic scheme of the state it presents is different from one which might have been derived from the *Timaeus*. Calcidius' explanation of the famous example of the city-state is

¹¹³ *Met.* 4.17, ed. Webb, p. 183, ll. 10-16: 'natura optima parens omnium, uniuersos sensus locans in capite, uelut quendam senatum in Capitolio anime, rationem quasi dominam in arce capitis statuit; mediam quidem sedem tribuens inter cellam phantasticam et memorialem, ut uelut e specula sensuum et imaginationum possit examinare iudicia'

¹¹⁴ See *Pol.* 5.6, ed. Webb, l. 298. On the persistence of this expression, see Wilhelm Berges, *Die Fürstenspiegel des hohen und späten Mittelalters* (MGH *Schriften* 2; Stuttgart, 1938, rpt. 1952), pp. 45-47.

¹¹⁵ For interpretations of the influence of Chartres and Platonism on John, see Hans Liebeschütz, 'Chartres und Bologna: Naturbegriff und Staatsidee bei Johannes von Salisbury', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 50 (1968) 3-32; Struve, *Die Entwicklung*, pp. 116-48 and n. 112; Max Kerner, *Johannes von Salisbury und die logische-Struktur seines 'Policraticus'* (Wiesbaden, 1977), pp. 9-58, 176-81 and 'Natur und Gesellschaft bei Johannes von Salisbury' in *Soziale Ordnungen* 1.179-202.

¹¹⁶ See *Pol.* 5.1-2, ed. Webb, 1.281-84 and n. 111 above.

¹¹⁷ For considerations of the authenticity of the *Institutio Trajani* of Plutarch, see Hans Liebeschütz, 'John of Salisbury and Pseudo-Plutarch', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 6 (1943) 33-39 and *Mediaeval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury* (Studies of the Warburg Institute 17; London, 1950), pp. 23-26, and Max Kerner, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der *Institutio Traiani*', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 32 (1976) 558-71. In addition, it might be noted that Liebeschütz argues that John's organic metaphor of state was influenced by Robert Pullus. While this is by no means demonstrated, Robert himself in his *Sententiarum libri octo* 7.9 (PL 186.921D7-922A15) may reflect a reading of the *Timaeus* (17c), for there he describes the double role of soldiers who stand under the king and fight against outside forces or repress internal uprisings.

not, in other words, disguised as a work of Plutarch by John. According to John, the head is the prince alone, the soul is filled by the priesthood, and the heart is the senate. None of this is specifically like the interpretation of *Timaeus* 17c either in Calcidius' commentary or twelfth-century glosses. Moreover, his schematization of the body of the state is richer still: eyes, ears, and tongue are the judges and governors of the provinces, the hands are officials and soldiers, the sides of the body are the prince's attendants, the stomach and intestines are financial and treasury officials, and the feet are husbandmen, farmers, and artisans.¹¹⁸ In this comparison of the body to the state, as it were, from head to toe, John of Salisbury does not cite the example of the city-state, nor is his scheme of the members of the state tripartite. His presentation bears only what one might call incidental likeness to the *Timaeus* tradition: soldiers as hands and farmers as the feet of the body, for instance.¹¹⁹

But, for all this, there is in book 1 of the *Policraticus* what may be a single substantial reference to the *illustre ciuitatis et populi exemplum*. In the prologue to the entire work, John openly justifies his own book on the basis of his use of Plato and Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*.¹²⁰ Indeed in chapter 3, as a prelude to his extended discussion of hunting, he briefly discusses the division of functions in the political organizations of the ancients.¹²¹ When contemplating political justice, pagan philosophers decreed that each should be content with his own things and activities. Places and activities were assigned for those in the city, those on the outskirts of the city, and also for farmers and country folk.¹²² The chief and central place in this city, according to John, was ceded to the senate, from which laws flowed down to individual occupations.¹²³ Hunters, he notes, like farmers and other inhabitants of the outskirts of the city, are kept separated from the well-born men living in cities.¹²⁴ Thus, although we do not possess the organic aspect of the image of the city-state, John's description fits what could have been learned about the shape of the ancient city-state through Calcidius'

¹¹⁸ See *Pol.* 5.2, ed. Webb, 1.282-83, and books 5 and 6 in general.

¹¹⁹ One might also compare the differing lists of artisans in *Pol.* 6.20, ed. Webb, 2.58-59 and William of Conches (n. 51 above).

¹²⁰ *Pol.*, prologue, ed. Webb, 1.17-18.

¹²¹ *Pol.* 1.3, ed. Webb, 1.20-21. On this passage, see also Kerner, 'Natur und Gesellschaft', 192.

¹²² *Pol.* 1.3, ed. Webb, 1.20, ll. 16-18: 'urbanis et suburbanis, colonis quoque uel rusticis sua singulis loca et studia praescribentes.'

¹²³ *ibid.*, ll. 22-25: 'Primus quidem et medius urbis locus Ariopago cessit, unde ad singulas professiones, prout ratio cuiusque officii exigebat, dispositione congrua institutas, officiorum iura quasi quidam salutis et uitae riuuli diriuarentur.' In *Pol.* 5.9, ed. Webb, 1.318, ll. 17-21, John states that the Athenians called the senate the Areopagus.

¹²⁴ *Pol.* 1.3, ed. Webb, 1.20, ll. 25-28: 'Porro in his uenandi ars uel officium uix permittitur accedere ad suburbanos, cum uenatores ut agricolae ceterique incolae rurum ab urbibus nobiliorumque cetu longius arceantur.'

translation and commentary on the *Timaeus*: a senate set high up in the city, a noble class below, and farmers, hunters, and others dwelling on its outskirts. William of Conches, we will remember, had also included hunters among the group of men living outside the city.¹²⁵

It is particularly interesting that John of Salisbury should have made passing reference to the model of the ancient city-state in the opening pages of the *Policraticus*, at a point when he was stressing his use of Plato. He was, it would seem, acknowledging the importance of the scheme, an importance which had been emphasized in the first half of the twelfth century by those studying the *Timaeus*, before abandoning it in favor of a more complex organic model. This is, so to speak, a third phase in the twelfth-century reading of the social material of the prologue of the *Timaeus*: the first had been the simple explication and interpretation of the glossators and the second the more creative use made of it by authors not directly commenting on the *Timaeus*. Here, however, John acknowledged the scheme, but put it aside in order to turn to what he must have considered a newer and more exciting model of the state. The organic metaphor of state which he does powerfully present would seem, on the basis of its many differences, to be drawn from another source. Perhaps the *Timaeus*, Calcidius' commentary, and William of Conches' teaching merely provided John with a favorable predisposition towards organic conceptions of state. The direct comparison of body to state, without recourse to the image of the city, was of course more flexible and complex in nature. The author employing such a scheme could find as many parts of the body as he required to correspond to members of the state.¹²⁶ Nor would he be limited by the exacting rigors of tripartite schemes in general. By dismissing the Platonic model of the city-state, John of Salisbury found a measure of freedom in his political speculation. Only later were political organicists to feel the same sense of constriction from the systematized organic theory of the state which John must have felt when contemplating the tradition of political thought of his own day. The influence of the *Timaeus* remains, however, in John's work through a series of terms such as *arx corporis* and fundamental notions about the likeness of the state to the human body. Of all those whom we have investigated, only John of Salisbury was more interested in the workings of the state than the body, or at least the direction of his thought led him to explain the state in terms of the body rather than the reverse. That John knew of the *illustre ciuitatis et populi exemplum*

¹²⁵ See nn. 55 and 57 above.

¹²⁶ On the functions of organic theory in general, see the concise treatment by Tilman Struve, 'Bedeutung und Funktion des Organismusvergleichs in den mittelalterlichen Theorien von Staat und Gesellschaft' in *Soziale Ordnungen* 1.144-61.

and yet chose to put it aside was perhaps to suggest its ultimate eclipse as a political scheme.

Nearer the end of the twelfth century, Alan of Lille, who knew the *Timaeus* and many of the ideas that had emerged from Paris and Chartres in the first half of the century,¹²⁷ found the example of the city-state to be a useful and telling image. Even if after John of Salisbury this scheme had lost some of its importance as a political idea, it underwent a revival of sorts as a literary image in the hands of Alan. In his *Liber in distinctionibus dictionum theologicarum*, being a glossary of key Biblical words, Alan presented the image as fundamental under the entry for *mundus*. He compares the greater world or cosmos to the lesser world of man. Just as in the cosmos God commands (*imperat*) in heaven, angels subjected to God run through the world and rule and counsel men, and men themselves live on earth as if on the outskirts of the human city, so wisdom is located in the throne of the head, will in the heart, and desire on the outskirts of the kidneys.¹²⁸ With Alan, then, we meet a comparison of the cosmos-state to the human body similar to Calcidius' basic outline in chapter 232.¹²⁹ In both the exemplar for functional roles lies in the cosmos; the body of man merely reflects its design. Alan passes from this analysis dependent on the *Timaeus* to a consideration of the four elements of the world.

In the *De arte praedicatoria*, which contains a number of *ad status* sermons, Alan furnishes an example of a sermon to be given to princes and judges.¹³⁰ He urges princes, if they wish to rule the land, to govern first the land of their own bodies. This land is of three kinds, according to Alan: the land we walk upon is material and ought to be spurned, the land we manage is the land of our bodies which requires cultivation, and the land we seek is the eternal life.¹³¹ Hence he concludes that:

Just as there is a diversity of inhabitants in the material land, among whom some are commanding such as the princes, some are carrying into effect such as the

¹²⁷ On Alan's work and career, see d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille*, pp. 11-183 and James J. Sheridan, trans., *Alan of Lille, The Complaint of Nature* (Mediaeval Sources in Translation 26; Toronto, 1980), pp. 1-64.

¹²⁸ PL 210.866D3-9: 'Et sicut in maiori mundo Deus imperat in coelestibus; angeli uero, quasi eius milites, discurrentes per mundum Deo subiecti homines regunt, et eis consulunt; homines uero in terra quasi in suburbio humanae ciuitatis habitant, sic sapientia in throno capitis locum habet, uoluntas in corde, uoluptas in renum suburbio.'

¹²⁹ See nn. 22 and 23 above.

¹³⁰ *De arte praedicatoria* 42 (PL 210.188B-189A). On the work, see Michel Zink, 'La rhétorique honteuse et la convention du sermon *ad status* à travers la *Summa de arte praedicatoria* d'Alain de Lille' in H. Roussel and F. Suard, eds., *Alain de Lille, Gautier de Châtillon, Jakemart Giélée et leur temps. Actes du Colloque de Lille, octobre 1978* (Lille, 1980), pp. 171-85.

¹³¹ PL 210.188c4-15.

soldiers, and some are obeying such as the common people, so in the land of his body a king ought to regulate the contradictions of three operations: the operations of reason which should rule, the operations of sensibility which should carry into effect, and the operations of the flesh which should obey.¹³²

Without mentioning the example of the greater world, Alan has here drawn a direct comparison between the state and the body. His trifunctional scheme of *imperantes*, *operantes*, and *obtemperantes* once again suggests the influence of Calcidius. The argument is put to the king that the three basic operations of his body are similar to the operations of the state he wishes to rule. Since he seeks the right order and control of the state, he should consider his body as another state and manage it with the same goals in mind. The parts of his body and the various emotions to which he is subjected should be firmly commanded from the top. No doubt Alan thought that such an argument, based on the established power of the king, would appeal to a ruler; he would conceive of his own body as a kingdom to be ruled. Perhaps it was not a theme which Alan would have presented to a popular audience; its imagery spoke specially to those already firmly fixed at the summit of the social structure. But Alan's intention, based on the Platonic ideal of the wise ruler, was to call the king to wisdom in the management of his own body and life. The tripartite nature of the state, in other words, was an accepted fact which needed to be brought home to the prince on a personal level.

Although Alan had not utilized a description of the city in his sample sermon, he found the city to be a particularly appropriate subject for two of his sermons. The second sermon of the eight printed by Migne can be dated either to 1179 or 1184 since it was written for the conjunction of the annunciation of Mary and Palm Sunday.¹³³ Its theme was taken from Psalm 86:3, which states that many glorious things are said about the city of God; this same verse had inspired the author of the *De spiritu et anima*.¹³⁴ According to Alan, God, the ruler of wind and sea, created his city in the likeness of the Trinity.¹³⁵ The first form of the *trina ciuitas* is the world, the second is the church, and the third is the virgin of virgins. The world, Alan preached, bears striking likeness to a city because, just as the greatness of the state is preserved in a city, so the cosmos is admirably represented by its state. In the state there is a coming together of

¹³² PL 210.188D1-7: 'Et sicut in terra materiali est diuersitas habitantium, inter quos alii sunt imperantes, ut principes; <alii> operantes, ut milites; alii obtemperantes, ut plebaei homines; sic in terra corporis sui, rex debet ordinare trium motuum diuersitates: motus rationis, qui imperent; motus sensualitatis, qui operentur; motus carnis, qui obtemperent.' On this passage, see Duby, *Les trois ordres*, pp. 379-83.

¹³³ PL 210.200B-203C. On this sermon and its date, see d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille*, p. 246 n. 1.

¹³⁴ See n. 105 above.

¹³⁵ PL 210.200B10.

those who command, carry into effect, and obey; likewise in the cosmos, as if in a great city, God commands, the angels carry into effect, and man obeys.¹³⁶ In a sermon sharing many points in common with this one, again written for Palm Sunday, but this time on a theme inspired by Matthew 21:2 *Ite in castellum, quod contra uos est* ..., Alan considers the setting of the castle in a city.¹³⁷ The sermon begins:

The King of heaven and earth, who commands the winds and the sea, created this world in the image of a city. For just as there are some commanding in the city such as wise men, some carrying into effect such as soldiers who are assigned as the city's guards, and some obeying such as the lower classes, so in the cosmos as in a great city some are commanding such as the three persons of the Trinity (Father, Son, and Holy Ghost), some carrying into effect such as angels, and some obeying such as the men subjected to those above them.¹³⁸

Following this introductory image, Alan continues to analyze the heavenly city in terms of the imagery derived from castle and city. Once again, then, Alan took the tripartite division of the state as a given. In effect, he was directing the minds of his listeners from the more familiar reality (the state and its obvious social structure) to the less familiar and more sublime reality of the Christian cosmos. In this he reversed the Calcidian approach in which the state was considered only after the design of the cosmos had been outlined.

Nowhere does the *illustre ciuitatis et populi exemplum* achieve a more prominent place in Alan's work than in the *Plaint of Nature* written about 1175.¹³⁹ There the image of the world as a city finds extended and, one might venture, eloquent expression. In the third prose section of the work the goddess Natura finally speaks to the poet, though she herself has been saddened by the reckless contempt for her laws, particularly those having to do with sex. She reminds him that she has made mankind to the likeness of the structure of the

¹³⁶ PL 210.200c2-9: '... mundus etenim eleganti similitudine ciuitatis censetur nomine, quia sicut in ciuitate rei publicae maiestas seruatur, sic mundus sua re publica non frustratur. Sicut enim res publica est ordinatus rerum conuentus, inter quas aliae imperant, aliae operantur, aliae obtemperant, sic in mundo quasi in ciuitate magna, Deus est imperans, angelus operans, homo obtemperans.'

¹³⁷ *Sermo in Dominica Palmarum*, ed. d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille*, pp. 246-49.

¹³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 246: 'Rex celi et terre qui imperat uentis et mari mundum istum creauit ad imaginem ciuitatis. Sicut enim in ciuitate alii sunt imperantes, ut sapientiores, alii operantes, ut milites qui custodie ciuitatis sunt deputati, alii obtemperantes, ut plebei, sic in mundo isto uelut in ciuitate magna alii sunt imperantes, ut tres Ypostastes, Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, alii operantes, ut angeli, alii obtemperantes, ut homines aliis subiecti.'

¹³⁹ On the history of this text, see Sheridan, trans., *The Plaint of Nature*, pp. 31-54 and Nikolaus Häring, ed., 'Alan of Lille, *De planctu naturae*', *Studi medievali*, 3rd Ser., 19 (1978) 797-805 [edition, 806-79].

cosmos,¹⁴⁰ and one of these likenesses is that in the cosmos, as in a certain famous city, the greatness of the state operates. In heaven the eternal ruler resides imperially as though in the citadel of the human city. He issues a command that the knowledge of all things should be eternally recorded in the book of his providence. In the air, as in the middle of a city, a heavenly army of angels battles and brings its cautious guardianship to man. Man himself, like a foreigner residing on the outskirts of the cosmos, renders obedience to the angelic army. In this cosmic city-state, therefore, God commands, the angels carry into effect, and man obeys.¹⁴¹ Alan next presents a threefold series of tripartite details of the pattern, connected by verbs of like ending. In the edition printed by Migne the tripartite schematizations of universal functions fall like a cascade of words upon the printed page.¹⁴² After outlining the operations of the macrocosm, Natura turns her attention to the reflection of the fully ordered state in the microcosm of man.¹⁴³ In the citadel of the head empress wisdom resides like a goddess, and there also are located the three chambers of the brain. In the heart, as in the middle of the human city, greatness secured a home and placed its army under the leadership of prudence. The kidneys, as though dwelling on the outskirts, have handed over the body's extremities to passionate pleasures, but dare not resist the greatness of the soul and so obey. Thus wisdom in this state represents the one commanding, greatness in the heart the one carrying into effect, and pleasure assumes the image of the one

¹⁴⁰ 6, ed. Häring, p. 826, ll. 43-46.

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 827, ll. 75-83: 'Attende qualiter in hoc mundo uelut in nobili ciuitate quedam rei publice maiestas moderamine rato sancitur. In celo enim, uelut in arce ciuitatis humane, imperialiter residet Imperator eternus, a quo eternaliter exiit edictum, ut singularum rerum noticie in sue prouidentie libro scribantur. In aere uero, uelut in urbis medio, celestis angelorum exercitus militans, administratione uicaria suam homini adhibet diligenter custodiam. Homo uero uelut alienigena habitans in mundi suburbio, angelice milicie obedientiam non denegat exhibere. In hac ergo re publica Deus est imperans, angelus operans, homo obtemperans.' On this passage see G. Raynaud de Lage, *Alain de Lille, poète du XII^e siècle* (Université de Montréal, Publications de l'Institut d'Études Médiévales 12; Montreal, 1951), p. 149; Gregory, *Platonismo medievale*, pp. 148-49 n. 3 and Nikolaus Häring, 'Auctoritas in der sozialen und intellektuellen Struktur des zwölften Jahrhunderts' in *Soziale Ordnungen* 2.517-18 [517-33].

¹⁴² PL 210.444B6-14; 6, ed. Häring, p. 827, ll. 83-88; here schematized further:

Deus hominem imperando creat,
angelus operando procreat,
homo obtemperando se recreat.
Deus rem auctoritate disponit,
angelus actione componit,
homo se res operantis uoluntati supponit.
Deus imperat auctoritatis magisterio,
angelus operatur actionis ministerio,
homo obtemperat regenerationis misterio.

¹⁴³ 6, ed. Häring, p. 827, ll. 82-88.

obeying the others.¹⁴⁴ In the *Plaint of Nature*, Natura herself has stressed the functional aspect of the image of the city-state in order to call men, who have so flagrantly abused her laws, to obedience. Their very role at the lower level of the cosmos is to obey those above.

In his use of the image of the famous example of the city-state Alan of Lille drew upon a number of sources, the most important being Calcidius' commentary. The key concept for him was the one announced in chapter 232 of the commentary where Calcidius had said that the celestial powers command, the angels carry out, and earthly beings are ruled. The image of the cosmos-state is employed in four of Alan's five references to the scheme. With his description of the human body, however, he may also reflect the tradition of the twelfth-century *Timaeus* glosses since he speaks of the three chambers of the head and places desire in the kidneys, which are located on the outskirts of the human body. In a sense, Alan has provided a summary of twelfth-century knowledge of the entire image of the city-state. Twice he moved from a consideration of the cosmos-state to the body (in the *Liber in distinctionibus* and the *Plaint of Nature*), in his two sermons he proceeded from a description of the city-state to the cosmos-state, and once he used the image of the city-state to elucidate the workings of the body (*De arte praedicatoria*). The image thus provided a means for Alan to progress from one level of reality to the next. In the *Plaint of Nature* the example of the city-state allows Natura to bring the pattern of the macrocosm to bear on the microcosm of man, a theme explicitly evoked by the glossator of Digby 23. In essence, it was a way of connecting the worlds in which man lives. Man stands like a foreigner on the outskirts of the upper world, but he remains, however humble, a member. In his own body the complete design echoes and here reason assumes a commanding position. Only in the *De arte praedicatoria*, where he provides an example of a sermon which could be delivered to the powerful of the day, does Alan speak to a conceived political reality, and even here he meant only to use the structure of the state to illustrate the need for personal management on the part of rulers. In the hands of Alan of Lille, then, the *illustre ciuitatis et populi exemplum* became an important literary image precisely because its versatility as a comparative image permitted him to move from one realm of experience to another, or rather to bind together the separate realms of man's existence.

However these twelfth-century thinkers encountered the tripartite scheme of a city-state derived from the *Timaeus*, whether through Calcidius' commentary, a glossed copy of the dialogue, or a teacher, it is evident that they were freer in their use of it than the glossators had been. They were not, after all, compelled to explain Plato's idea as presented by Calcidius; indeed they never identified

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 827-28, ll. 89-100.

the image's source but were able to use and interpret the scheme as they saw fit within the context of their work. Thus Bernard Silvestris and the author of the *De spiritu et anima* employed the image, and especially its descriptive and suggestive state imagery, to quicken our understanding of the human body and its soul. With the author of the commentary on the *Aeneid* we stand much closer in time and in spirit to a first and formative reading of the *Timaeus*. The commentator's description of the city-state is strikingly like William of Conches', almost as though this interpretation had recently been elucidated and was still fresh. With John of Salisbury and Alan of Lille, however, we are further removed from this moment of first insight into the significance of the scheme. For both of them it must have been, so to speak, old hat. John, who knew both the *Timaeus* and William of Conches, recognized the scheme as one form of state familiar to the ancients, but chose to speak of the state through the means of a more direct and certainly bolder organic model. Nonetheless the language used to describe the state in his *Policraticus* is permeated with the influence of the *Timaeus*. Alan of Lille, on the other hand, saw the image of the city-state as a profound way of linking man to the divinely created and commanded cosmos. What had limited the usefulness of the scheme to John of Salisbury – that it involved a restrictive comparison at the three levels of the cosmos, city-state, and human body – made it an appealing and true pattern to Alan. He could and did call upon the image in a variety of homiletic situations. Looking back to the first half of the twelfth century, Alan revived an idea which he found flexible and full of meaning.

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At a time when the notion of the three orders in general was suffering from overexposure and consequent neglect, the formulation of the three orders according to the *illustre ciuitatis et populi exemplum* made a strong showing. The scheme would seem to have surfaced in the twelfth century as incidental material cast up by a fresh reading of the *Timaeus*. William of Conches' approach to the subject in his glosses on the dialogue reflects the casual nature of an encounter with a passage which would not normally have attracted his interest. Following the example of Calcidius, William saw an opportunity to speak further about the configuration of the human body. Indeed some glossators entered their fullest comments about the city-state into the margins of *Timaeus* 44D-45B where the body is under discussion. Without doubt the Platonic conception of the state appealed to mid-twelfth-century authors because its naturalistic view of social man fitted their thinking about man's place in nature as a whole. Moreover, since the state was nothing more than another reflection of nature and the thinkers of Chartres were in the forefront of twelfth-century attempts to understand nature, perhaps they saw themselves as

philosophers of man in his entirety: his soul, his participation in the macrocosm, his physical and anatomical realities, and his social nature all came under their scrutinizing eyes, thus rendering their humanism complete. But the political speculations of these thinkers and the *Timaeus* glossators were peripheral to their major concerns: they were comments added to and fitted into their considerations of other issues. With the exception of John of Salisbury, they were not primarily political thinkers. Nor could one argue that this image entered into the arena of active and polemical twelfth-century political discourse: rather it was recognized that the city-state was, as John of Salisbury said, a political arrangement of the ancients. The Chartrian interest in the scheme was not, however, historical, since details of Greek and Roman forms of government were never discussed. These thinkers understood the description of the city-state with three orders of men to be an ideal arrangement, an example of what a state was supposed to be in the natural order of things, one based on the universal truths demonstrated by the cosmos and the human body.

The theme of the three orders in the Middle Ages is certainly vast and the varieties of its expression have been slow to reveal themselves.¹⁴⁵ Perhaps, indeed, medievalists have too narrowly limited their interest in the three orders to political, social, and economic issues. At least in the case studied here, the idea of the three orders derived from the Platonic city-state falls primarily within the confines of a tradition of reading and commenting upon the *Timaeus* in a certain way. These thinkers doubtless knew that their descriptions of the city-state did not fully embrace the complexity of society. In their partial and often fumbling attempts to list the various occupations of the third order, we sense an entire world of social reality lying outside the purview of the glossators. None of the authors who employed the scheme found any particular need to refer to other and more current expressions of the three orders, though these certainly served as a backdrop for the relevance of their own. Nor were they apparently bothered by the absence of any mention of a priesthood in their characterization of the city-state. In fact they showed little interest in a section of the *Timaeus* (24A-B) which spoke of a society made up of priests, soldiers, and others (shepherds, hunters, and farmers). Rather it was a specific section of the *Timaeus* (17c) and especially its interpretation by Calcidius which constantly drew them back to a standard representation of the city-state. That it ultimately derived from Plato and his revered *Republic* further enhanced its importance as a social exemplar.

¹⁴⁵ See the new avenue of study explored by Joël H. Grisward, *Archéologie de l'épopée médiévale: structures trifonctionnelles et mythes indo-européens dans le cycle des Narbonnais* (Paris, 1981).

We need, I believe, to see the emergence, popularity, and ultimate fate of the famous example of the city-state as the history of the transmission and circulation of an idea. An encounter with a specific text led twelfth-century thinkers to an awareness of this tripartite scheme of society, and Calcidius was their guide. United by their reading of the same authors (Plato, Macrobius, and Martianus Capella in particular), a group of thinkers associated with what we have long called the school of Chartres or its influence found the image to be suggestive and significant precisely because it seemed to touch upon so many of their other shared ideas. The *illustre ciuitatis et populi exemplum* was added to the treasury of metaphors by which twelfth-century men attempted to understand man in all his facets. As an image with a comparative character, it proved to have great literary flexibility in the hands of twelfth-century authors. Perhaps a formulation of the three orders which did not correspond to the medieval conception of the three estates was doomed to eclipse, but it seems more likely that the image began to lose its popularity when later twelfth-century thinkers turned from the *Timaeus* to other more recently available texts. When the connections of ideas which had sustained Chartrian philosophy began to break apart in the face of an influx of new ideas and a new corpus of philosophical material, the famous example of the city-state was also bound to suffer neglect from all but those who continued to read the *Timaeus*. Only a figure like Alan of Lille, fully conversant with the trends and specifics of early twelfth-century natural philosophy, could revive and make full use of the image in a wide variety of circumstances. In the sphere of political speculation the scheme did not lose its currency because it had failed to describe accurately or fully the composition of the state. Indeed it was succeeded by another literary construct, the purer organic model of John of Salisbury to which it had, in part, contributed. Rather thinkers would seem to have been losing their interest in the Platonic scheme of the city-state because the *Timaeus* itself was losing that position of central importance which it had held in the first half of the century. To the extent, then, that we can trace the popularity of the *illustre ciuitatis et populi exemplum* through a series of stages, that is, a renewed reading of the *Timaeus* and the commentary on it by Calcidius, a series of regular, repeated, and influential glosses, and a more general reception among readers of the dialogue, we may be justified in assessing its popularity as the product of a specific reading of the *Timaeus* in the twelfth century.¹⁴⁶

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

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THE SEMIOTICS OF ROGER BACON

Thomas S. Maloney

By the mid-thirteenth century when Roger Bacon was composing his *Sumule dialectices*¹ the modern logic was in full swing with its emphasis on analysis of terms. While the *summulae* of the preceding hundred years or so reveal a great variety in the way the various tracts were textually organized, practically all begin their approach to semantics by noting that names and verbs are, ultimately, subspecies of sounds.² Thus one finds in these treatises a set of distinctions that moves the reader from sound in general (*sonus*) to sound like that of crashing trees (*sonus non vox*) to that which proceeds from the mouth of an animal (*sonus vox* or simply *vox*). Word-sounds are then subdivided into those that do not represent anything (*vox non significativa*) such as *buba* and those that do (*vox significativa*). The latter are then said to signify either naturally like some of the sounds animals and men make or at pleasure (*ad placitum*). This approach concludes by noting that the words that signify at pleasure sometimes do so individually (*vox significativa ad placitum simplex* or *incomplexa*) and sometimes as a group (*complexa*). With these divisions the medieval logician was prepared to move on to a consideration of propositions and syllogisms, especially fallacies, inserting somewhere in the *summulae* a treatment of supposition, appellation, and copulation.

Why this approach, which I shall call Bacon's first approach to semantics, restricted its consideration of signs to sounds is easily understood. The principal focus of the *summulae* was the syllogism and especially the fallacies. In consequence it evidently was not thought necessary to include a more general treatment of semiotics. Granted Bacon's *Sumule dialectices* offers a few more distinctions on the way from sound to name,³ his approach is substantially the

¹ Robert Steele, ed., *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, 16 vols. (Oxford, 1909-40), 15.193-359, henceforward cited as *Sd* 193.3 meaning *Sumule dialectices*, p. 193, l. 3. All translations in this article are mine unless otherwise indicated.

² Throughout this article 'semiotics' will designate the study of all types of signs and 'semantics' the study of linguistic signs.

³ See *Sd* 233.2-20, 31-35.

same as that found in Peter of Spain's *Tractatus*, William of Sherwood's *Introductiones in logicam*, and earlier twelfth-century *summulae*.⁴ Behind this reason, however, there lies another. The authors were heavily influenced by the Aristotelian tradition via Boethius where Aristotle was understood in the *Perihermenias* to speak of speech sounds and their relation to things outside the mind and the mental experiences of those things.⁵

But this is not the only approach to semantics in the thirteenth century. Karin Fredborg, Lauge Nielsen, and Jan Pinborg have recently edited a treatise, *De signis*, long regarded as spurious but with an eighteenth-century ascription to Bacon which is borne out by style and content.⁶ This work is a comprehensive treatment of most of the material of the second section of part 3 of Bacon's *Opus maius*, outlined in his *Opus tertium*, and treated more briefly in his *Compendium studii theologiae*, his last known work.⁷ If it is part of the missing section of the *Opus maius*, it is probably to be dated to 1267. What is interesting in this work is that the principal approach taken in presenting semantic considerations is not the Aristotelian-Boethian one found in the *Sumule dialectices* and other *summulae* of Bacon's time, but rather one that develops them within the broader context of a more highly detailed semiotics.

Presumably, then, sometime between 1252, the probable date of the *Sumule dialectices*,⁸ and the *De signis* of 1267 Bacon decided to take what I shall call a

⁴ Cf. Peter of Spain (*Petrus Hispanus Portugalensis*), *Tractatus, Called Afterwards Summule logicales*, ed. L. M. de Rijk (Philosophical Texts and Studies 22; Assen, 1972), pp. 1-2. For William of Sherwood see M. Grabmann, *Die Introductiones in logicam des Wilhelm von Shyreswood* (Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abteilung 10; Munich, 1937), p. 31. For the twelfth-century *summulae* see L. M. de Rijk, *Logica modernorum. A Contribution to the History of Early Terminist Logic*, especially vol. 2.2: *The Origin and Early Development of the Theory of Supposition. Texts and Indices* (Assen, 1967).

⁵ Aristotle, *Perihermenias* 1 (16a4-8). While Norman Kretzmann argues that in this chapter Aristotle is not making any claim about the relationship of spoken sounds to actual things, Bacon and the other medievals clearly thought he was. For Kretzmann's analysis see his 'Aristotle on Spoken Sound Significant by Convention' in *Ancient Logic and Its Modern Interpretations. Proceedings of the Buffalo Symposium on Modernist Interpretations of Ancient Logic, 21 and 22 April, 1972*, ed. J. Corcoran (Synthese Historical Library 9; Dordrecht-Boston, 1974), pp. 3-21. For a further note on Bacon's understanding of these texts see below, n. 100.

⁶ K. M. Fredborg, Lauge Nielsen, and Jan Pinborg, 'An Unedited Part of Roger Bacon's *Opus maius: De Signis*', *Traditio* 34 (1978) 75-136, henceforward cited as *Ds*, followed by a paragraph number.

⁷ John Henry Bridges, ed., *The 'Opus Majus' of Roger Bacon*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1897; rpt. Frankfort on the Main, 1964), vol. 1; J. S. Brewer, ed., *Fratris Rogeri Bacon Opera quaedam hactenus inedita* 27 (RS 15; London, 1859), pp. 100-102; H. Rashdall, ed., *Fratris Rogeri Bacon Compendium studii theologiae* (Aberdeen, 1911; rpt. Farnborough, 1966), p. 34, l. 17, to p. 69, l. 8, henceforward cited as *Cst* 34.17-69.8.

⁸ Bacon himself dates the *Compendium studii theologiae* at 1292 (*Cst* 34.7-8) and also says that some forty years earlier he aired various difficulties pertaining to the problem of predicating terms univocally of entities and nonentities (see *Cst* 57.27-29). Given the argument of the editors

second approach to semantics. In 1292 he returned to the material in the *De signis* and re-presented it in a condensed version in part 2 of the *Compendium studii theologiae*.

Bacon states rather clearly why he wrote the *De signis*. There was nothing in the grammars of his day 'about the composition of languages, the imposition of words for signification, and about how they signify through imposition and other ways'.⁹ The signification of words is his principal intent.¹⁰ In the *Compendium studii theologiae* he states that he had been requested for some time by his friends 'to write something useful for theology' and he introduces his treatment of signification by noting with pseudo-Boethius that a great part of the errors that crop up in discourse and argument results from a failure to have 'a comprehensive understanding of terms'.¹¹ Besides these one can detect yet a further motive for both works. About the time of the writing of the *Sumule dialectices* Richard of Cornwall was teaching at Oxford that a word could signify univocally an entity and a nonentity and that a word does not lose its signification when that on which it was imposed ceases to exist.¹² While Bacon contested these theories, he acknowledges that they became generally accepted. For reasons lost to history he nurtured an abiding hatred for Richard, *pessimus, stultissimus, et famosissimus apud stultam multitudinem*. The lingering popularity of Richard's views can account in part for these works by Bacon.

The purpose of this article is to present Bacon's semiotics and its relation to his semantics as newly developed in the *De signis*. Reference to parallel loci in the *Compendium studii theologiae* will serve to indicate that little change took place in his theories between 1267 and 1292. Four features are of special interest: the relation of his semiotics to his semantics; the way in which his second approach incorporates the earlier one in the *summulae* of his time; the notion of connotation as a type of analogy; and his theory of imposition. In a final section Bacon's claims regarding the relation of his new approach to Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* will be submitted to review. It is hoped that

(Fredborg, Nielsen, and Pinborg, *Ds*, pp. 75-79) for considering it part of the *Opus maius*, and given the extensive treatment of this problem in the *Sumule dialectices* (277.28-281.2 and 284.1-287.32), Bacon's reference surely points to the *Sumule dialectices* and not to the *De signis*.

⁹ Bacon makes this remark in his *Opus tertium* but he is referring to something he has already written, presumably the *De signis*. See *Opus tertium* 27 in Brewer, p. 100.

¹⁰ See *Ds* 16.

¹¹ *Cst* 26.11-17 and 38.2-5 respectively. Bacon laments the fact that for the past fifty years, i.e., since about 1242, theologians have been more interested in speculative questions than in the study of sacred scripture itself. Then he adds that he is writing this treatise to serve them in the things they love best because it is the mark of prudence to take into account the kind of person to whom one writes. See *Cst* 34.26-35.4.

¹² See below, n. 109.

these considerations will shed further light on the debates at Oxford during the second half of the thirteenth century.

I

SIGNS IN GENERAL

As evidence that the general sign theory in the *Compendium studii theologiae* is a sometimes sketchy reworking of the *De signis*, one will note that nowhere in the former does Bacon give a definition of 'sign' and 'signification', though one is not hard pressed to infer it from the data there. However, in the *De signis* he does give a definition of the term 'sign'. He says: 'A sign moreover is that which, having been presented to a sense faculty or intellect, designates something to an intellect'.¹³ Unfortunately this definition labors under two deficiencies. First, to state that a *signum designat* is hardly illuminating. Elsewhere it will be seen that he repeatedly says that signs represent other things, that is, make the latter mentally present, and this usage serves to clarify what he intends in his definition.¹⁴ But more importantly, the definition as it stands would exclude a whole class of signs which he takes great pains to establish. As early as the *Sumule dialectices* Bacon was contending that animals can make signs that are interpretable by others of the same species,¹⁵ but the anthropomorphism in his definition in the *De signis* – signs designate something to an *intellect* – would exclude these. The most that can be said for the slip is that it serves to support his contention, seen above, that his principal intent in these works is to give an account of the signification of words, and for this an intellect is required. *Anima*, however, would have been a more appropriate term to use in his definition, as he acknowledges through use elsewhere.¹⁶

¹³ 'Signum autem est illud quod oblatum sensui vel intellectui aliquid designat ipsi intellectui' (*Ds* 2).

¹⁴ The conventional English meaning of 'designate' avoids this problem by not being too closely tied to its etymology. Cicero's definition of a sign has much the same problem as Bacon's: Signum est quod sub sensum aliquem cadit et quiddam significat quod ex ipso profectum videtur, quod aut ante fuerit aut in ipso negotio aut post sit consecutum, et tamen indiget testimonii et gravioris confirmationis (*De inventione* 1.30.48, ed. E. Ströbel [Leipzig, 1915]).

Augustine on the other hand manages to avoid this deficiency in his second definition in the *De doctrina christiana*: 'Signum est enim res praeter speciem, quam ingerit sensibus, aliud aliquid ex se faciens in cognitionem uenire' (2.1.1; CCL 32.32).

However, his first definition falls into the same category as Bacon's and Cicero's: '... signa, res ... quae ad significandum aliquid adhibentur' (1.2.2; CCL 32.7).

¹⁵ See *Sd* 233.22-29, *Ds* 8, and *Cst* 39.18-19 and 40.17-22.

¹⁶ 'Relationes autem signi et significati et eius cui fit significatio attenduntur per comparisonem ad animam apprehendentem' (*Ds* 6).

Nevertheless, Bacon's definition in all other respects does state clearly the basis for his theory of signs. Signification, according to him, entails four elements: an agency which gives the sign, the sign itself, that which the sign designates, and an interpreter. Signification, Bacon says, is a relation¹⁷ through which we come to a knowledge of something else.¹⁸ The importance of the interpreter is indicated when Bacon argues that, if something is not known through the sign, then the sign is one only in potency and not in act. It remains only *secundum substantiam signi* and not *in ratione signi*.¹⁹ No signification can take place without an interpreter; all signification conveys awareness of something. Lest the statement be misunderstood to have existential import with regard to the object signified, Bacon adds: 'It does not follow "a sign is in act, therefore the thing signified exists", because nonentities can be signified by words just like entities'.²⁰

One should note that Bacon does not set as a necessary condition for something to be a sign that it be perceptible by a sense faculty. Whatever is at least accessible to the intellect is potentially a sign. While this is a minority opinion in the thirteenth century, and Bacon acknowledges it to be so,²¹ he argues in favor of it on the basis that he is simply articulating Aristotle's position in the *Perihermenias*. According to Bacon Aristotle says: 'The passions of the soul are signs of things, which passions are habits themselves and the mental species of things.... Thus they represent things outside the mind to the intellect.'²² Unfortunately, however, Bacon never develops the notion of an imperceptible sign in any of the known sections of the *De signis* or *Compendium studii theologiae*.

¹⁷ *Ds* 1.

¹⁸ '... per notitiam signi devenimus in cognitionem significati' (*Ds* 6). While the context of this statement centers on a knowledge of causes through their effects, which justifies the anthropomorphism here, its import is generic for all signs as can be seen in the parallel cases of other animals in *Sd* 233.22-25, *Ds* 8, and *Cst* 40.7-10.

¹⁹ *Ds* 1.

²⁰ 'Non enim sequitur: "Signum in actu est, ergo res significata est," quia non entia possunt significari per voces sicut et entia...' (*Ds* 1).

²¹ '... quoniam non omne signum offertur sensui ut vulgata descriptio signi supponit' (*Ds* 2). Also, 'Si obiciatur quod signum est quod se offert sensui, aliud relinquens intellectui, ut communiter affirmatur...' (*Cst* 44.4-5). This latter text is found verbatim in the *Dialectica Monacensis*, ed. de Rijk, *Logica modernorum* 2/2.463. Bacon does not state whether he considers it a restatement of Augustine's second definition in the *De doctrina christiana*. See above, n. 14.

²² *Ds* 2. Cf. Aristotle, *Perihermenias* 1 (16a4-5). Aquinas, in following Boethius, is with the majority in considering the concepts of things as *similitudines rerum* and not signs; see R. McNerny, *The Logic of Analogy. An Interpretation of St. Thomas* (The Hague, 1961), p. 52. Bacon substitutes 'speciem' for Boethius' 'similitudinem' when he refers to the latter's commentary on this point; see *Ds* 165 and *Cst* 45.9 and *Anicii Manlii Severini Boetii Commentarii in librum Aristotelis Peri hermeneias* 1.1, ed. K. Meiser, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1880), 1.35.15-21.

II

THE DIVISION OF SIGNS

While Bacon's definition of a sign gives evidence that he is willing to take a minority position on its behalf, it is through his division of signs that he introduces his second approach to semantics and develops a semiotics that gives evidence of a genuine though partial break with the earlier approach found in the *summulae* and rooted in his understanding of the *Perihermenias*. In establishing the criteria for his classifications the role of the interpreter fades even further into the background, and his focus is the agency that gives rise to signification and the various ways in which it operates. Hence it is true to say that, as Bacon discusses the various modes of signification, he is primarily speaking of the occurrence of signs rather than their signification in the sense of conveying knowledge about something. Having acknowledged the latter notion when speaking of signification in general, he allows it to be tacitly understood in a phrase like 'dawn signifies imminent sunrise'.

For purposes of easy reference the following is the complete division of signs presented by Bacon in the *De signis*.²³ The numerals that precede each division will be used on occasion as substitutes for the more lengthy names of the classes. Signs are:

1. from nature, natural, from their essence
 - 1.1 signifying by concomitance, inference, consequence
 - 1.1.1 necessarily
 - 1.1.2 with probability
 - 1.2 signifying by configuration and likeness
 - 1.3 causes and effects
2. from a soul, from intent
 - 2.1 signifying naturally
 - 2.2 at pleasure, with deliberation, for a purpose

1. *Natural Signs*

Bacon names his first class of signs 'natural signs', or 'signs from nature', and what they do, he says, is signify naturally, from their essence.²⁴ When one notes that he also classifies signs in the first submode of his second principal class of signs (2.1) as natural, it is apparent that Bacon is deliberately trading on an equivocation in the terms 'natural' and 'nature' and that if signification in this mode is to be understood the equivocation must be unravelled and justified.

²³ Bacon offers three primary subclasses of natural signs in the *De signis* but only two in the *Compendium studii theologiae*. For a discussion of this problem see below, pp. 137-38.

²⁴ *Ds* 3 and *Cst* 38.19.

Bacon does this when he states what it is about the relations in this class that distinguish them from those in his second principal mode of signification. The former, he says, 'are constituted signs (*signi rationem recipiunt*) from their essence and not from the intent of the soul.'²⁵ In consequence the terms 'signs from nature' (*signa a natura*), 'natural signs' (*signa naturalia*), and 'signs from their essence' (*signa ab essentia sua*) are interchangeable and warn the reader that Bacon's focus is not on the kind of thing that is constituted a sign in the sense that only inanimate things could be signs in this class. The distinction he is arguing is centered rather on the kind of agency that constitutes something (inanimate or animate) a sign. Or to put it another way, anything inanimate or animate can be a sign in this mode, but it will be a sign in this mode only if it is related to something else inanimately, that is, from its essence and not by intent of an animate agent.

Bacon takes considerable pains to justify this usage of the terms 'natural' and 'nature' in both the *De signis* and *Compendium studii theologiae*. The reason seems clear enough: the usage is not that found in the traditional approach to semantics found in the *summulae* nor does it reflect his understanding of their use in *Perihermenias* 2. He is clearly introducing a new division of signs. To sanction these meanings Bacon argues that Aristotle himself uses the terms in the sense described when he distinguishes in the *De anima* between nature and soul. Bacon writes: 'For nature, as he (Aristotle) says, moves one part at a time but the soul moves in every part.'²⁶ Nature and soul are different kinds of agents because the latter can do what the former cannot. Applying this insight, Bacon observes that Boethius distinguishes four meanings for the term 'nature', notes that one of them sanctions the use of the term in a way that distinguishes natural agents from the soul, and concludes:

Nature is spoken of in another way as the substance or essence of something. Signs called natural in the first mode are so called because of such (a substance or essence) that points to another and is configured to another and exists as the effect of another on which it sheds light. These are called natural antonomastically and by way of opposition to a soul, which in one sense is nature and in one sense not, as has been pointed out.²⁷

²⁵ *Ds* 3.

²⁶ 'Natura enim ut dicit movet in partem unam tantum, anima autem in omnem' (*Ds* 13). The editors of the *De signis* suggest three loci in Aristotle's *Metaphysica* for this reference (see *Ds* 13 n., p. 85), but I think *De anima* 1.5 (411a30-b2) is closer to the point when taken in conjunction with *Physica* 7.5 (257b13). However, as a foundation for his fundamental division between naturally given and animately given signs, it may well be that Bacon simply has in mind the implications of the distinction that Aristotle makes between bodies and souls in bodies in *De anima* 2.1 (412a12-14) and 2.2 (414a20).

²⁷ 'Aliter dicitur natura substantia sive essentia cuiuslibet, et a tali inferente aliud et configurata alteri et existente effectui alterius in quo tamen reluceat dicuntur signa naturalia primo

Because of these texts Bacon is confident that he is on solid ground when he distinguishes his first class of signs on the basis of whether the relation to what they signify is caused by their own essence or by intent of a soul. Whatever is related to something else on its own, and is known to be related, is called a natural sign and is said to signify from its nature. It is these that Bacon classifies in his first mode of signification.

1.1 *Natural Signs Signifying by Natural Concomitance,
Inference, or Consequence*

While all natural signs in the first mode are said by Bacon to signify unintentionally by their essence, not all are related to what they signify in exactly the same way. Bacon's attention is first drawn to the fact that we make inferences on the basis of knowing from past experiences that various natural events occur either at the same time or in sequence. Most often he names the significative relation that is characteristic of signs in this mode by speaking of natural signs that arise by inference; less frequently they are called natural signs by concomitance and/or consequence.²⁸ Given the varied usage, it is apparent that Bacon understands nothing in the three terms that could serve as a basis for separate submodes of signification appropriate to each, and hence feels free to use them in combination or individually to indicate the particular kind of relationship existing between the signs in this mode and what they signify.

1.1.1. *Natural Signs Signifying from Natural and Necessary Concomitance,
Inference, or Consequence*

If Bacon finds no grounds for distinguishing along the lines of the terms discussed above, he does find some basis for discriminating among natural signs in mode (1.1). Here he offers examples, and they are helpful in understanding the grounds for his distinction. He groups them on the basis of whether what is signified is contemporaneous with, follows, or precedes its sign. Thus a cock's crow is a sign of the time of night; dawn is a sign of imminent sunrise; and to have a sufficient supply of milk to nourish an infant is a sign of birth.²⁹

modo dicta, quae antonomastice dicuntur naturalia et per oppositum ad animam, quae quodammodo est natura, quodammodo non, ut praetactum est' (*Ds* 14). Cf. Boethius, *De persona et duabus naturis contra Eutychen et Nestorium* 1, ed. and trans. H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand, rev. edition (Cambridge, Mass., 1973).

²⁸ *Ds* 4 and *Cst* 38.22-23.

²⁹ *Ds* 4. See also *Cst* 38.23-28. It should be noted that Bacon is dividing examples of signs and not modes of signification. Earlier, in the *Sumule dialectices* (234.6), Bacon says that a cock's crow 'nichil proprie nobis significat tanquam vox significativa....' However, the context makes it clear that all he wants to say is that, while this *vox* may serve to communicate with others of the same species (2.1), it is only a natural sign to us (1.1.2). See *Sd* 233.22-234.8.

The examples give rise to the question as to what it is that they have in common that could serve as a basis for a further distinction regarding their mode of signification. By virtue of the nonintentional relations between the signs and what they signify they are natural signs (1) and because they convey knowledge by inference they are signs (1.1). What distinguishes them, however, from other natural signs, Bacon contends, is the fact that the inference one makes from them has the character of necessity. He considers them to be signs signifying by necessary inference.³⁰ While he nowhere pauses to give an analysis of the ground for the necessity in such inferences, it seems clear enough that he is drawing on Aristotle's treatment of signs in the *Analytica priora* where the latter argues that enthymemes are irrefutable or refutable depending on which of three figures of argument is employed to express them.³¹ Aristotle even uses the example of lactation and pregnancy and contends that when stated in the first figure the argument is irrefutable.

In the *Analytica posteriora* Aristotle also makes it clear that inferences drawn from signs, be they ever so irrefutable, are not instances of scientific demonstration, and the reason he gives squares nicely with Bacon's insistence on the distinction between sign relations and causal relations: strict scientific knowledge is dependent on a knowledge of causes where knowledge by signs, though it proceed from premisses that are invariable, is knowledge by way of accidents and not essential causes.³² To this end Bacon himself points out that lactation and birth are not causally related, though the former is a natural sign of the latter by necessary inference.³³ Thus, Bacon is invoking here the venerable tradition, treated by Aristotle and passed down through the Stoics and Epicureans, that holds that, when two events have been known to be associated invariably, the one that is the more apparent becomes a sign of the other. The invariability of the conjunction, in lieu of awareness of causal relations, serves as acceptable evidence to assert that, where a natural and constant relation obtains such as implied in the examples Bacon gives, one event becomes a sign of the other by what he terms 'necessity'. Someone who knew nothing about the causal relation between smoke and fire could still know 'by necessity' that where there is smoke there is fire. The known

³⁰ Bacon speaks of each of these signs in the *Compendium studii theologiae* as 'signum vero quod representat signatum per illacionem seu consequenciam naturalem et necessariam' (38.23-25). This text clarifies an omission in another: 'Primus modus variatur per concomitanciam sive illacionem et consequenciam naturalem [necessariam] vel probabilem' (Cst 38.22-23; brackets mine). Cf. *Ds* 4.

³¹ Aristotle, *Analytica priora* 2.27 (70a3-b5).

³² Aristotle, *Analytica posteriora* 1.6 (75a28-37).

³³ Cst 39.10-11. He also notes that large extremities are not a cause of bravery though they are a sign of it (*ibid.*, 39.8-9).

cumulative record both grounds the inference and makes it reasonable to hold it with necessity.

While this mode of signification plays its obvious role in Bacon's semiotics, its relation to his semantics is especially important. His claim is that words in certain respects signify in this mode as natural signs (1.1.1).³⁴ Bacon makes the claim in regard to vocal sounds in three different situations: words prior to imposition, words imposed on things outside the mind but considered without reference to what they name, and connotative terms.

When Bacon speaks of unimposed words, he is thinking of vocal sounds which as yet have no meaning or referent. As such they are nonsense words. His analysis leads him to note that whenever they are uttered they are inevitably accompanied by their own species or representations in the speaker's mind, and by consequence are signs of the latter by necessary inference.³⁵ In his *De multiplicatione specierum* Bacon offers a theory to account for the fact that we have mental representations of things outside our minds: objects produce or generate a force (*virtus*) which is a likeness or image of the substance or proper sensible that generates it. He acknowledges that this force is named variously by philosophers, but specifically states that Aristotle and natural philosophers call it a species when treating of sensation and intellection.³⁶ Substances and accidents generate their own distinct species, and these in turn transform the sensory and intellectual faculties in which they are received.³⁷ 'These species', he says, 'penetrate the senses all the way to the interior reaches of the soul'.³⁸ They are that by which things outside the mind are known. Thus, when Bacon says that unimposed words signify their own species in the mind of the speaker, he should be understood to be saying that, when one utters a nonsense word, there is something in the mind of the utterer which stands to the vocal sound as cause to effect.³⁹ One cannot articulate a sound without first knowing what one

³⁴ How words signify in modes (1.2) and (2.2) will be seen below where these modes are considered.

³⁵ *Ds* 16-18. See also *Cst* 42.22-25.

³⁶ Ed. Bridges, 2.407-10. Referring to its various names Bacon writes: '... vocatur enim similitudo agentis, et imago, et species, et idolum, et simulacrum, et phantasma, et forma, et intentio, et passio, et impressio, et umbra philosophorum, apud auctores de aspectibus' (ibid., p. 409).

³⁷ Ed. Bridges, 2.419-20 and 410. He also contends that both universals and singulars generate their own species: '... sicut rerum quaedam sunt universales, quaedam singulares, sic species fiunt ab his et illis. Et ideo sicut species singularum sunt singulares, sic universalium universales' (ibid., p. 430).

³⁸ '... istae species penetrant sensus usque ad partes animae interiores...' (ed. Bridges, 2.409).

³⁹ 'Speciem enim suam in animo proferentis infert necessario atque configuratur ei et conformatur et est effectus illius' (*Ds* 18). Later it will be seen that the kind of causality exercised here is that of a model; see below, p. 135. One should also note that the species referred to by the term *species vocis* is not the species generated by the word and received by the one who hears it. Bacon's focus here is on the role that previously received representations play in utterances.

wants to articulate. In consequence the relation between the vocal sound and the species that accompanies it is a necessary one, and this realization serves as the basis for Bacon's claim that unimposed words are natural signs by necessary inference of their own species.

The second way in which natural signs signifying through necessary concomitance, inference, and consequence are important for Bacon's semantics is brought to light when he discusses the highly controversial question how words imposed for things outside the mind signify the species of the *things* for which they are imposed.⁴⁰ Bacon's response focuses on what he takes to be a necessary relation between that which is the name of a thing and the species of the thing by which the thing is known and named.⁴¹ Since one cannot name without knowing the thing to be named, and one knows it only by means of a species, the species is a *conditio sine qua non* of naming just as it is of knowing. It is the pivot on which naming and knowing turn. What this means, according to Bacon, is that the relation between the imposed word and the species of the thing, while not a causal relationship, is a necessary one. (Such words require species, though not the converse.) Because, however, the relation in question is necessary, Bacon judges it lacks the distinguishing attribute of names, namely, signification freely given by a soul at pleasure (2.2). What it does have is the attribute of a natural sign signifying by necessary inference: it is invariably a sign of the species whether or not anyone intends it to be so, that is, from its very essence. Obviously then imposed words involve (at least) a double signification. That thing which is a name is a sign at pleasure (2.2) of that for which it is imposed; but the same thing is also a natural sign of the species of the thing by necessary inference (1.1.1). Any imposed word signifies at least two different things in two different modes of signification. Bacon sees no argument against such complex signification for, as he says:

Such an imposition does not prevent this because a *vox rei* is related to a species there by virtue of natural consequence and natural dependence, and not because the imposition somehow or other falls on the species itself. It does not reach it.⁴²

⁴⁰ *Ds* 162 and *Csr* 44.19. See also below, n. 99.

⁴¹ '... res non potest cognosci nisi per speciem suam et habitum talem existentem apud animam, et si non potest cognosci, non potest nominari significative; ideo quandocumque profertur significative vox significativa rei, oportet quod praesentialiter apud animam sit species et habitus cognitivus, ergo vox significativa prolata ad placitum significative infert necessario speciem rei et habitum apud animam. Sed signum naturale in primo modo sic accipiebatur, quare vox significativa rei ad placitum est signum naturale speciei ipsius rei apud animam existentis, et in primo modo signi naturalis' (*Ds* 165). See also *Csr* 45.1-7.

⁴² '... nec impedit talis impositio, quia per virtutem naturalis consequentiae et dependentiae naturalis habet vox rei respectum ad speciem ibi, et non quia impositio illa aliquo modo cadat super ipsam speciem, nec attingit eam' (*Ds* 169).

Bacon avoids the charge of having hereby established a theory of natural language by not saying that the imposed word is a natural sign (1.1.1) of the thing known through the latter's species.

The third way in which natural signification by necessary inference (1.1.1) is relevant for Bacon's semantics is seen in his treatment of connotative terms. Here he directs his attention, not to what names signify naturally within the mind of the speaker, but to the way in which they signify many things outside the mind at the same time, though in (at least) two different modes of signification. This is what he calls consignification in the *De signis* and connotation in the *Compendium studii theologiae*.⁴³ He lists many examples of connotative terms;⁴⁴ but what he finds they all have in common is that they are all instances where one term, in naming one thing, becomes necessarily linked with something else.⁴⁵ Thus Bacon says that if one imposes a name for the form of a composite, the name will *quodammodo* signify the total composite inasmuch as the form is an actual part of the latter. The name of the part makes the whole known.⁴⁶

Bacon is careful never to say that a connotative term is the name of anything but that for which it is principally imposed, in the example above, the form.⁴⁷ The reason he gives for this restriction is exactly the same as that which caused him to deny that names of things outside the mind can be said to be the names of the concepts of those things. Naming is constituted by a significative relation at pleasure, but the *connotata* are linked through the primary *significate* to the name by a relation that is necessary. But since one does know in a sense the whole by knowing the part, some signification of the former takes place in signifying the part. Since the whole in this example is known by necessary inference from the essence of the part and not by intent, Bacon argues that there is a second mode of signification that accompanies the naming that is characteristic of signs that signify naturally through necessary inference (1.1.1). That which is a name and signifies at pleasure (2.2) is also a natural sign that signifies by necessary inference (1.1.1), and the *significate* is different in the two modes of signification. Bacon insists that a connotative term does have this additional natural signification:

And if it is asked whether that word signifies secondary significates naturally it can be said that it does, because the imposition falls on them in a sense

⁴³ Cf. *Ds* 104 and *Cst* 46.16-19.

⁴⁴ For example: 'creature' connotes a creator; a universal term connotes an indefinite particular; 'species' connotes a genus; a relative term connotes its correlative; and the name of a composite connotes the parts of the composite. Cf. *Ds* 104-127 and *Cst* 46.22-28.

⁴⁵ *Ds* 130 and *Cst* 46.19-22.

⁴⁶ *Ds* 127. Cf. *Cst* 49.13-23.

⁴⁷ *Ds* 130.

necessarily, so long as one imposition occurs, namely, for the object itself, which is the principal significate. And the cause of this is the fact that the signification is viewed with regard to a natural consequence and necessary inference. Hence the type of signification here is natural, as in the first mode of a natural sign.⁴⁸

Again Bacon sees no objection to one thing having two different significative relations, so long as the significates are in some way different. The name is related to the primary significate by imposition and hence is a sign of it *ad placitum*; but it is also related to the *connotatum* via the primary significate and hence is a natural sign of the *connotatum* by necessary inference.⁴⁹

In the above considerations on connotation it is clear that more than one thing is signified by virtue of the imposition of one term, or, to put it another way, one knows more than one thing through one term. Since signification by analogy occurs when one term signifies more than one thing and the things that are signified are related in some way, Bacon argues that connotation is a special type of analogy.⁵⁰ What is especially unique about this kind of analogy is that there is only one act of imposition. In the principal type of analogy, a subclass of equivocation, one term is imposed severally on things that have different definitions.⁵¹

Finally, Bacon argues that uttered words signify by necessary inference not only their own species, and, if they are imposed, the species of the things they name, and, if they are connotative terms, various *connotata*, but they also signify in the same mode (1.1.1) the one who utters them. Thus he says, for example, that when we hear the voice of an awaited animal or person, even though the utterer might not yet be in view, we know that the source is near.⁵²

⁴⁸ 'Et si quaeratur an illa vox secundaria significata significet naturaliter, potest dici quod sic, quia impositio cadit super ea necessario aliquo modo, dummodo fiat una impositio, scilicet ipsi rei, quae est principale significatum. Et causa huius est quia haec significatio attenditur penes naturalem consequentiam et illationem necessariam. Quapropter erit hic significandi ratio naturaliter, ut in primo modo signi naturalis' (*Ds* 130). See also *Cst* 49.13-23.

⁴⁹ In *Ds* 132 Bacon writes: 'Nec similiter impedit quod vox ipsa secundum substantiam suam non infert secundarium significatum neque etiam quod est actu significativa infert illud de se, quia in veritate secundarium significatum sequitur ad primum naturali consequentia, quia cum vox actu significativa et ut talis accepta infert primum significatum et primum infert secundum, vox ipsa, ut est actu significativa, infert sufficienter secundum significatum, et ideo propter talem illationem dicitur signum naturale illius secundi significati.'

⁵⁰ *Ds* 102. Cf. *Cst* 68.32-69.2.

⁵¹ Bacon gives extensive treatment to the notions of equivocation and analogy in both the *De signis* (36-133) and the *Compendium studii theologiae* (64.6-69.8). However, the fifth mode in the *De signis* (43) is divided into a fifth and sixth mode in the latter work (67.25-68.14), where one also finds a few additional remarks on figurative terms (68.19-23).

⁵² *Ds* 17. That the signification here is by necessary inference can be seen by comparison with *Ds* 6. I do not find reference to this point in the *Compendium studii theologiae*.

Before concluding a consideration of signs in this mode one should note that Bacon classifies here two other examples of signs both of which are accompanied by causal relations. All artifacts, he says, are signs by necessary inference of the one who made them. If one sees a house, one knows also that someone made it.⁵³ The second example derives from his statement, already indicated, that species in the mind of things outside the mind are, on Aristotle's authority, signs of those things.⁵⁴ Elsewhere he remarks, following Boethius, that these signs are natural since they are the same for all people whatever their language.⁵⁵ Since he also grants that things that are known are related to their concepts by necessity, presumably he would contend that the latter are signs of the former by necessary inference.⁵⁶ Their signification then would be characteristic of this mode (1.1.1).

1.1.2. *Natural Signs Signifying by Natural and Probable Concomitance, Inference, or Consequence*

Bacon's semiotics also serves to indicate that he recognizes that not all natural signs that signify by inference do so with necessity. In yet another submode of signification he classifies all those things the knowledge of which leads one to a knowledge of something else with only a certain degree of probability.⁵⁷ He offers examples: to be a mother is a sign of love; a red sky in the morning is a sign of rain the same day; and wet ground is a sign that it has previously rained. While Bacon does not state what it is about the relations here that restricts the sign value to that of probability, the explanation seems quite obvious. It is a commonly experienced fact that some mothers do not love, rain does not always follow a red sky in the morning, and wet ground can be caused by many things other than rain. Nevertheless, it is also true that the sequences in the examples are known to occur in enough instances to ground a rational inference qualified by degrees of probability that correlate with the instances. Again we see an unacknowledged link with Aristotle's treatment of enthymemes in the *Analytica priora* with, however, this difference. Aristotle

⁵³ See above, n. 52. In the *Sumule dialectices* (233.21-22) Bacon mentions the word 'bubo' and in the *De signis* (33, 34) and the *Compendium studii theologiae* (42.35-43.27) the word 'buba' as examples of words that do not signify. They are nonsense words. While he never makes the point, it would be in conformity with his semiotics to say that, because they are artifacts, they signify as any artifact does, hence in the mode under consideration (1.1.1). One might also note here that, since all artifacts are natural signs of various things, perhaps Bacon spells out in the still missing (theological) sections of the *De signis* and *Compendium studii theologiae* in what ways the world, considered as an artifact in the hands of its Creator, is a natural sign.

⁵⁴ See above, p. 124.

⁵⁵ *Ds* 166.

⁵⁶ *Ds* 165. See also *Cst* 45.1-3. Whether they are also signs by configuration will be discussed later. See below, p. 136.

⁵⁷ *Ds* 4 and *Cst* 38.22-23, 28-33.

distinguishes between signs and probabilities where the former, as we have seen, are propositions that yield irrefutable inferences while the latter yield refutable ones. He defines a probability as 'what men know to happen or not to happen, to be or not to be, for the most part thus and thus'.⁵⁸ Bacon lumps both these kinds of phenomena under the heading of signs and uses the ensuing types of inference, necessary or probable, as grounds for distinguishing submodes of natural signs that signify by inference (1.1.1 and 1.1.2). Since these latter signs lead to (probable) knowledge whether or not anyone intends them to do so, they are signs from their essence and not by intent, that is, they are natural signs. Since Bacon never refers to this class again and they are of no relevance for his semantics, nothing further need be said about them.⁵⁹

1.2. *Natural Signs Signifying through Configuration and Likeness*

Bacon recognizes that not all sign relations convey knowledge to an interpreter by way of rational inference. In a second submode of natural signs he classifies all those things that are known to be so similar in appearance that to see one causes the interpreter to think of the other immediately. The mental process involved is the simple recognition that the parts and properties of the one conform to those of the other. A sign in this mode is a likeness of what it signifies.⁶⁰ Bacon suggests various examples: 'images, pictures, likenesses, things that are similar, and the species of colors, tastes, sounds, and all substances and accidents'.⁶¹ Since the kinds of signs he has in mind are not constituted such by the intent of a soul, but rather are such on their own (given an interpreter), he argues they are natural signs in the same sense as those already considered (1); but since they represent what they signify in a way that differs from the former signs, he judges that he is compelled to distinguish their mode of signification. These are natural signs that signify naturally through configuration and likeness (1.2), not by inference (1.1).

Bacon says in the *De signis* that all artifacts signify by configuration art, species, and likenesses (*similitudines*) in the mind of the artist or craftsman.⁶² It

⁵⁸ Aristotle, *Analytica priora* 2.27 (70a4-5), trans. A. J. Jenkinson, *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, ed. Richard McKeon (New York, 1941), p. 105.

⁵⁹ I suggest that 'secundum probabiliter' in *Cst* 39.23-25 is a slip of the quill, or, that the text should read 'secundum [necessitatem vel] probabiliter'. Bacon's intent there is to distinguish signs that signify inanimately from those that signify animately but not at pleasure; this is simply the distinction between signification (1) and (2.1).

⁶⁰ 'Secundus modus signi naturalis est quando non propter illationem aliquam significatur aliquid, sed propter conformitatem et configurationem unius rei ad aliud in partibus et proprietatibus...' (*Ds* 5). Also: 'Secundus modus signi naturalis est quod representat per configurationem et expressionem similitudinis' (*Cst* 39.1-3).

⁶¹ '... ut imagines et picturae et similitudines et similia et species colorum et saporum et sonorum et omnium rerum tam substantiarum quam accidentium' (*Ds* 5). Cf. also *Cst* 39.3-6.

⁶² *Ds* 5.

would seem that the three terms all refer to the same thing: something mental that is configurable externally. This is confirmed by the fact that in the *Compendium studii theologiae* he simply speaks of art as the significate of artifacts in this mode.⁶³ This being the case, the three terms are readily understandable as designating the model an artist or craftsman has in mind in conformity with which he creates his artifact. Thus Bacon should be understood to be saying that all artifacts signify by configuration the models in the mind of the one who made them of which they are visible representations.

It is clear in the *De signis* by way of an example that Bacon wants to argue that artifacts also signify by configuration not just mental models but whatever they *de facto* resemble. Thus he says that, whether the artist intended it or not, an image that looks like Hercules is a natural sign by configuration of Hercules: '... it derives the ability to signify and represent that other'.⁶⁴ The referent of 'other' is clearly not the art, species, or likeness in the mind of the artist. Thus Bacon is contending that all artifacts signify by configuration art, species, and likenesses in the mind of the artist, and that some artifacts, namely, those which *de facto* are likenesses of something other than these, also signify in the same mode whatever else they resemble.⁶⁵

Given this understanding of signification by configuration and likeness, Bacon is in a position to explicate further his semantics. He gives indication that he considers an uttered word in the same vein as an artifact when he writes: 'For it infers by necessity its own species in the mind of the speaker and it is configured and conformed to it and it is the effect of it'.⁶⁶ Uttered words resemble phonetic sounds in the speaker's mind and, hence, are signs of them by configuration. Since the resemblance obtains independently of the act of imposition, that which is an uttered sound signifies naturally by configuration its own species and, if it is an imposed word, at pleasure the thing it names as a

⁶³ Cf. *Cst* 39.7, 14-15, and 40.2. It should be recalled that Bacon contends that artifacts are also natural signs by necessary inference of the one who made them. See above, nn. 52 and 53.

⁶⁴ *Ds* 15. Bacon is considering Hercules as a literary figure with a designated appearance.

⁶⁵ The parallel loci in the *Compendium studii theologiae* present some textual problems. First, it is clear that in this work Bacon still retains the theory that whatever *de facto* resembles something else is a sign of the latter in this mode. He uses the example of a representation of St. Nicholas: '... et ea que aliis sunt similia, ut ... ymago Nicholay vel alterius' (39.4-5). Mental representations are not the only significates. For this reason Rashdall's emendation of 'arti' for 'alii' (against both manuscripts) at 40.6 and his suggestion (p. 39 n. 2) that 'ei' should be read 'arti' at 39.25 are unjustified. Second, Rashdall suggests (p. 7) that 'arti' at 40.2 should be read in the ablative case. Again I find no justification for this. His observations seem to refer to a conflation of two texts: 39.23-25 and 40.2. But neither justifies the use of the ablative case.

⁶⁶ 'Speciem enim suam in animo proferentis infert necessario atque configuratur ei et conformatur et est effectus illius' (*Ds* 18). See also *Cst* 42.31-32, but reading *ei* with ms. R against *arti* in the text.

name.⁶⁷ Presumably Bacon would be willing to grant that that which is an onomatopoetic name would signify by configuration also the sound it resembles.

Finally a question arises as to whether Bacon considers concepts of things outside the mind to be signs in this mode of the things of which they are concepts. Various reasons suggest that he does, though he never treats this issue explicitly in any of his known works. It has been seen that he interprets Aristotle to hold that the passions of the soul are signs of things outside the mind.⁶⁸ Bacon's definition of a sign is explicitly open to things imperceptible to the senses being signs.⁶⁹ He was also seen to hold the theory that objects produce species that can be received by both sensitive and intellectual faculties. These species are likenesses of the objects that generate them, and even universal natures produce them.⁷⁰ Nor can there be any doubt that he considers the species of an object received in the mind to be what Aristotle (via Boethius) calls a *passio* or *habitus*; Bacon indicates this in the *De multiplicatione specierum*, the *De signis*, and the *Compendium studii theologiae*.⁷¹ Things signify in this mode because of conformity and configuration, and in the *De signis* he explicitly offers the species of 'all things both substances and accidents' as examples.⁷² Given this theory of species, I see no reason to restrict his intent to species received only in a sense faculty. Most probably, then, Bacon holds the theory that concepts of things outside the mind are signs of those things in this mode of signification (1.2).

1.3 Natural Signs That Are Causes and Effects

The preceding two classes of natural signs have been seen to be distinguished on the basis of significative relationships that arise either because of inference or resemblance. But what about things like animal traces and smoke? Here not only significative relations are involved but also causal ones. An animal trace is both an effect and a sign of the animal that made it; similarly smoke of fire. Bacon acknowledges that some things are both effects and signs and uses this

⁶⁷ The role of the imagination in word formation in medieval semantics needs further investigation. In this regard one should note Moerbeke's preference for 'per confictionem' for Boethius' 'secundum placitum' as a rendering of Aristotle's *κατὰ συνθήκην* in *Perihermenias* 2 (16a19).

⁶⁸ See above, p. 124.

⁶⁹ See above, p. 123.

⁷⁰ See above, p. 129.

⁷¹ Respectively, Bridges ed. 2.409, *Ds* 165, and *Cst* 44.28-30. See also below, n. 100.

⁷² *Ds* 5. In the *Compendium studii theologiae* this example is not given, but signification in this mode is said to arise 'per configuracionem et expressionem similitudinis', which is broad enough to allow the examples. See *Cst* 39.1-3.

fact as the basis for distinguishing a third submode of natural signs: things or events known to be causally related are also related as sign and significate.⁷³

In regard to this mode of signification Bacon makes two observations. First, drawing on the principle that where two things or events are known to be related the more apparent is a sign of the other, he argues that effects more often than causes are signs because they are more readily apprehended. Second, since causal relations obtain irrespective of whether anyone knows of them while significative ones require interpretative awareness, the two are quite distinct. Not everything that is an effect is also a sign, but whatever is known to be an effect is also a sign. Awareness makes the difference. Since these relations are different, there is nothing to prevent the same thing from being both effect and sign.⁷⁴

As far as I am aware Bacon expressly uses this mode of signification only once to explicate his semantics. It has already been seen that he argues that a word is a natural sign of its own species in the mind of the utterer by inference (1.1.1) and configuration (1.2). Maintaining that a word is the effect of a species, he contends that it signifies its species also as a natural sign in this mode (1.3).⁷⁵

It is clear that there is this triple subdivision of natural signs in the *De signis*. One also finds it in his *Communia naturalium*, a first draft of which, according to Stewart Easton, was possibly written between 1260 and 1263, though later revised.⁷⁶ Yet when Bacon summarises the material of the *De signis* in his *Opus tertium* – a work Easton contends was written immediately after the *Opus maius* and *Opus minus* – he mentions only the first two classes of natural signs.⁷⁷ The *Compendium studii theologiae* follows the double division of the *Opus tertium*.⁷⁸

Bacon never indicates why he made this change in his semiotics, but it is clear even in the *De signis* that the appropriateness of a third submode is in question: the first two, he says, are classes 'magis propria'.⁷⁹ Perhaps the foundation for this acknowledgment is the realization that effects are quite

⁷³ 'Tertium autem genus reperitur ut universaliter effectus respectu suae causae, sicut vestigium est signum animalis et fumus est signum ignis; et multa talia leguntur exempla' (*Ds* 6).

⁷⁴ *Ds* 6. The second point is also mentioned in the *Compendium studii theologiae* (39.7-15).

⁷⁵ 'Speciem enim suam in animo proferentis infert [vox] necessario atque configuratur ei et conformatur et est effectus illius' (*Ds* 18; brackets mine).

⁷⁶ *Liber primus communium naturalium fratris Rogeri*, ed. Steele (above, n. 1), 2.119.29-33 and 120.18-20. Stewart C. Easton, *Roger Bacon and His Search for a Universal Science. A Reconsideration of the Life and Work of Roger Bacon in the Light of His Own Stated Purposes* (Oxford, 1952; rpt. New York, 1971), pp. 42, 50, 186, 188.

⁷⁷ *Opus tertium*, ed. Brewer, p. 100. Easton, *ibid.*, pp. 164-66.

⁷⁸ 'Signum vero naturale oportet quod sit duobus modis vel ex concomitancia naturali respectu sui signati, vel ex figuracione signi ad signatum, per quam potest naturaliter representare signatum' (*Cst* 38.19-21).

⁷⁹ 'Et haec duo genera signorum naturalium sunt magis propria' (*Ds* 5).

appropriately classified as natural signs by inference (1.1.1), based simply on recognized concomitance or sequence. In support of this one need only recall that Bacon himself classifies dawn and artifacts as signs by inference (1.1.1), and surely he is aware of the attendant causal relations. Whatever his reason, and if Easton's chronology is accepted, sometime between the writing of the *De signis* and the retrospective summary in the *Opus tertium* Bacon changed his mind about the triple subdivision of natural signs and then retained the double division in the writing of the *Compendium studii theologiae*.

2. Signs Given and Directed by a Soul with Intent

To understand what Bacon says about signs in this mode one must overcome any contemporary anthropomorphism ordinarily read into the terms 'soul' and 'intent'. Medieval psychology uses the former in an equivocal sense to designate the source of operations in anything living, be it plant, animal, or man. Bacon uses it here to refer generically to the act by which all signs in this mode arise.

When natural signs were introduced above, it was pointed out that Bacon is quite concerned to indicate what 'natural' and 'naturally' mean in reference to his first principal mode of signification. Signs in modes (1.1), (1.2), and (1.3) were seen to signify from their essence and not because an animate agent constitutes by intent their relation to what they signify. In contrast to these Bacon says that all signs in his second principal mode of signification (2) are signs given and directed by a soul and that they are constituted signs by intent.⁸⁰ The division indicated by these two modes, Bacon was seen to insist, is that which has the authority of Aristotle's *De anima*. This fact, he implies, validates the principal division of his semiotics and what I have termed a second approach to semantics.

2.1. Signs Given and Directed by a Soul Signifying Naturally

From the *Sumule dialectices* on Bacon consistently contends that animals of the same species are able to communicate with one another.⁸¹ The soul that gives and directs these signs is, of course, a sensitive soul; and what it does in constituting the sounds as signs is to relate them to some awareness the animal has. Because these signs are given and directed by a soul with intent, Bacon

⁸⁰ 'Signum vero ordinatum ab anima et ex intentione animae recipiens rationem signi...' (*Ds* 7), and 'Secundus modus principalis signi est signum datum ab anima' (*Cst* 39.17). In regard to the absence of 'ex intentione' in the second text see below, n. 87.

⁸¹ *Sd* 233.22-25, *Ds* 8, and *Cst* 40.11-12. In the first and third of these works he seems to indicate that he inferred this from his observation that a hen makes a sound one way when she wants to call her chicks to eat and another way when she would warn them of the presence of a hawk. See *Sd* 233.25-27 and *Cst* 40.17-22. It has already been seen that these *voces* signify something to humans by inference. See above, n. 29.

must, by virtue of the distinction in the *De anima*, classify them as signs signifying in a way other than the natural signs discussed so far. The animal sounds are not natural signs in the sense that dawn is a natural sign of imminent sunrise. They are not signs from their essence, but signs by intent.

Bacon could have rested content with this kind of nomenclature and 'natural signs' would have designated in his semiotics all signs not given by intent. Instead, however, he introduces in his new schema the earlier terminology of the *summulae* and his understanding of *Perihermenias* 2, and speaks of signs in this mode as *natural* signs that signify *naturally*.⁸² This affects his semiotics in two ways. Not only are 'soul' and 'intent' used equivocally but also 'nature' and its cognates. More fundamentally, it superimposes a second and traditional division of signs on top of his new one. He justifies this superimposition and the use of the earlier meaning of 'natural' by appeal to a division Aristotle makes in the *Physica*:

But in the second [book of the] *Physica* [nature] is considered there more broadly than in the [*De anima*] as a force acting without deliberation whether in animate or inanimate things. Thus a soul can be included under nature in one way.⁸³

Whatever arises in a way other than from rational deliberation and purpose may be said to be natural. Signs in this mode are then natural in this sense. By the same token all signs signifying by inference (1.1), configuration (1.2), and with causality (1.3) are natural in this sense: and, hence, the terms 'natural' and 'naturally' as previously seen are actually equivocal terms as used by Bacon. By virtue of the distinction in the *De anima* they are natural since they do not arise from intent; by virtue of that in the *Physica* they are natural since they do not arise from rational deliberation and purpose. Yet even given this equivocation, it is still a fact that the principal division in Bacon's semiotics is that of the *De anima*: things are signs either from their essence (1) or because they are given and directed by a soul from intent (2). Bacon only applies the term 'natural' in the second sense to signs in this first submode of second mode signification (2.1).⁸⁴

But if signs in this submode differ from all previous signs in that they arise by intent, the question remains as to how they differ from those that signify in the

⁸² *Ds* 7, 13, 14. See also *Sd* 234.8-11 and *Cst* 39.18 and 40.7-13.

⁸³ 'Sed in II *Physicorum* universalius pro virtute agente sine deliberatione sive sit in rebus animatis sive inanimatis. Et ideo potest comprehendi anima sub natura uno modo...' (*Ds* 13). See also *Cst* 39.26-30. For Aristotle see *Physica* 2.1 (192b8-23). In the *Compendium studii theologiae* he also mentions the fifth book of Aristotle's (*Nicomachean*) *Ethics* as sanctioning this use of 'natural' (*Cst* 40.7-11). He is probably referring to *Ethica* 5.7 (1134b18-24) where a distinction is made between natural and legal justice.

⁸⁴ For speculation as to why Bacon inserted this notion of natural into his semiotics see my concluding remarks on p. 154 ff. below.

second submode, namely, at pleasure. Bacon answers this and clarifies the notion of intent in a way that both employs the superimposition of the *Physica* and gives evidence of acute empirical observation. He says:

Another sign [2.1] is one that is given by a soul and arises without the deliberation of reason and choice of the will, neither at pleasure nor for a purpose. On the contrary, (it occurs) as it were suddenly without detectable delay, by a kind of natural instinct, and by force of a nature and power acting naturally.⁸⁵

Since rational deliberation involves a detectable time lag, what animals do when they communicate is not the product of a reasoning process. Animals react quickly. Since dogs only bark and never cluck like chickens – presumably they would if they could, given the advantages of such chicanery in a barnyard – their cries are not the products of free choice (*electio voluntatis*) nor are they given at their pleasure (*ad placitum*). However these signs arise, it is clear to Bacon that they do not arise in the same way as signs at pleasure. Yet because animals do utter different cries to convey different states of (sensitive) awareness, he argues that such modulation is an indication of the presence of intent.⁸⁶

One of the problems he faces here is that medieval vocabulary has no term to designate this kind of intent which would also distinguish it from rational intent. Seeking to preserve the distinction of the *Physica* between nonrational and rational acts, Bacon seems to settle for a linguistic convention: *a proposito* is reserved to designate a rational kind of intent, that from which people act when they give signs at pleasure (2.2). However, *ex intentione* is used generically to characterize the act by which any sign is given and directed by either a sensitive or rational soul.⁸⁷ Given this convention, Bacon's statement indicates what he

⁸⁵ Bacon writes in *Ds* 8: 'Aliud signum ab anima datum est quod fit sine deliberatione rationis et sine electione voluntatis, nec ad placitum nec ex proposito sed quasi subito per privationem temporis sensibilis et quodam instinctu naturali et impetu naturae et virtutis naturaliter agentis.' Cf. also *Csr* 40.22-27.

⁸⁶ In the *Compendium studii theologiae* Bacon takes a position against what he understands as a doubt or hesitation on Augustine's part in this regard: 'Beatus tamen Augustinus libro memorato dubitat, an huiusmodi voces animalium fiant cum ali [qu]a intencione anime, sed mihi videtur quod ex intencione fiant' (40.19). (Brackets in text.)

⁸⁷ If one were to look only at the *Compendium studii theologiae*, one could well conclude that Bacon is adopting a convention by which 'ex intentione' characterizes the act by which signs (2.1) are given and 'ex proposito' by which signs (2.2) are given; cf. 40.17-19 and 41.26-28. The former is not explicitly used as a generic term for the latter. However, I suspect that this is not an intended convention but rather that a restriction on the prior term occurs because Bacon fails to incorporate in this work the explanatory statement in the *De signis* that attaches to his initial division of signs: 'Naturalia autem dicuntur, quia ex essentia sua et non ex intentione animae signi rationem recipiunt' (*Ds* 3). His explanation in the *Compendium studii theologiae* (39.22-30) how signs (1) differ from signs (2.1) would be much clearer had he distinguished there explicitly, and not just implicitly, on the basis of the absence or presence of (nonrational) intent.

means by *intent* when applied to 'animal talk'. Because animals do modulate their cries, evidently there is a power (*virtus*) within them that does this without the prompting of reason (*naturaliter agens*). He further describes it as the product of natural instinct. The signs that animals give when they communicate with others of the same species are given and directed by a sensitive soul and, by virtue of the distinction of the *Physica*, are natural.⁸⁸

Such animal cries, however, are not the only ones that signify in this way. Some human cries (*voces*) do too, such as the groans of the sick, sighs, and many expressions of wonder and the like. Bacon describes them as arising suddenly, without deliberation, from a rational soul at the instance of the sensitive soul.⁸⁹ Because Bacon grants that these cries arise from man in the same manner as in brutes,⁹⁰ he gives some attention to how a rational soul can act in a nonrational manner.

Speaking of the rational soul, he notes that it sometimes acts in a rational way, but not always.⁹¹ On metaphysical grounds, he says, it seeks by its very nature in a nonrational way (*naturaliter*) a union with the body to which it is joined. Further, it undergoes various experiences some of which are in the cognitive order while others, such as enjoyment, are more affective, but none of which is the result of a reasoning process. He gives a name to the intellect in these cases and calls it *intellectus practicus*. It is man's nature acting naturally where 'nature' and 'naturally' are understood in the sense of the *Physica*. The conclusion one is to draw is that the practical intellect is the efficient cause that relates a particular sound (*vox*) to a particular experience and thereby constitutes the former a sign of the latter (2.1).

⁸⁸ Bacon never pauses in his treatment of these signs to indicate how, for example, the chicks are able to know that a particular sound refers to food and not to something else. Again, Bacon's focus even here is more on the occurrence of signs than on the communicative dimension of signification.

⁸⁹ 'Et sic sunt omnes voces brutorum et multae voces hominum, ut gemitus infirmorum et suspiria, admirationes multae et dolores et exclamationes et multa talia quae subito et sine deliberatione fiunt ab anima rationali ad motum animae sensitivae' (*Ds* 8). See also *Cst* 40.22-27. While both a sensitive and a rational soul are described as playing a role in these human cries, it should be noted that, although Bacon espouses the theory of a plurality of forms in man, he also contends that man is only one (composed) substance and hence all sensitive and rational activities are predicated of the one soul. The rational soul, when joined to a sensitive nature, 'resumes' in itself all that the lower form possesses and then adds its own unique contribution. (See Bacon's *Questiones supra libros Prime Philosophie*, ed. Steele and Ferdinand Delorme [n. 1 above], [Oxford, 1930], 10.261.21-26.) For further remarks on Bacon's theory of 'resumption' see Theodore Crowley, *Roger Bacon. The Problem of the Soul in His Philosophical Commentaries* (Louvain-Dublin, 1950), pp. 136-41.

⁹⁰ Bacon expressly states: they arise '... subito et cum impetu naturae sicut in brutis...' (*Ds* 168).

⁹¹ See *Ds* 12 for what follows immediately.

Returning to the general notion of all signs given and directed by a soul naturally, one can note that these also signify by necessary inference (1.1.1), and presumably with causality (1.3), the one who utters them. This is never said explicitly by Bacon but can be argued to be implicit in his statement that the cry/utterance of an animal or man heard by someone signifies in this way its or his presence, even when what is signified is not yet in view.⁹² Clearly they do not signify anything by configuration, for they do not of themselves resemble anything in the mind of the utterer or anything outside it in the way artifacts do; nor does Bacon give any indication that signs like these have a semantic bearing.

2.2 *Signs Given and Directed by a Soul Signifying at Pleasure*

It has been stated on more than one occasion that Bacon's principal intent in discussing all the ways in which things signify is to arrive at a proper understanding of how human words themselves signify. How they do this naturally, (1.1.1), (1.2), and (1.3), has already been seen, but he is especially concerned that their signification as signs at pleasure (2.2) be properly understood. This is all the more important in view of the fact that he is fully aware that his theory of imposition does not enjoy the support of the majority of theoreticians in his time. Yet it should not be passed over without notice that, in spite of his principal interest, he gives full recognition to the fact that linguistic signification is rooted in the same kind of signification as certain other forms of nonverbal, rational communication. In a way that further serves to distinguish what I have called his second approach to semantics from that found in the *summulae* of his time, Bacon classifies in a final mode of signification languages, linguistic discourse (*oratio*), arguments, words taken as parts of speech, the gestures of monks and deaf people, along with all the things merchants use, including the products themselves, to advertise their wares.⁹³

Each of these things is of itself simply a thing. What constitutes anything a sign is its relation to something else whereby the other becomes known. But what requires that these things be recognized to signify in a way that is different from all other signs is the fact that their significative relations arise, as he says, 'with the deliberation of reason and choice of the will, either at pleasure or for a purpose'.⁹⁴ Given these class attributes there can be no doubt that their ultimate

⁹² See above, n. 52.

⁹³ *Ds* 7 and *Cst* 41.28-30. See also *Sd* 234.11-14. He gives as examples of advertisements a circle on a tavern indicating wine for sale, bread in a store window, and other display items such as weapons, a soldier's protective covering, and chairs (see *Ds* 7).

⁹⁴ 'Unum [signum] sit ab anima cum deliberatione rationis et electione voluntatis, sive ad placitum, sive ex proposito, et huiusmodi est signum institutum ab intellectu...' (*Ds* 7; brackets mine). Most often Bacon refers to these signs simply with the formula 'signa ad placitum'. At

efficient cause is the rational soul acting in its fullest capacity. On the basis of the distinctions in both the *De anima* and the *Physica* their signification is modally distinct from signs that signify from their essence. They arise by deliberative intent. By virtue of the distinction in the *Physica* alone, they are related to what they signify, not by the mere instinctual, nondeliberative intent characteristic of sensitive souls and an *intellectus practicus* (2.1), but by the intellectual soul acting rationally, deliberatively, purposefully, and at its own pleasure. Hence, their signification is different from that of all other signs.

Bacon gives the traditional name 'imposition' or 'naming' to the act which gives rise to this kind of signification, and it is reserved exclusively for signification in this mode. Yet because the act of imposition can sometimes be a very subtle act of the intellectual soul, he distinguishes two forms it takes depending on whether the act is vocally expressed or not. Thus, he says, the principal and ordinary way is employed when one names infants at baptism or sets out to construct a language by art.⁹⁵ The act of imposition is signified externally by a vocal expression like 'I call this a dog'. But imposition, Bacon says, also takes place tacitly (*apud solum intellectum*)⁹⁶ as in the case where one sees a picture of a man and calls the picture by the name of the man. The name of the man is taken and applied (*transumitur*) to the picture and in this way, he says, we are repeatedly constituting (*renovamus*) new *significates* for words, though we are not stating verbally that this is what we are doing.⁹⁷ Bacon grants that in this kind of imposition neither the imposer nor anyone present may actually be aware of the imposition, and he offers various explanations for this: a simple lack of attention to the act; the more expressive manner of vocal imposition; the lack of time between imposition and use; and in certain cases the dominance of a concern to express a particular emotion over that of vocalizing the imposition.⁹⁸ But these considerations, he insists, do not mean that deliberative,

other times various combinations of the above terms are used: 'ad placitum ex institutione' (*Ds* 28); 'ad placitum et per impositionem' (*Ds* 123); 'ex deliberacione facta et a proposito' (*Cst* 41.27-28); and 'ex pura deliberacione et perfecta' (*Cst* 42.1-2).

⁹⁵ See *Ds* 154-156. Bacon calls this kind of imposition 'impositio vocalis' (*Ds* 155) and says it is 'prima et principalis et consueta' (*Ds* 158). In *Ds* 156 Bacon gives a blueprint for a rationally constructed language (*secundum artem*). Using letters of the Latin alphabet one would fabricate the maximum number of monosyllabic nonsense sounds consisting of no more than six letters which would then constitute the core of the language (*primitivae dictiones*). Then the maximum number of two-syllable derivatives would be created from these. Finally, the former would be imposed for *res primae* and the latter for the *res secundae* related to the *res primae*. Bacon says the ancient Saxons and Angles created their languages in this way, but not the Latins. Here we have an explanation for the origin of a language without appeal to the tower of Babel.

⁹⁶ *Ds* 154. This kind of imposition is called *impositio accidentalis* in *Ds* 158.

⁹⁷ *Ds* 155.

⁹⁸ See respectively *Ds* 158-161. K. M. Fredborg points out that in the debate whether imposition takes place before, during, or after an utterance Bacon agrees with pseudo-Kilwardby

rational, and purposeful imposition has not taken place. Imposition is a free act of the will, and as such one may choose to express it verbally or not.

Bacon acknowledges that the question what it is precisely that names signify is a 'difficult issue'.⁹⁹ Do the names of things existing outside the mind signify as *names* only the things themselves, or, are they the names directly of the species of these things and only indirectly the names of the things themselves? Bacon's response is clear and to the point: they are names *only* of the things for which they are imposed and not of the likenesses of those things in the intellect.¹⁰⁰ He

in choosing the second option, pseudo-Albert electing the first and John of Denmark allowing for all three possibilities ('Roger Bacon on "Impositio vocis ad significandum"' in *English Logic and Semantics from the End of the Twelfth Century to the Time of Ockham and Burleigh. Acts of the 4th European Symposium on Mediaeval Logic and Semantics, Leiden-Nijmegen, 23-27 April 1979*, ed. H. A. G. Braakhuis, C. H. Kneepkens, and L. M. de Rijk [Nijmegen, 1981], pp. 176-77). For Bacon's position Fredborg refers to *Ds* 166 but it is not immediately clear that the text supports her claim. Elsewhere Bacon does acknowledge in this work that most cases of tacit imposition are instances where imposition and use occur simultaneously:

Tertia causa est quod non fiunt multum istae impositiones, nisi simul fiant enuntiationes de illis terminis, ita quod non est tempus sensibile nec minimum inter impositionem et enuntiationem, nec vox profertur nisi in enuntiatione... (*Ds* 160).

Granted the text is somewhat ambiguous, the force of 'multum' would seem to restrict the claim to most cases of tacit imposition but not all. This reading leaves Bacon not clearly in complete agreement with either pseudo-Albert, pseudo-Kilwardby, or John of Denmark. The issue is clouded even further by the fact that in the *Compendium studii theologiae*, in a text which mentions what would seem to be a typical case of tacit imposition, Bacon maintains the position that imposition precedes use: '... ante oracionem hanc prolatam, "Johannes est mortuus," necessario datur nomen preterito vel cadaveri...' (62.35-36). Given these two texts it can be said that sometime between 1267 and 1292 Bacon changed his position in the controversy. This is true even when one grants that neither text represents a claim about all cases of tacit imposition and that he makes no claim at all about vocal imposition.

⁹⁹ *Ds* 162. Cf. also *Cst* 44.19. Aquinas takes the position that the names of things outside the mind are signs at pleasure directly of the concepts of these things and indirectly of the things themselves. Thus his semantics parallels his epistemology. See *Divi Thomae Aquinatis doctoris angelici In libros Peri hermeneias expositio* 1.2.5, ed. T. M. Zigliara (Sancti Thomae de Aquino Opera omnia 1; Rome, 1882). However, I am indebted to Stephen Brown for pointing out that, were one to read only Aquinas, one would hardly know there was a debate on this issue. He also suggests the commentaries of Scotus, Burleigh, and Ockham on the opening chapters of the *Perihermenias* for a later summary of the debate.

¹⁰⁰ 'Et certum est inquirenti quod facta impositione soli rei extra animam, impossibile est < quod > vox significet speciem rei tamquam rei signum datum ab anima et significativum ad placitum, quia vox significativa ad placitum non significat nisi per impositionem et institutionem. Sed concessum est vocem soli rei imponi et non speciei' (*Ds* 163; brackets in text). Also: '... et ideo secundum hanc rationem nominis non significabit ea que sunt in anima' (*Cst* 44.35-45.1). Here 'species' is to be understood as synonymous for 'passio', 'habitus', 'intellectus', and 'conceptus' (cf. *Ds* 165-167 and *Cst* 44.28-31, 46.1-4). Bacon is at pains to explain that, when Priscian says that the parts of speech signify *conceptum mentis*, 'conceptum' is to be understood as the neuter substantive adjective and not the accusative case of 'conceptus' (see *Ds* 167 and *Cst* 46.1-2). Similarly, says Bacon, when Augustine states that the significare of 'nichil' is *affectum animae*, he means a *res affecta* and not something just mental (*Cst* 45.25-46.13). Fredborg points to various possible sources in reaction to whom Bacon may have developed his theory of

does not deny that these species can be named directly,¹⁰¹ but he does deny that when one names a thing outside the mind one is also signifying at pleasure the species of that thing. For Bacon naming is a free act (*ad placitum*) wherein a choice is made with deliberation and purpose. What is chosen to be named is exclusively what is named. The name is a sign at pleasure only of that thing because only it is the freely chosen object of the act. Should one freely choose to name the species of the object with the name of the object, a second act of imposition is required. However, says Bacon, the result would be a case of equivocation.¹⁰²

Thus when the word 'house' is imposed for a building, the act of imposition does not extend to the speaker, the species of the word, the species of the house in the speaker's mind, nor to the matter and form of the house. Any or all of these can be named directly, but to do so involves an act of imposition different from the one in question and equivocates with it. True, secondary significates accompany the act of imposition, but none of them is the direct and intended object of the act by which a vocal sound becomes a name. One knows things only indirectly, that is, by way of likenesses, but one names things directly. Bacon's semantics does not parallel his epistemology.

If words are at the free disposition of the speaker, can they be imposed for themselves and in consequence be their own names? Bacon says they can,¹⁰³ and offers two considerations in support. The first is by way of an interesting analogy with the way merchants use their products and serves also to underscore the link between linguistic signification and other forms of signification at pleasure.¹⁰⁴ A baker can choose to advertise his goods by placing a loaf of bread in the window of his shop. When he does this the bread in the window becomes at his pleasure a sign of itself. Bacon answers the objection that nothing can be a sign of itself because signification requires that there be a difference between a sign and what it signifies by granting the principle and arguing that just such a difference is preserved in the example. Bread in the window has a quality that bread otherwise does not have. The latter is bread-for-sale. Thus the substance in the window signifies the same substance, but what is signified has the additional quality of being for sale. This difference

imposition: pseudo-Grosseteste, Lambert of Auxerre, and pseudo-Kilwardby. See her 'Roger Bacon on "Impositio vocis ad significandum"', 174-79.

¹⁰¹ 'Dico igitur quod vox significativa ad placitum potest imponi ... omnibus rebus extra animam et in anima' (*Ds* 162). See also *Cst* 45.19-23.

¹⁰² 'Sed sic duplex impositio et duplex significatio, et aequivocatio, et haec omnia fieri possunt, quia voces sunt ad placitum nostrum imponendae' (*Ds* 162). See also *Cst* 45.19-23.

¹⁰³ *Ds* 27-28 and *Cst* 43.28-44.17.

¹⁰⁴ Bacon mentions this point in *Ds* 27-28 but develops it further in *Cst* 44.6-16.

between the sign and what it signifies is enough to preserve the conditions of signification. The same, he says, is true of words. All it takes for a word to become a name of itself is for it to be conceived by the intellect and freely imposed for itself. The same point can be made, he says, by recognizing that in the statement 'man is a name' the only thing that 'man' can signify is the word itself. Since every word in such a statement signifies at pleasure, 'man' is a word that signifies itself at pleasure. The two examples are intended to support his claim that words can signify themselves and they serve to illustrate further his understanding of the uniqueness of signification at pleasure.¹⁰⁵

Bacon uses another example of advertisement to illustrate a different point about signification at pleasure.¹⁰⁶ The case he has in mind is one where a stranger is led by a sign outside a wine shop to enter the shop to buy wine, only to find that there is no wine. Obviously the circle (the sign of wine for sale) moved the person to a certain act, but this raises the question of how it did this and of what it was a sign. Bacon's response is that the original signification, the one by which actual wine was signified at pleasure, has ceased since the original *significate* no longer exists. Signs at pleasure signify only that for which they were specifically imposed. The stranger, he says, was moved to enter the shop because he imagined wine to be there, and in so doing imposed the sign for the imagined wine. This was a second imposition. That the two impositions are equivocal, he concludes, is evident from the fact that the two significates are radically different.¹⁰⁷

The example has relevance for Bacon's semantics. In the twelfth century one school argued that, when that for which a term is imposed ceases to exist, the appellation of the term ceases but not its signification.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, around 1250 Richard of Cornwall, according to Bacon, was spreading the pernicious lie that 'man' could be said univocally of Christ both before and during the three days his body was in the tomb. Bacon analyzes the arguments in support of this

¹⁰⁵ In this context Bacon rejects three theses that evidently were held in his time: that all things are signs of themselves from their essence; that the uttered sounds of animals and man that signify naturally (2.1) signify themselves; and that a word must always, even before imposition on itself, signify itself since it is never separated from itself. See *Ds* 30-31.

¹⁰⁶ For what follows immediately see *Ds* 147 and *Cst* 63.12-20.

¹⁰⁷ Bacon's example here falls short of a consideration of the complex signification of intentionally deceptive signs at pleasure. However, it is possible that he might touch on the issue in the missing sections of the *De signis* and *Compendium studii theologiae* since they treat of signification in the scriptures where false prophecy plays a part. Referring to sections of the *Opus maius* still missing, Bacon says in the *Opus tertium* (ed. Brewer, p. 100) that he has already shown how words signify in the scriptures and how the *sensus literalis* signifies a *sensus spiritualis*. The issue could be conveniently raised precisely in that context.

¹⁰⁸ 'Neque enim nomen re <ce> dente significationem amisit quam prius habuerit, sed appellationem...' (*Ars Meliduna*, cited by de Rijk, *Logica modernorum* 2/1.316; brackets in text). For Bacon's treatment of this issue see *Ds* 143-153 and *Cst* 59.32-64.3.

theory, rejects them, and contends that 'man' in this case equivocates.¹⁰⁹ His basic argument is that terms are imposed only for existing things and, hence, of themselves signify only existing things. Things of the past or future, that is, nonentities, are signified by a new imposition; but since there is the greatest difference possible between an entity and a nonentity, such signification is equivocal in the fullest sense. Just as advertisements lose their signification when that which they were instituted at pleasure to signify ceases to exist, so do names. They can be reimposed, but the second imposition equivocates with the first.

What has been said above about vocal sounds and the free, deliberative, purposeful act by which they are constituted names in this mode is true, Bacon says, of all the grammatical parts of speech except interjections.¹¹⁰ The problem he sees is that these words do not seem to arise in exactly the same way as natural sounds (2.1) or the other parts of speech (2.2). He indicates this by contrasting three types of *voces*. The first occurs when a person experiences, for example, pain and suddenly, without deliberation, groans. It has been seen that this kind of sign (2.1) proceeds by nondeliberative intent. Bacon says that such signs signify 'per modum solius affectus excitantis animam intellectivam'.¹¹¹ The second type of *voces* occurs when one freely, deliberately, and purposefully

¹⁰⁹ See *Sd* 277.28-281.2; *Ds* 134-142; and *Cst* 52.7-64.3. In the first two works the treatment of this issue is calm and his opponent unnamed, but in the third Richard is named and excoriated as the inventor of the lie. For Richard's position in the controversy see Franz Pelster, 'Roger Bacon's *Compendium studii theologiae* und der Sentenzenkommentar des Richardus Rufus', *Scholastik* 4 (1929) 410-16. A. M. Landgraf, however, has shown that the issue had been raised long before 1250 when Richard, according to Bacon (*Cst* 52.35-53.1), was lecturing on the *Sentences* at Oxford (see his 'Das Problem *utrum Christus fuit homo in triduo mortis* in der Früh-scholastik' in *Mélanges Auguste Pelzer* [Louvain, 1947], pp. 109-58). Sten Ebbesen suggests various texts for comparison with Bacon's position ('Roger Bacon and the Fools of His Times', *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Age grec et latin* 3 [1970] 40-44) and compares Parisian and English masters of the second half of the thirteenth century on this issue ('The Dead Man Is Alive', *Synthese* 40 [1979] 43-70). H. A. G. Braakhuis argues that while William of Sherwood held a theory of habitual being (a notion utilized by Bacon's opposition in the controversy and condemned by him [*Cst* 55.30-56.13]), it is not Sherwood's theory that Bacon opposes, at least not in one of its formulations: see his 'The Views of William of Sherwood on Some Semantical Topics and Their Relation to Those of Roger Bacon', *Vivarium* 15 (1977) 111-42. Alain de Libera points out that Bacon was in possession of the theory that names are originally imposed only for existing things as early as the *Sumule dialectices* of 1252, granted it is expressed there in terms of supposition theory; see his 'Roger Bacon et le problème de l'appellatio univoca' in *English Logic and Semantics*, pp. 193-234.

¹¹⁰ For Bacon's treatment of interjections see *Ds* 9-11; *Communia naturalium*, ed. Steele, 2.109.34-111.7; and *Cst* 42.2-5. For a broader treatment of interjections see Jan Pinborg, 'Interjektionen und Naturlaute. Petrus Heliae und ein Problem der antiken und mittelalterlichen Sprachphilosophie', *Classica et mediaevalia* 22 (1961) 117-38.

¹¹¹ *Ds* 9. Also: 'Voco autem affectum et animam affici, quando dolet et gaudet et miratur et huiusmodi...' (*Ds* 11).

decides to talk about pain in general or one's own pain. Here the person forms a concept of the experience of pain, passes some time in deliberation, and then, at his pleasure, purposefully imposes the word 'pain' for the experience. This kind of imposition (2.2), Bacon says, proceeds 'per modum pleni et perfecti conceptus'.¹¹² A third type, however, differs from the two preceding in that the words are uttered neither from (sensitive or intellectual) instinct nor by way of full deliberation and clear concepts (*conceptus perfecti*). These, Bacon says, are interjections or *voces mediae quodammodo* and they signify 'per modum conceptus licet imperfecti, et per modum deliberationis imperfectae'.¹¹³

In his *Communia naturalium* Bacon seems to want to lay a foundation for this theory when he points to a sequence he considers to occur when interjections are imposed.¹¹⁴ The case he has in mind occurs when a person, experiencing grief, begins the time-conditioned process of conceiving the experience. But before the process is completed, the partially formed concept surrenders to the *feeling* of grief, which then dominates the continuing awareness. Imposition at this point can only result in a sign that arises by way of a dominating, partially conceived affect and not by way of a clearly formed concept of the grief. Even the terms themselves, from a grammatical point of view, suffer the consequences of imperfect concept formation. Says Bacon, they are lacking in construction, perfection, and form.¹¹⁵

Since both affects and (imperfect) concepts are involved, Bacon can be seen to say at one time that interjections arise *per modum conceptus*¹¹⁶ and at others *per modum affectus*.¹¹⁷ The difference is one of emphasis. Thus a cry of pain, 'oh', used to signify pain, and 'pain' all signify the same thing, but the way each arises as a sign is different.¹¹⁸ It is the lack or degree of conception and deliberation that makes the difference. Nevertheless, Bacon still insists that all the conditions for imposition and signification in this mode are sufficiently met

¹¹² *Ds* 9. Also: '... conceptum autem dico quando de passione afficiente vel non afficiente sive non existente deliberat, iudicat et cognoscit in tempore sensibili per modum plenae considerationis ex proposito' (*Ds* 11).

¹¹³ *Ds* 10.

¹¹⁴ 'Set secundum quod est interjeccio habet (gemitus) vocem absconditam et imperfectam et informem, quia imperfectus est conceptus, et imperfecta deliberacio, et affectus vincit conceptum, unde dicuntur significare per modum affectus, hoc est quia homo afficitur dolore, id est, dolet antequam concipiat dolorem, sive antequam moretur circa conceptionem, quia conceptus ejus transit cito in affectum, licet non subito sicut in vocibus que omnino significant naturaliter...' (ed. Steele, 2.110.25-32).

¹¹⁵ *Communia naturalium*, ed. Steele, 2.110.25-26. See also *Summa gramatica magistri Rogeri Bacon*, ed. Steele, 15.18.16-21 and *Cst* 42.5.

¹¹⁶ *Ds* 9-10.

¹¹⁷ *Communia naturalium*, ed. Steele, 2.110.28-29 and *Cst* 42.4.

¹¹⁸ *Ds* 9.

to enable these *mediae voces* to be classified as one of the parts of speech. They signify at pleasure, but do so imperfectly.

One final question remains regarding all signs that signify (perfectly or imperfectly) by free and rational choice, deliberation, and purpose. Does Bacon contend that signs in this mode (2.2) signify by convention, that is, by a kind of *collective* consent and agreement of the people who use them? In my judgment he does not. The most that can be said is that one can point to various contexts in his treatment of these signs that would have served him well had he been inclined to make this point, but they offer little indication that he sufficiently grasped their relation to *this* notion of conventional signification. Thus when Bacon notes that something remains a sign only *secundum substantiam* until an interpreter actually gains knowledge through it, he is laying the foundation for speaking of something more than the interpreter's role in all signification.¹¹⁹ Yet he fails to develop the conditions for interpretation peculiar to signs at pleasure. Bacon grants that cases of tacit imposition are also cases of use, but again he fails to spell out the conditions for use.¹²⁰ He could also have used the examples of advertisements to offer instruction on signification by (collective) convention, but instead he limits their use to an illustration of how words can be imposed for themselves or lose their signification.¹²¹

What this omission serves to indicate is the tremendous influence of Boethius on the whole medieval approach to semantics, including Bacon's. For as J. Engels rightly remarks, the term 'ad placitum' by which the great commentator translates Aristotle's *κατὰ συνθήκην* was understood by Boethius only in an individualistic sense, that is, at one's *own* pleasure.¹²² Bacon has been seen to use Boethius' term to name signs in this mode, and he clearly states that this is what Aristotle calls them. That he is predominantly using it in the same sense as Boethius can be seen in a text where Bacon says that vocal sounds can be imposed 'per libertatem voluntatis'.¹²³ One names at one's *own* pleasure; there is little hint of convention or collective pleasure. Given the influence of Boethius in this regard, perhaps one should not be surprised at this. But Bacon does make reference to Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* and there *placere* is used in the

¹¹⁹ See *Ds* 1.

¹²⁰ See *Ds* 160.

¹²¹ See above, nn. 104 and 106.

¹²² J. Engels, 'La doctrine du signe chez saint Augustin' in *Studia patristica*, vol. 6.4: *Papers Presented to the Third International Conference on Patristic Studies Held at Christ Church, Oxford, 1959. Theologica, Augustiniana*, ed. F. L. Cross (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der althristlichen Literatur 81; Berlin, 1962), p. 369. See also his 'Origine, sens et survie du terme boécien "secundum placitum"', *Vivarium* 1 (1963) 87-114.

¹²³ *Ds* 32. In the *Compendium studii theologiae* he says that the cause of naming is 'liberum arbitrium inponentis nomen secundum sue bene placitum voluntatis' (51.10-11).

collective sense.¹²⁴ Here, again, it emerges that Bacon is more concerned with the occurrence of signs than with how they actually convey knowledge. Having lamented this defect in Bacon's semantics, one can only endorse Engels' concluding remark:

A curious fact: whereas the definition of the sign formulated by Augustine passed down through the Middle Ages, the collective aspect of the linguistic sign, although pointed out by him, has been almost eclipsed by the Boethian 'ad placitum'. As to this collective aspect, one has to wait until the sixteenth century before one sees it reappear.¹²⁵

III

THE SEMIOTICS OF THE *COMPENDIUM STUDII THEOLOGIAE*

Before we address Bacon's claims to originality in regard to his semiotics a few words are in order about the semiotics of the *Compendium studii theologiae*. As the preceding references and notes indicate, it is a faithful and concise résumé of almost all the essential elements of Bacon's semiotics as reflected in the *De signis*. It lacks a definition of a sign and a *clear* statement that first and second mode signs (1 and 2) are distinguished *ex essentia sua* and *ex intentione*. I have indicated in the notes the relevant textual problems. However, it has (along with the *Opus tertium*) the double subdivision of natural signs, which I take to be a correction of the *De signis* (and *Communia naturalium*), and indicates the relation of Bacon's semiotics to his semantics. Words are shown to signify different things in multiple modes; Bacon's theory of imposition and connotation are clearly stated, though the latter is less clearly defined; vocal and tacit imposition are distinguished; and analogy and equivocation are discussed, though again less thoroughly than in the *De signis*. Unfortunately, however, the same concluding sections on supposition and the relevance of linguistics to the study of theology and the scriptures are missing in both treatises. In short, a comparison of the two works reveals that the semiotics and semantics of Bacon's last known work, the *Compendium studii theologiae*, represents no significant development beyond the theories espoused in the *De signis*, with the exception of the double division of natural signs.

¹²⁴ 'Namque omnia, quae ideo ualent inter homines, quia placuit inter eos, ut ualeant, instituta hominum sunt' (2.25.38; CCL 32.60).

¹²⁵ Engels, 'La doctrine du signe', 373.

IV

BACON'S DIVISION OF SIGNS AND THE *DE DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA*

When Bacon reworked much of the material in the *De signis* into the *Compendium studii theologiae*, he used the occasion to make a claim about the originality of the classification of signs he was presenting. Having stated that one must understand the relations which constitute signs, he adds:

And while it is true that, before I saw the book of Blessed Augustine *De doctrina christiana*, I fell upon a division of signs by my own labors which I later found in the beginning of the second book of the *De doctrina christiana*, I say with his authority, granted I explicate what he says by means of reasons and examples, that a sign according to [him] is from nature or given by a soul.¹²⁶

This statement makes two principal claims. First, that Bacon's division of signs in the *Compendium studii theologiae* is not taken from Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, and, second, that when one distinguishes between *signa a natura* and *signa data ab anima* as Bacon does, one is doing what Augustine did and by consequence can be said to speak with the latter's authority. A comparison of the two treatments of these signs, however, argues that because of the way the latter claim is false, the former may well be true.

In the *De doctrina christiana* Augustine offers examples of various kinds of signs. Smoke, animal tracks, and a sad face, he says, are signs that make us aware of something else without any desire, intent, or act of the will on our part. He calls these signs 'natural signs' (*signa naturalia*).¹²⁷ On the other hand, nods, motions of the hands, gestures of actors, military standards and words (spoken and written) are signs, he says, which people give to transfer to another mind something they have sensed or understood, and they convey the will of the one who gives them. These he calls 'given signs' (*signa data*).¹²⁸ The signs animals use among themselves to communicate their appetites and the cry people make when in pain constitute a third set of examples. Apropos of this third class of signs Augustine says:

¹²⁶ 'Et, licet antequam vidi librum Beati Augustini de doctrina Christiana, ... dico eius autoritate, licet explico dicta eius ratione et exemplis, quod signum secundum [eum] est a natura vel datum ab anima' (*Cst* 38.13-19; brackets in text). In the *Opus tertium* (ed. Brewer, p. 100) Bacon simply states: '... ideo aggressus sum illos modos ostendere, sicut Augustinus docet in libro secundo et tertio De Doctrina Christiana, quod signa quaedam sunt naturalia, et quaedam data ab anima'. Augustine is not mentioned in this regard in either the *Communia naturalium* or the *De signis*.

¹²⁷ 2.1.1-2 (CCL 32.32).

¹²⁸ 2.2.3-2.3.4 (CCL 32.33-34).

Whether these signs ... express a motion of the spirit without the intention of signifying or are truly shown as signs is not in question here and does not pertain to our discussion, and we remove this division of the subject from this work as superfluous.¹²⁹

An analysis of what Augustine says about the first two groups of signs reveals two points that are relevant to Bacon's second claim. First and foremost, Augustine distinguishes natural signs from given signs on the basis of whether or not the sign proceeds from the human will. As Engels correctly remarks: 'The idea of the will is a constant and central theme in this passage, attributed to *signa data*, rejected for *naturalia*.' ¹³⁰ The former, Augustine says, signify '*sine uoluntate atque ullo appetitu significandi*' while the latter are given '*ad demonstrandos ... motus animi sui uel sensa aut intellecta quaelibet*'. While this difference clearly reflects a marked similarity with the division Bacon finds in the *Physica*, *Perihermenias*, and *summulae*, he himself has been seen to point out that his fundamental division of signs has the authority of the *De anima*: signs signify either from their essence, or by either nonrational or rational intent. It is not a division based exclusively on the absence or presence of a will giving the sign. Bacon's first and most fundamental division of signs is not Augustine's.

The second point is that Augustine does not clearly intend any other division of signs in the *De doctrina christiana*.¹³¹ He does not argue that relations of inference (necessary or probable) and configuration are grounds for distinguishing submodes of signification within his class of natural signs, though his examples include both smoke and animal tracks. He does acknowledge that there is some question in his mind about how some of the sounds animals and men make should be classified, but his hesitation is over the question whether they should be considered as signifying without an act of the will or with it. Since this is his basis for distinguishing natural signs from given signs, it is clear that he is still operating within the confines of his principal dichotomy and does not understand the *ratio* of their signification in the same sense as Bacon.

¹²⁹ 2.2.3, trans. D. W. Robertson, Jr., *Saint Augustine. On Christian Doctrine* (New York, 1958), p. 35.

¹³⁰ Engels, 'La doctrine du signe', 371. B. Darrell Jackson agrees; see his article 'The Theory of Signs in St. Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*' in R. A. Markus, ed., *Augustine. A Collection of Critical Essays* (Garden City, N. Y., 1972), pp. 96-99. Markus also speaks of only two classes of signs; see his 'St. Augustine on Signs', *ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

¹³¹ It has been seen (above, n. 124) that Augustine does refer to signs that signify by (collective) convention. While in point of fact these could be used to constitute a subclass of signs given by a soul at pleasure, Augustine does not seem to be so inclined. At any rate, such a subdivision would not alter his fundamental division of signs.

Finally, if we recall what has already been brought out earlier, Bacon's definition of a sign does not require that a sign be something detectable by the senses. Augustine's, as stated in the opening sections of book 2 of the *De doctrina christiana*, does; and it is precisely upon *these* sections that Bacon makes his appeal.¹³² The two systems, both in their theories and their principal divisions, are significantly different.

What these considerations reveal is that Bacon's second claim, namely, that he speaks with Augustine's authority, is only true in a certain sense. Both authors do divide signs on the basis of whether the relations were constituted by free human choice. For Augustine this is the sole division. But Bacon only uses something similar by way of superimposition in a submode to enable him to speak of the very sounds Augustine refuses to discuss, and appeals to the *Physica*, not the *De doctrina christiana*, for support. Both authors do use the terms 'signa naturalia' and 'signa data', but the meanings are different in the two systems because the initial divisions of the systems are different. In consequence, Bacon's second claim is hardly verified.

If this is correct, Bacon's first claim, namely, that he fell upon his division *per studium propriae inventionis* prior to reading Augustine's work, is rendered more credible. It is, of course, possible that he originally found support for his principal division in some work other than the *De anima*, possibly an eleventh- or twelfth-century treatise on signs. This would still allow him to say that his division has the authority of the *De anima* and, therefore, also has the authority of Aristotle; but to disprove his first claim one would have to show that such a text existed and that he had access to it. To my knowledge no such link has yet been demonstrated. Until that time, I would argue that there are good grounds for accepting the truth of the claim. Whether 'per studium propriae inventionis' is also a claim to have discovered the division without recourse even to the *De anima* is probably an irresolvable question. Whether he did in fact rely on an earlier medieval work, which in turn may or may not have drawn on the *De anima*, is a question that requires further research.

Bacon's treatises *De signis* and *Compendium studii theologiae*, then, present what is most probably an original approach to the classification of signs. Why he embarked on this new venture seems clear enough. Both theology and philosophy were in need, as he saw it, of a more comprehensive understanding of the signification of terms than could be afforded through the semantics found in the *summulae* of his time. Since his theory of imposition was anything but a *sententia communis*, he felt the need to justify it and spell out the many ways in which terms signify. Granted, the notions of signification by inference, con-

¹³² For these two definitions see above, respectively, nn. 13 and 14.

figuration, and at pleasure were well known along with the significative character of things like a dog's bark and the groans of sick people; but how the first three played a role in a comprehensive knowledge of the signification of terms was, in his judgment, not sufficiently understood. Further, the traditional treatment lumped all signs other than those at pleasure into one category, and perhaps a desire, based at least in part on his own empirical observations, to acknowledge a closer affinity of such signs as 'animal talk' to signs at pleasure moved him to seek a new division of signs. Finally, he was aware of the division between inanimate and animate agents in the *Physica*. His contribution was to catch the usefulness of this division as the basis for a first division of signs in support of a general semiotic theory. All that was then needed was a more restrictive use of the term 'natural' and a broader use of 'soul' and 'intent' than was customarily found in the introductory discussion on signs in the *summulae*. His new classification of signs, therefore, does indeed display an element of originality. It was a break with tradition.

However, it was not a clean break. Clearly Bacon could have explicated the various modes in which terms signify exclusively within this new framework, but equally clearly he chose to superimpose the earlier and traditional division when he arrived at a consideration of signs like a dog's bark and human groans. One recognizes the fusion of the two systems whenever Bacon speaks of these signs as signs given by a soul naturally. The equivocation with the first use of 'natural' was intended, or at least permitted. Just why he chose to superimpose the older system is not at all clear. Perhaps it was simply an unwillingness to break totally with tradition. Perhaps he found the tradition-laden nomenclature acceptable enough and felt its use offered some advantage – at least not an obstacle – for gaining acceptance for his new principal division. Since signification in this mode (2.1) was to play no direct part in a comprehensive knowledge of the polyvalent signification of terms, his principal intent, the superimposition could not directly affect his goal. Clearly it did introduce equivocation in regard to the other natural signs (1.1, 1.2, and 1.3); and since these modes bear a direct relation to a knowledge of terms, there was an indirect influence on his goal. Obviously he felt this disadvantage to be outweighed by the advantage. Whatever the case, he ended up with a fusion of the two systems which, however, did not compromise the originality of his principal division.

University of Louisville.

MAN'S FREE WILL IN THE WORKS OF SIGER OF BRABANT

Christopher J. Ryan

THE recent monograph¹ by Fernand Van Steenberghen, the doyen of Sigerian studies, bids fair to remain for some time the standard work on the medieval philosopher and the starting point for any research on his medieval compatriot. Van Steenberghen remarks in introducing his relatively slight section on will and the moral life: 'Les problèmes relatifs à la nature de l'âme intellectuelle et de l'activité intellectuelle dominant l'anthropologie de Siger de Brabant et ont absorbé presque toute son attention en ce domaine de la philosophie. Cependant il n'a pas négligé complètement le problème du *vouloir* et celui de la vie morale, qui s'y rattache' (p. 383, Van Steenberghen's italics). Granted such a perspective, it is understandable that he should devote little more than two pages to the subject of free will (pp. 384-87).

Yet several considerations suggest that this last subject merits a closer look than it was accorded by Van Steenberghen. First, Siger was at the heart of the controversies during the third quarter of the thirteenth century in Paris, the most prestigious and influential university of the time, and free will was a central subject in these disputes. Three of the thirteen propositions condemned at Paris by Tempier in 1270² and some twenty of the 219 condemned by him in 1277 were concerned with free will.³ Second, in discussing Siger's view of free will, Van Steenberghen was unable to take account of three then unpublished

¹ *Maître Siger de Brabant* (Philosophes médiévaux 21; Louvain, 1977).

² H. Denifle and É. Chatelain, eds., *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis* 1 (Paris, 1889), pp. 486-87, propositions 3, 4 and 9.

³ All of the propositions grouped by P. Mandonnet under the heading 'De voluntate humana' (*Siger de Brabant et l'averroïsme latin au XIII^e siècle*, 2nd edition, 2 [Louvain, 1908], pp. 187-88) directly or indirectly concern free will. Individual propositions in this decree will be cited with double numbering: that of the original (*Chartularium*, pp. 543-55) followed by that of Mandonnet (*Siger* 2.175-91), who regroups them according to the subject matter. R. Hissette, *Enquête sur les 219 articles condamnés à Paris le 7 mars 1277* (Philosophes médiévaux 22; Louvain, 1977) considers Siger's views on free will in relation to this decree, but his treatment is necessarily fragmentary; see pp. 232-34, 238-40, 246-47, 252-53, 275.

questions on free will from the Vienna and Peterhouse reportations of Siger's *Questions on the Metaphysics* which throw some light on the Brabantine's thought on the subject;⁴ and, strangely, he makes no reference in his discussion of free will to Siger's treatment of the theme in the Peterhouse reportation of *Metaphysics* 6.9.⁵ Furthermore, while Van Steenberghen amply confirms the growing agreement among scholars that Siger did in fact consistently uphold the view that man has free will, he does not elaborate on what was particular to Siger's view of free will. Finally, and connected with this last point, the nature of Siger's view of free will is clarified when one places it within the contemporary debates on the subject, a topic which throws light on why Mandonnet in his great pioneering work on Siger, and the distinguished

⁴ The following critical editions of Siger's works are used. The works are listed in the chronological order given by Van Steenberghen (*Maître Siger*, p. 218), an order whose basic outline is not in dispute. Before each work will be found the abbreviation adopted in this article. They are:

In 3um De anima – Quaestiones in tertium De anima, ed. B. Bazán, *Siger de Brabant. Quaestiones in tertium De anima; De anima intellectiva; De aeternitate mundi* (Philosophes médiévaux 13; Louvain, 1972), pp. 1-69

De aet. – De aeternitate mundi, ed. Bazán, *ibid.*, pp. 113-36

Imposs. – Impossibilia, ed. B. Bazán, *Siger de Brabant. Écrits de logique, de morale et de physique* (Philosophes médiévaux 14; Louvain, 1974), pp. 69-97

De nec. – De necessitate et contingentia causarum, ed. J. J. Duin, *La doctrine de la providence dans les écrits de Siger de Brabant* (Philosophes médiévaux 3; Louvain, 1954), pp. 14-50

Met. (Munich) – Quaestiones in Metaphysicam 2-7: reportation of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek ms. Clm 9559, fols. 93r-118v; ed. C. A. Graiff, *Siger de Brabant. Questions sur la métaphysique* (Philosophes médiévaux 1; Louvain, 1948), pp. 1-360

Met. (Paris) – Quaestiones in Metaphysicam 2-7: reportation of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. lat. 16297, fols. 81r-87v; ed. Graiff, *ibid.*, pp. 1-384

Met. (PH) – Quaestiones in Metaphysicam 2-7: reportation of Cambridge, Peterhouse ms. 152, fols. 51r-103v; 3.15, 16; 5.10, 41; 6.6, 8, 9; ed. J. J. Duin, *La doctrine*, pp. 74-110; full text to be published shortly, ed. A. Maurer, *Siger de Brabant. Quaestiones in Metaphysicam* (Philosophes médiévaux 25)

Met. (V) – Quaestiones in Metaphysicam 5-7: reportation of Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek ms. 2330, fols. 99r-106v; ed. W. Dunphy, *Siger de Brabant. Quaestiones in Metaphysicam* (Philosophes médiévaux 24; Louvain-la-Neuve, 1981), pp. 303-415

Q. naturales – Quaestiones naturales, ed. B. Bazán, *Siger* (1974), pp. 106-13

Q. morales – Quaestiones morales, ed. Bazán, *ibid.*, pp. 98-105

L. de c. – Quaestiones super Librum de causis, ed. A. Marlasca, *Les 'Quaestiones super Librum de causis' de Siger de Brabant* (Philosophes médiévaux 12; Louvain, 1972).

The three previously unpublished questions referred to are: *Met. (PH)* 5.8; *Met. (V)* 5.8 and 7.1. The probable chronological order of the four recensions of Siger's commentary on the *Metaphysics* is that given above: see Dunphy, *Siger*, pp. 20-25. I am grateful to Professors Maurer and Dunphy for making available to me in typescript and proofs the Cambridge and Vienna reportations of Siger's *Quaestiones in Metaphysicam*. All italics in the quotation of Siger's works below are mine.

⁵ First published in 1952 by A. Maurer: see below, p. 163.

scholars who agreed with his analysis, considered Siger's adherence to that belief to be verbal and not real.

What is called for, then, is a discussion of free will in Siger which will trace the evolution in the formulation of his thought, specify what is peculiar to his philosophical perspective, situate his thought, however briefly, within the contemporary debates, and give some account of the diversity of views in modern scholarship regarding Siger's attitude to free will.

I

DIVERGENT VIEWS IN MODERN CRITICISM

To begin with this last.⁶ Mandonnet's presentation of Siger's view of free will⁷ is consistent with his general picture of the philosopher as the main proponent of a system termed 'Latin Averroism', whose major tenets (according to Mandonnet) are reflected in the propositions condemned in 1277. He regarded the denial of free will as the fourth great error aimed at by that condemnation (1.181). To avoid repetition, I shall not here attempt to answer in detail the arguments of Mandonnet (and others), reserving this for later (see especially pp. 170-77, 188-93 below). For the moment it is sufficient to note the following. Mandonnet based his view of Siger's attitude to free will on two of the philosopher's works, *Impossibilia* 5 and *De necessitate et contingentia causarum*.⁸ Before discussing Siger's position in these works, he makes the general comment that '... les averroïstes latins ont résolument accepté la suppression de la liberté psychologique, c'est-à-dire du libre arbitre dans les actions humaines tout en s'efforçant de sauvegarder les apparences' (1.181). In considering the *De nec.* where he is faced with Siger's explicit affirmation that man has free choice, Mandonnet concludes, in line with his earlier general statement, that Siger's adherence is only verbal:

Cette définition et les quelques explications dont elle est accompagnée ne laissent pas apercevoir nettement le fond de la pensée de l'auteur. Mais ce qu'il nous a déjà dit, à savoir que dans son acte la volonté n'est jamais libre, suffirait pour nous faire pressentir que cette définition de la liberté cache un piège; et notre philosophe se charge lui-même ultérieurement de nous dévoiler toute sa pensée, lorsqu'il parle de la nécessité dans les causes *ut in pluribus* auxquelles il a, ici même, identifié la volonté. (1.183)

⁶ The general survey of the history of Sigerian studies by Van Steenberghen, *Maître Siger*, pp. 177-221, obviates the necessity of dealing with other than what immediately concerns free will.

⁷ *Siger de Brabant et l'averroïsme latin au xiii^e siècle*, 2nd edition, 1 (Louvain, 1911).

⁸ The name of the *De nec.* was given by Mandonnet. He considered these two works in the reverse order to that now accepted, i.e., he analyzed first the *De nec.*

Closing his discussion of this work he writes: 'Le libre arbitre, pour notre auteur, est donc un mot vide de sens' (1.184).

Mandonnet bases his case on three points. First, he reduces Siger's attribution of freedom to man's will on the basis of the fact that the will duly acts after judgment (which is open to contraries) to mean only that 'La volonté ne passe pas au vouloir sans quelque appréhension d'objet' (1.182). He sees in this no more than the doctrine of psychological determinism, for he equates Siger's position with that condemned in proposition 194/151 of the 1277 decree: 'La condamnation de 1277 a touché exactement cette doctrine. À cette formule, qui est celle de notre auteur: "L'âme ne veut rien, si elle n'est mue par un autre", la condamnation répond avec raison: "C'est une erreur, si on limite au seul objet appétable toute la raison du mouvement de la volonté"' (1.182-83). Second, he understands Siger's position that 'Non est hoc etiam libertas voluntatis *quod ipsa voluntate existente in dispositione illa, in qua nata est moveri ad volendum, et movente etiam existente in dispositionem in qua natum est movere, possit aliquando non moveri voluntas*' to be equivalent to saying 'quand la volonté est sous l'action exercée par son objet, elle ne peut pas ne pas vouloir, c'est-à-dire que son acte est nécessaire' (1.183, Mandonnet's italics).⁹ Third, he regards the mode of operation of the will in Siger as being identical to that of all causes that normally operate and will necessarily operate unless they are prevented from doing so by some factor outside themselves, i.e., the will is no different from any other physically contingent cause: 'Le libre arbitre, pour notre auteur, est donc un mot vide de sens, et est employé pour désigner le seul fait de la contingence dans l'exercice de la volonté. La volonté pouvant s'appliquer à des actes opposés n'est pas soumise à la loi de la nécessité absolue, sinon elle ne produirait qu'une catégorie d'actes toujours identiques; mais elle est soumise à la loi de la nécessité relative, en ce sens que ses actes divers sont, pour chaque cas, soumis à la loi de la nécessité' (p. 184).

For Mandonnet the position espoused by Siger in *Imposs. 5* is identical to that of the *De nec.*: 'On verra comment Siger, arrivé à la question fondamentale de la liberté humaine, propose une doctrine de tout point identique à celle du *De necessitate et contingentia causarum*, jusque dans la littéralité de ses formules'

⁹ Mandonnet's reading of the text differs slightly from that of the critical edition by Duin at this point, though his reading does not significantly alter the meaning. Duin's text reads: 'Non est etiam haec libertas voluntatis quod, ipsa voluntate existente in dispositione illa in qua nata est moveri ad aliquid volendum, et movente etiam existente in dispositione in qua natum est movere, habeat aliquando non moveri voluntas, vel habeat potentiam ut non moveatur sic disposita et agente sic disposito' (p. 34, ll. 55-59). As Mandonnet notes, part of this passage is reproduced almost verbatim in proposition 131/160 of the 1277 condemnation.

(p. 184). The proposal put forward in this sophism (against which Siger argues) is: 'Quinto proponebatur quod in humanis actibus non esset actus malus, propter quam malitiam actus ille deberet prohiberi vel aliquis ex eo puniri' (p. 86, ll. 4-6). The most important pointer in this discussion (in Mandonnet's eyes) to Siger's determinism is that he makes no mention of free choice. When the imaginary proponent argues that his viewpoint holds because man is necessitated, 'Siger, pour résoudre la difficulté, se garde bien de nous répondre que l'homme est libre et qu'en conséquence il est responsable de ses actions. Siger, en toute cette affaire, ne prononce pas une fois le mot de liberté et de responsabilité. Pour lui, l'homme est toujours soumis à l'action de la nécessité. La seule question qui se pose est de distinguer entre nécessité et nécessité. L'exposé de sa théorie est d'ailleurs on ne peut plus net et plus explicite' (pp. 185-86). Siger's reply that there is a type of necessity that obtains in human actions *and* justifies punishment, namely, conditional necessity (man is necessitated by an object only if he does not impede its influence), is regarded by Mandonnet as insignificant, and certainly not as a genuine defence of free choice: 'On voit que de semblables solutions apportées au groupe de problèmes soulevés par la présence du mal moral ne sont qu'un grossier déterminisme qui n'entre pas même dans le fond des questions' (p. 186).

Mandonnet's view of Siger as a de facto proponent of determinism gained wide circulation through its acceptance by a number of influential historians of medieval thought, though none of these gives evidence of having subjected either Siger's writings or Mandonnet's analysis to close scrutiny on the topic, and indeed all appear to be largely dependent on his critique. Chollet, in his article on 'Averroïsme' in the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* 1 (Paris, 1919) writes in the section entitled 'Les idées': '*En morale, l'averroïsme nie la liberté et professe le plus pur déterminisme psychologique. L'homme est régi par la nécessité, il veut ou choisit sous l'empire de la nécessité, car la volonté est une faculté passive dont tout le rôle est d'obéir fatalement à la raison déterminée par les agents extérieurs et au désir. Du reste tout dans le monde est mù nécessairement. C'est la ruine du libre arbitre, la suppression de la responsabilité morale et l'illégitimité de tout châtement*' (col. 2636, Chollet's italics). In the following section on 'Les hommes' he states: 'Le grand chef de l'averroïsme, au XIII^e siècle, est incontestablement Siger de Brabant, que le P. Mandonnet vient de si bien mettre en lumière' (col. 2636). M. De Wulf in the sixth revised edition of his *Histoire de la philosophie médiévale* 2 (Louvain, 1936) follows Mandonnet's conclusions regarding Siger's treatment of free choice in the *Imposs.* and *De nec.*: 'La volonté, l'autre grande faculté psychique, est moins étudiée que l'intelligence, et les actes volontaires, accomplis par l'individu, sont entraînés dans le cycle des causalités cosmiques et régis par le déterminisme

(M[andonnet] VI, 186) (pp. 191-92).¹⁰ E. Bréhier (*Histoire de la philosophie* 1 [Paris, 1943]) numbers 'la nécessité des événements' among 'les principaux articles, par où l'averroïsme de Siger s'oppose à la foi chrétienne' (pp. 684-85),¹¹ a point reinforced by his belief that Siger's views were summarized in the fifteen articles in the letter of Giles of Lessines to Albert the Great, thirteen of which are identical with those condemned in 1270 (ibid.). B. Nardi, in an article¹² designed to show that Dante held that 'L'essere il volere governato o, come dicono, determinato dalla ragione, è l'essenza stessa della libertà, che, così intesa, coincide colla necessità razionale' (p. 303), traces this view to, among others, Siger of Brabant. He cites in evidence the passage from the *De nec.* already noted by Mandonnet which, as Nardi reminds his readers, is found almost *à la lettre* as proposition 131/160 condemned in 1277 (pp. 298, 302).¹³ In his exposition of Siger's thought in *La philosophie au moyen âge*, 2nd edition (Paris, 1944), É. Gilson does not treat expressly the question of free will, and notes that Siger in putting forward views at variance with Christian orthodoxy was careful to state that he was giving the opinion of Aristotle or the philosophers. He does, nonetheless, seem to imply that Siger *qua* exponent upheld determinism when he writes: 'Les principales erreurs imputables à Siger de Brabant, et qui sont aussi les traits les plus caractéristiques de sa doctrine, se trouvent surtout dans son *De aeternitate mundi*, son *De intellectu*, son *De anima intellectiva* et son *Liber de felicitate*, œuvres que nous possédons les unes en entier, les autres sous forme de citations ou de résumés (P. Mandonnet, B. Nardi). Ces erreurs sont très exactement signalées par la condamnation de 1270 contre l'averroïsme en général' (pp. 563-64). Gilson expresses similar views some ten years later in the English edition of this work, saying of the thirteen propositions condemned in the 1270s: 'We do not know if, at that date [1270], all of them had been professed by one and the same man. The Questions of Siger on the *Metaphysics* and on the *De anima* often reveal his effort to oppose to these errors a verbal denial while, in fact, he continues to maintain them, at least in an indirect way or with some attenuations' (*History of Christian*

¹⁰ De Wulf accepted the attribution of two spurious works to Siger and the proposed evolution in his views put forward by O. Lottin in 'Liberté humaine et motion divine', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 7 (1935) 52-69, 156-73, at 61-69; see below, p. 162.

¹¹ This view is reproduced without modification in the English translation of this work: *History of Philosophy* 3 (Chicago, 1965), pp. 159-60.

¹² 'Il libero arbitrio e la storiella dell'asino di Buridano', *Nel mondo di Dante*, pp. 287-303.

¹³ Nardi here takes up a view of Siger adumbrated by him in *Sigieri di Brabante nella 'Divina Commedia' e le fonti della filosofia dantesca* (Spianete, 1912), p. 62, and 'L'averroismo di Sigieri e Dante', *Studi danteschi* 22 (1938) 90.

Philosophy in the Middle Ages [New York, 1955], p. 404).¹⁴ More recently G. Leff¹⁵ and C. Vasoli¹⁶ have attributed determinism to Siger.

The emergence of a very different view of Siger, as a defender of man's free will, has been gradual, but can now be said, with the discovery of the various reportations of his *Questions on the Metaphysics*, and of the *Quaestiones super Librum de Causis*,¹⁷ to be beyond doubt. The problems still to be answered are simply how far these later writings are consistent with his earlier works, and what precisely is the nature of Siger's defence of free will. Detailed consideration of these will again be given in parts II and III of this article, but an account of how the acceptance of this second view has come about will be useful now, not only with regard to historical interest but also as an introduction to the problems latent in the texts.

O. Lottin was the first to argue at length against Mandonnet's critique of Siger.¹⁸ His own first step in this direction was only partial, and proved to be

¹⁴ In *Dante et la philosophie* (Paris, 1939) Gilson writes: 'D'une part, il [Mandonnet] avait lui-même démontré pour la première fois, que "Siger professait un pur averroïsme philosophique"; d'autre part, il tenait pour certain que "Dante a nettement condamné l'averroïsme". ... Si, comme il est loisible, on nomme "pur averroïsme" celui des averroïstes latins (non celui d'Averroès), la première thèse est indiscutablement vraie' (p. 260).

¹⁵ *Medieval Thought* (London, 1958), p. 228: 'In common with the peripatetics Siger taught the necessity of the Intelligences, the eternity of matter and of the world, and the subjection of the human will to them'; idem, *Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (New York, 1968), pp. 224-25: 'Bonaventure attacked directly the errors of the pagan philosophers that Siger and his followers were propagating: namely ... that everything was determined inevitably.'

¹⁶ *La filosofia medievale*, 4th edition (Milan, 1972), p. 336: 'Sigieri di Brabante, nel *De aeternitate mundi*, nel *De intellectu*, nel *De anima intellectiva* e nel *Liber de felicitate*, enunciò appunto le "dottrine dei filosofi", le stesse che troviamo così aspramente censurate nella condanna del '77. ... non esitò ad accettare una forma di rigoroso determinismo astrale che sottometteva tutti gli eventi mondani al processo fatale dei cicli celesti, la cui identica ripetizione ha prodotto, produce e produrrà eternamente eventi sempre identici. Da tale forma di assoluta necessità, Sigieri non escludeva neppure le vicende della religione' (Vasoli's italics). Vasoli expresses the same opinion in 'Sigieri di Brabante', *Enciclopedia dantesca* 5 (Rome, 1976), pp. 238-42 at p. 239. Cf. also his 'Averroïsme', *ibid.* 1 (Rome, 1970), pp. 479-81.

¹⁷ On the discovery of these works see Van Steenberghen, *Maitre Siger*, pp. 179-82.

¹⁸ The attribution to Siger before 1935 of a number of works now considered doubtfully authentic in which the doctrine of free will is upheld was, of course, an implicit challenge to Mandonnet's view. A view of free will closer to that of Thomas Aquinas (see especially the parallel drawn between the operation of the intellect working from first principles to conclusions and the operation of the will moving from willing an end to willing the means) is found in *Quaestiones in 1-4 et 8 Physicorum* 2, q. 21, ed. P. Delhaye (Louvain, 1941), pp. 56-57 (first attributed to Siger by M. Grabmann: see Van Steenberghen, *Maitre Siger*, p. 179), and in *Quaestiones in libros tres De anima* 2, q. 20, ed. F. Van Steenberghen in M. Giele - F. Van Steenberghen - B. Bazán, *Trois commentaires anonymes sur le traité de l'âme d'Aristote* (Louvain, 1971), pp. 136-348 at pp. 230-32 (first attributed to Siger by Grabmann [see Van Steenberghen, *Maitre Siger*, p. 179] and first published by Van Steenberghen in *Siger de Brabant d'après ses œuvres inédits* 1 [Louvain, 1931], pp. 21-156). For a summary account of present scholarly attitudes to these doubtfully authentic works see Van Steenberghen, *Maitre Siger*, pp. 197-98.

something of a false start. Writing in 1935, Lottin accepted Mandonnet's assessment of the *Imposs.* and *De nec.*, but argued on the basis of two texts found in ms. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 9559 that Siger changed his position: 'Si l'on s'en rapporte aux *Impossibilia* et au *De necessitate et contingentia causarum*, on dénoncera en lui un déterministe à peine déguisé. Mais toute autre est l'impression qui se dégage de ses *Quaestiones de anima* et de ses *Quaestiones super Physicam*, découvertes en 1923 par Mgr Grabmann'.¹⁹ The attribution, however, of the latter two treatises to Siger was, from the outset, disputed among scholars, and they are now commonly regarded as not being genuine works of Siger. Lottin's mistaken acceptance of their authenticity can be regarded as a *felix culpa*, because by the time he came to revise and expand this article for inclusion in *Psychologie et morale aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles* 1 (Gembloux, 1942),²⁰ he had come to disagree with Mandonnet's analysis of the *Imposs.* and *De nec.*, tentatively as regards the first, more definitively as regards the second. Speaking of *Imposs.* 5, he writes:

Siger use ici d'un langage abstrait, comme il convient dans un exercice de dialectique. Sans doute a-t-il voulu dire que la cause en l'occurrence est l'objet, c'est-à-dire le mobile d'action présenté par la raison à la volonté: et, tout en accordant que l'objet détermine, nécessite la volonté, a-t-il maintenu que l'homme a le pouvoir d'empêcher que le motif d'action agisse de la sorte sur la volonté.

Mais Siger n'a pas explicité sa pensée, et c'est ce qui laisse au lecteur des *Impossibilia* une fâcheuse impression de déterminisme.

L'impression disparaît à la lecture du *Tractatus de necessitate et contingentia causarum*. (p. 264)²¹

He concludes his analysis of the *De nec.*:

À vrai dire, ainsi explicitée, la thèse de Siger n'est pas déterministe, car si elle accentue la connexion nécessaire entre le motif d'action et le vouloir, elle maintient que le motif d'action est soumis au libre jugement de la raison; n'est-ce pas l'écho du *potest de suo arbitrio iudicare* qui frappe le lecteur du *De veritate* de Thomas d'Aquin? (p. 265)

¹⁹ 'Liberté humaine et motion divine' (n. 10 above), 62.

²⁰ On the disputed works see n. 18 above.

²¹ After following Lottin's analysis of *Imposs.* 5 and *De nec.* at pp. 263-65, it is perplexing to read (apropos of the 1277 condemnation) the much more tentative assessment at p. 280: 'Sans nul doute Siger de Brabant a été visé; mais a-t-il été atteint? Le P. Mandonnet a retrouvé une des propositions condamnées dans le *De necessitate et contingentia causarum*. Mais d'autre part, on l'a noté plus haut, le déterminisme est absent du *Commentaire* de Siger sur la Physique. Il est donc prématuré de porter sur ce point un jugement définitif.' May it be assumed that this passage, taken verbatim from his 1935 article, p. 172 (see n. 10 above), reflects the thoughts of Lottin in 1935 rather than later?

The reader can, however, be forgiven for feeling a little uneasy about Lottin's concluding paragraph, for his account of the evolution of Siger's thought is vitiated by his ascription to Siger of the two spurious works, on which he most firmly bases his view of Siger as a proponent of free will:

L'évolution de la pensée de Siger de Brabant est donc manifeste. Dans ses deux premiers écrits, il était hanté par l'axiome d'Avicenne concernant le lien nécessaire entre la cause et l'effet. Dans ses *Questions sur la Physique*, il en nie l'application à la volonté, quand celle-ci se porte sur les biens créés. Il est évident que la cause de cette évolution est la lecture que Siger a faite de la *Prima pars* de saint Thomas d'Aquin. Il faut le redire, Siger de Brabant, dans ses derniers ouvrages, n'est pas plus déterministe que saint Thomas d'Aquin. (p. 271)

A. Maurer, in 'Siger of Brabant's *De Necessitate et Contingentia Causarum* and MS Peterhouse 152', *Mediaeval Studies* 14 (1952) 48-60, first published *Met.* (PH) 6.9, and commented on, among other topics, Siger's view of man's free will (pp. 50-52). In referring to Lottin, he notes that Lottin 'does not distinguish between the authentic and the doubtful works of Siger' (p. 51 n. 19). Maurer recognizes that the view of free will presented in *Met.* (PH) 6.9 is substantially the same as that of *Imposs.* 5 and *De nec.* 3, and gives a nuanced description of Siger's position:

Accordingly, the freedom of the will consists in the fact that, although it is moved by other causes, the nature of the will is such that they can always be prevented from moving it. However, the will is under the same bond of necessity as other contingent causes. We have seen that when these causes are in fact not prevented from acting, they necessarily produce their effects. So, too, in the case of the will. When it is disposed to act and the causes which move it are disposed to do so, the will cannot not will. It was this doctrine, with its suggestion of determinism, that was censured by Stephen Tempier in his condemnation of 1277. (p. 51)

I shall attempt to clarify why this 'suggestion of determinism' was in fact mistakenly read into Siger's works.²²

The monograph of J. J. Duin, *La doctrine de la providence dans les écrits de Siger de Brabant* (Louvain, 1954), has to be used with discrimination, since several of the works on which he bases his analysis are now regarded as at best doubtfully authentic (including those mentioned above). In his lengthiest

²² Maurer notes that in *Imposs.* 5 Siger 'says that in a sense human actions are necessitated, not in that they are forced or that the will is moved by a cause that cannot be impeded, but in the sense that every effect with respect to its cause is necessary *ex conditione*, that is, if that cause is not impeded' (pp. 51-52). The distinction between absolute and conditional necessity is crucial in Siger; it is a constant feature of his thought on necessity, and needs to be strongly emphasized if Siger is to escape the charge of being a determinist. Maurer summarizes the interpretation given in this article in his *Medieval Philosophy* (New York, 1962), p. 195.

consideration of volition, for instance, where he attributes to Siger belief in free choice (pp. 454-58), none of the works he cites is now regarded as certainly authentic. Duin does, however, basing himself on the *De nec.* and the *Met.* (PH) 6.9 published by Maurer, give a good summary account of Siger's position, regarding him as a proponent of free will (p. 369).

Finally, two recent works which have analyzed in some detail Siger's writings on free will on the basis of all his genuine works, except the full Peterhouse and the Vienna reportations of the *Metaphysics*, are the studies by Van Steenberghen and Hissette already mentioned.²³ They are in substantial agreement in regarding Siger as a proponent of man's free will. I shall attempt to clarify the precise import of Siger's texts by, in part, refining their statements of Siger's position, with which I basically agree (see especially pp. 170-72, 188-93 below).

II

ANALYSIS OF THE TEXTS

Siger discusses the question of free will expressly on six occasions: *De nec.* 3; *Met.* (PH) 5.8 and 6.9; *Met.* (V) 5.8 and 7.1; and *L. de c.* 25. To this must be added *Imposs.* 5, already noted, where Siger deals with malice and punishment. One of the major difficulties in interpreting Siger's thought is the brevity of his treatment. Only in *De nec.* 3, *Met.* (PH) 6.9 and *Met.* (V) 7.1 does he discuss freedom of the will at any length. I shall discuss each separately in its chronological order to bring out the evolution in Siger's thought.

A further difficulty in coming to an understanding of Siger's thought, and one which has undoubtedly been influential in leading some critics to deny that he does in fact attribute free will to man, is the dominant role Siger accords in his discussions of free will to the Avicennian principle of causality. This Siger formulates in a number of ways, but all are equivalent to the statement in *Imposs.* 5: '... nullus effectus evenit nisi a causa, respectu cuius suum esse necessarium est, sicut et dicit Avicenna' (pp. 86-87, ll. 26-28).²⁴ Siger's consistent adoption of this principle as his guiding norm²⁵ gives to his treatment

²³ For Hissette, see n. 3 above.

²⁴ Siger is not quoting Avicenna verbatim, but essentially the same principle of causality is found in Avicenna's *Metaphysics* 1.7 (*Avicenna latinus. Liber de prima philosophia sive scientia divina*, ed. S. Van Riet, 1 [Louvain, 1977], p. 46, ll. 69-71); see Dunphy's note to *Met.* (V) 7.1 (p. 381 n. 53), where Avicenna is also referred to as the authority for the principle enunciated by Siger in *Imposs.* 5 and his other discussions of free will. Cf. also Bazán, *Siger de Brabant* (1974), p. 90 n. 28.

²⁵ This principle is stated (and attributed to Avicenna) as the first or major *apparent* objection to responsibility and free will in the four passages where Siger discusses them at greatest length:

of free will a perspective unique among the major thinkers of his time, for it sets him the task of defending free will while holding that a form of necessity governs all activity. This shapes his espousal of free will in that he appears always on the defensive against accusations of determinism, and indeed it leads or forces him to conceive any activity that is fully willed as being both freely willed *and* conditionally necessary. I shall argue that, however paradoxical this language may sound, and whatever lacunae there may be in Siger's doctrine of free will, he is successful in showing that the Avicennian principle and belief in free will are compatible. It must, nonetheless, be granted that the dominant role of this principle in Siger's discussions of free will does seem an important pointer to the temper of his mind on the question. While he clearly repudiates determinism as contrary to both Christian faith and to Aristotle's thought, his own interest lies more in safeguarding the intelligibility of the universe as ruled by necessary causality than in exalting the value of, and exploring the specific metaphysics of, freedom of the will. To this point I shall return after an analysis of the texts.

(a) *Impossibilia*

In *Imposs.* 5 Siger sets himself to refute the assertion 'quod in humanis actibus non esset actus malus, propter quam malitiam actus ille deberet prohiberi vel aliquis ex eo puniri' (p. 86, ll. 4-6). His treatment of this topic is of special importance for two quite distinct reasons, and hence requires detailed consideration. In the first place, though Siger does not raise the question of free will *ex professo* in *Imposs.* 5, he gives in this work an account of what he understands by necessity in a clear scheme whose essential ideas form the backbone of his subsequent explicit treatment of free will. In addition, this short tract is cited by Mandonnet and others as certain evidence of Siger's determinism, and even the two most prominent defenders of Siger's upholding of free choice regard it as being possibly tainted by a tendency to determinism. Lottin, we have seen, concludes his discussion of the text by writing: 'Mais Siger n'a pas explicité sa pensée, et c'est ce qui laisse au lecteur des *Impossibilia* une fâcheuse impression de déterminisme' (p. 264).²⁶ There can be no doubt that Van Steenberghen thinks that the conditional necessity which Siger in *Imposs.* 5 attributes to human actions is an attribution of a form of determinism: 'En fait, l'impression qui se dégage de la lecture des *Impossibilia* (V, p. 89-92) est défavorable au libre arbitre, bien que l'auteur semble vouloir sauvegarder la

Imposs. 5 (see especially pp. 86-87, ll. 24-31), *De nec.* 3 (especially pp. 32-33, ll. 9-21), and *Met.* (PH) 6.9 (especially p. 109, ll. 94-113); *Met.* (V) 7.1 (see especially p. 374, ll. 9-15 and p. 378, ll. 49-53).

²⁶ See also p. 280, cited above, n. 21.

responsabilité (*non enim puniendus est aliquis nisi pro eo quod facit*, p. 89). Il souligne fortement l'influence du motif sur l'acte volontaire et, s'il écarte de l'activité volitive le déterminisme absolu, elle n'échappe cependant pas à tout déterminisme, car elle demeure soumise à une véritable nécessité conditionnelle (*necessarium ex conditione*, p. 91, l. 60) (*Maître Siger*, p. 385).²⁷ Such denials or hesitations can best be considered after looking at Siger's discussion of a threefold meaning of *necessarium*.

The discussion is occasioned by the fourth argument²⁸ given in support of the proposition he will go on to reject: 'Sed quaecumque vult homo et facit, necessario vult et facit, quia nullus effectus evenit nisi a causa, respectu cuius suum esse necessarium est, sicut et dicit Avicenna' (pp. 86-87, ll. 26-29). Siger's intention in the *Ad quartum* is to defend the principle of Avicenna while showing that it does *not* lead to the conclusion drawn by the proponent: '... homo in his quae necessario vult et necessario facit puniri non debet, nec in his utilis punitio seu prohibitio.... Quare videtur quod homo pro nullo actu quem faciat, vel voluntate quam habeat, debeat puniri, nec eidem illius prohibitio fieri' (pp. 86, ll. 24-26 and 87, ll. 29-31).

Siger counters the argument by distinguishing three meanings of *necessarium*, stating that only the third obtains in human actions properly speaking, and that this third meaning grounds the value of prohibition and punishment. The three meanings can be termed necessity of coercion (*necessarium coactionis*: p. 89, l. 8), absolute necessity (the term *necessitas absoluta* occurs only in the later *Met.* (PH) 6.9: see below) and conditional necessity (*necessarium ex conditione*: p. 91, l. 60). The necessity of coercion, Siger argues, cannot obtain in willing because the will cannot be forced in its activity. Whoever wills anything wills it by acceptance (*apta vult*), and whoever is coerced cannot really be said to perform the action since he does not do it by willing it. Punishment is inapplicable here because the aim in punishing is to ensure that the person not will and do the action again. In the case of coercion, then, the person does not willingly do the action, nor is it in his power to do or not do the action at some other time (if he is coerced):

Ad quartum dicendum quod necessarium potest intelligi ad praesens tripliciter. Uno modo sicut est necessarium coactionis; et tale necessarium non potest cadere in voluntate, quia voluntas in volendo cogi non potest. Quidquid enim vult, apta vult, et non contra eius impetum; necessarium vero coactionis cadens in actione hominis puniri non debet: non enim puniendus est aliquis nisi pro eo quod facit;

²⁷ To anticipate: if Siger were to adopt the language of determinism he would, it seems to me, equate absolute necessity with determinism, and regard conditional determinism as a contradiction in terms.

²⁸ This argument occasions much the longest comment by Siger.

quod autem quis coactus facit, facere non videtur, eo quod voluntate non facit. Punitur enim ne iterum illud velit et faciat; nunc autem illud volens non faciebat, et in ipso etiam non est ut eundem actum alias sic faciat vel non faciat. Unde necessarium coactionis punitionem non habet. (p. 89, l. 7 - p. 90, l. 17)

The second type of necessity, which, unlike coercion, may be thought to apply in willing and human action, would occur if someone were to will something and hence do it from a cause which cannot be impeded. If such a necessity obtained in willing and human action, Siger says, it would be futile to apply punishment, because punishment is applied as an impediment and, in this hypothetical view of action, the cause is not impedeable:

Secundo modo potest intelligi necessarium in voluntate et actione humana, si quis ex causa quae non potest impediri velit aliquid et per consequens faciat. Et si tale necessarium esset in actibus humanis, non punirentur: punitio enim a recta ratione ordinatur sicut impedimentum causae ex qua causa homo aliquid voluit et per consequens fecit; quod si nostrae voluntates et actiones fierent ex causis non natis impediri, otiose legislatores punitiones ordinarent. (p. 90, ll. 17-23)

It should be noted that, since the central point for which Siger is arguing is that legislators can usefully apply punishment, for him this necessity does not obtain in human willing and action.

The third kind of necessity which can and does obtain in human willing is that in which the effect comes from a cause which is of such a nature that on the one hand it can be impeded, yet on the other it will, when disposed to bring about the effect and when not itself impeded, necessarily bring about the effect. This is the meaning of Avicenna's principle:

Tertio modo est necessarium in actibus secundum quod effectus proveniens ex aliqua causa quae nata est impediri, a qua tamen existente in dispositione illa in qua effectus ab ea provenit et ipsa non impedita necesse est effectum evenire. Sic enim omnis effectus respectu suae causae est necessarius, ut vult Avicenna, aut a sua causa non eveniret. (p. 90, ll. 23-28)

Siger is emphatic that the types of necessity involved in the latter two kinds of causality are very different: 'Et hoc necessarium et secundo modo necessarium multum differunt' (ibid., ll. 28-29). He illustrates the difference by describing two causes of death, the one impedeable, the other not. The eating of hot foods (*calida*) sometimes induces death, as does the composition of living things from contrary elements. But whereas the former cause is of such a nature as to be capable of being impeded ('nata est impediri'), the latter always brings about its effect. The notion of 'always' is crucial. Siger uses it three times to clarify his argument. Human action can be punished because, while its cause is necessary if not impeded, the cause does not always produce its effect when given, since

that cause can have an impediment placed to its action. This (the third) kind of necessity does not exclude punishment because it is not in itself (absolutely) necessary: persuasions and punishments function to impede the recurrence of the effect.²⁹ Thus, he concludes, whoever says that the implication of Avicenna's principle is that all things necessarily come from their causes is mistaken. An effect is said to come necessarily from its cause, *not* because it necessarily comes from its cause *when it does in fact occur*, but because it *always* does so, so that whenever the cause is given the effect (by that very fact) takes place: 'Dicitur enim effectus necessario evenire ex causa, non quia necessario ab ea evenit quando ab ea evenit, sed quia semper ab ea evenit, ita quod quandocumque ponatur causa, ponatur et effectus' (pp. 90-91, ll. 44-46).

The essential point that Siger is making, and one which, *pace* Mandonnet and others, is perfectly compatible with belief in responsibility and free will, is that every effect may be said to be related to its cause by a relation of necessity in that an effect *which actually exists* will have come from a cause which does not require any other agent to explain the existence of this effect. Some causes are absolutely necessary, namely, every cause granted whose existence the effect will inevitably and always follow. Other causes, i.e., those that are conditionally necessary, are such that they will cause their effect provided only that no impediment to their causality is placed, though such an impediment always can be placed. It would need only be stated that the impeding factor can be the will itself for it to be clear that free will is adequately safeguarded. Siger implies such, for he is speaking of necessity with respect to willing and human action. Thus he says:

Si vero omnes actiones humanae et voluntates fierent ab aliqua tali causa per se, quae necessaria esset ad effectum, ita quod non nata impediri, actus humani non haberent punitionem. Sed necessarium tertio modo in actibus humanis, quod est necessarium ex conditione, non removet punitionem in actibus humanis. (p. 91, ll. 57-61)

He does not say clearly in *Imposs.* 5 that it is the will itself which impedes the action of the cause; but there is no incompatibility *in principle* between the exposition of necessity here and the existence of free will.

Corroboration of this interpretation is found in a closer look at the imaginary objection which he appends to the distinction of these types of necessity. This

²⁹ 'Et tale necessarium in actibus humanis non excludit punitionem, sicut etiam nec excludit alia impedimenta in aliis. Quamquam enim ex aliqua causa aliquis velit aliquid et illud agat, et causa illa existens in dispositione illa, in qua causa effectus et non impedita, necessaria esset ad effectum, quia tamen in se non est necessaria, ne alias, ipsa posita, effectus ponatur, ordinantur contra eam impedimenta et persuasionum et punitionum' (p. 90, ll. 35-41).

addition throws light on the metaphysical reason underlying Siger's defence of free will and the particular mode of his defence. The imaginary objector, having noted that *semper* is crucial in Siger's description of an absolutely necessary cause (the second type), rephrases the description of the third type to include 'semper' and thus, apparently, equate the two:

Quod si tu dicas: quandocumque ponitur causa a qua effectus evenit non impedita, semper effectus ab ea evenit, ita quod non tantum effectus necessario evenit a sua causa quando evenit, immo ab illa non impedita semper evenit, est dicendum ad hoc quod sine dubio, causa ut in pluribus, cum est sine accidente ad effectum, est necessaria; et quandocumque ponitur non impedita, ponitur effectus. (ibid., ll. 47-52).

Siger replies that indeed a cause which normally produces its effect ('causa ut in pluribus') is necessary when nothing intervenes to prevent the effect, and that whenever a nonimpeded cause is given that is not impeded, the effect always follows. But this does not mean that such effects come necessarily from their cause alone ('a sua causa per se'), because the absence of an impediment is not in itself a cause of the effect, but only the removal of something that would impede the effect. Thus, if one considers what was alone the cause of the effect, then one finds that the effect does not always follow from it: 'Sed ex hoc non sequitur quod tales effectus a sua causa per se de necessitate eveniant, quia ipsa absentia impedimenti non est causa effectus per se, sed tantum sicut removens prohibens; et ideo, cum consideraveris illud quod fuit causa per se ad effectum, invenies effectum ex illo non semper evenire' (ibid., ll. 52-56).

This response illuminates how Siger envisages the role of anything other than the cause external to the person in human willing and action.³⁰ The causality comes from the external cause alone, and the human agency is reduced to the removing of impediments to that causality; the person, or will, does not have a positive causal function. Siger's conclusion of his discussion hints at the ultimate metaphysical motive for his so conceiving the inter-relationship of causes and effects, even with respect to human actions. Were some other form of relationship to be envisaged, then in Siger's eyes the full and proper causality of things would be denied; a cause would not truly be a cause. Behind the parenthetical 'hoc enim esset otiosum' (p. 91, ll. 70-71) seems to lie the view that to ascribe anything stronger than the removal of an impediment to the role of the human being in action would be to make nonsense of the order of causality and the intelligibility inherent in that order. The conclusion reads:

³⁰ It is clear from his discussion of the three types of necessity that willing and the action that follows willing are grouped within the genre *effectus*; and it is also clear from elsewhere in his argument that the cause is external to the intellect, for it is said, in reprehensible action, to be the source of a defect in the reason and the will: see, e.g., p. 92, ll. 78-82.

Sic et punctiones medicamenta in actibus humanis ipsis hominibus apponuntur, non ut causa ex qua volebant et agebant, considerata ut non impedita et ut in dispositione illa in qua erat causa effectus, ipsius causa non sit, – hoc enim esset otiosum –, sed ut ipsa causa per se ab effectu impediatur. Absentia enim impedimenti nihil facit ad hoc ut sit effectus, nisi tantum removendo aliquid quod prohiberet ab effectu illud quod est causa per se effectus. (ibid., ll. 67-74).

In the analysis proposed above, Siger, while not explicitly mentioning free will, presents a view of necessity and volition that is compatible with it. What, then, is the force of the objections raised by Mandonnet and Van Steenberghen? These can be reduced to two. The stronger is that in describing all activity or effects as being necessary Siger thereby excludes free will. Mandonnet explicitly, and Van Steenberghen implicitly, regard these as contradictions. The former states: 'En tout cas, l'aveu que les actions humaines sont toujours régies par la nécessité, est formel chez Siger, et il équivaut à la négation catégorique de l'existence du libre arbitre dans l'homme' (Siger 1.187); and the latter: '... s'il écarte de l'activité volitive le déterminisme absolu, elle n'échappe cependant pas à tout déterminisme, car elle demeure soumise à une véritable nécessité conditionnelle (*necessarium ex conditione*, p. 91, l. 60)' (Maitre Siger, p. 385). But, as I have tried to show, the thrust of Siger's argument is to demonstrate that necessity and responsibility (which implies free choice) are mutually exclusive only if necessity is equated with determinism, and the latter obtains only in the case of absolute necessity (the second type), where the cause necessarily brings about the effect in the sense that granted the cause the effect inevitably and always exists. Mandonnet's mistake is to collapse both types of necessity into one, absolute necessity; Van Steenberghen is at fault in regarding conditional necessity as a form of determinism. Both share the erroneous view that for Siger necessity and determinism are one and the same thing. Nor is it apparent how Van Steenberghen's exposition can escape the charge of inconsistency. He attributes to Siger, as we have seen, a form of determinism in *Imposs.* 5, and yet he goes on to say: 'Cette impression fâcheuse se dissipe à la lecture du traité à peu près contemporain *De necessitate et contingentia causarum*, où la même doctrine est reprise, mais d'une manière moins laconique' (Maitre Siger, p. 385). Van Steenberghen is correct in that the same doctrine of necessity, with the crucial distinction between the second and third types discussed above, occurs there in the same sense. It is perhaps the absence of the formula '*necessarium ex conditione*' in the *De nec.* that leads the Belgian scholar to think that the suggestion of determinism has disappeared. Yet the doctrine of necessity in the two works is identical. Indeed, the formula occurs in almost the same words in the much later *Met.* (PH) 6.9, a work which Van Steenberghen does not consider in his treatment of free will in Siger. This question is identical in doctrine and very similar in form to *De nec.* 3. In *Met.*

(PH) 6.9 the second and third types of necessity of *Imposs. 5* are neatly contrasted thus: 'Item una est necessitas absoluta, alia autem conditionata' (p. 105, ll. 62-63).³¹ In *Met. (V)* 7.1 he writes, distinguishing these two necessities: 'Id est, differt aliquid evenire de necessitate simpliciter et aliquid evenire ex causa de necessitate contingenter et modo possibili aliter se habere' (p. 380, ll. 32-33). As far as his views of necessity are concerned, Siger is no more determinist in *Imposs. 5* than he is in *Met. (PH)* and *Met. (V)* and there can be no doubt that he upholds free will in these last.

The second reason given for denying belief in free choice to Siger in *Imposs. 5* is that: 'Siger, en toute cette affaire, ne prononce pas une fois le mot de liberté et de responsabilité' (Mandonnet, *Siger* 1.186). This perhaps also lies in part behind Van Steenberghen's statement that 'l'impression qui se dégage de la lecture des *Impossibilia* (V, p. 89-92) est défavorable au libre arbitre, bien que l'auteur semble vouloir sauvegarder la responsabilité' (*Maître Siger*, p. 385). Certainly the absence of all explicit mention of free will is striking in the discussion of a question touching on morality and responsibility. A further factor that may be thought to indicate a hesitation on Siger's part as regards belief in free will is the strong emphasis he gives throughout *Imposs. 5* to the object as causing the defect in the one who commits the malicious act, e.g.: 'Delectabile enim obvians sua actione in sensum rationem facit deficere' (p. 87, ll. 47-48).

Yet a number of considerations make it the more likely hypothesis that these features of *Imposs. 5* do not reflect any doubt on Siger's part that man has free will. In the first place, the argument from silence is never a strong one. Moreover, while too much cannot be made of generic formulae, Siger does speak of defects in action as coming from a defect in man's reason *and will*: 'Sed defectiva est actio humana secundum quod ab homine procedit, per defectum voluntatis et rationis' (p. 92, ll. 78-80).³² Siger's exposition of necessity, as we have seen, points in the direction of the will itself as being the factor that can impede the action of the cause. Furthermore, this implication is made explicit, and free will is expressly defended, in the almost contemporaneous *De nec*. It is more plausible to suppose that he is not denying free will in one, while upholding it in the other. Again, Siger in *Met. (PH)* 6.9 several times and with vigour gives as a reason for rejecting determinism that it makes punishment

³¹ The discussions of free will in *Met. (PH)* 6.9 and *Met. (V)* 7.1 are in most respects simply a shorter form of that found in *De nec*. 3.

³² Cf. also p. 92, l. 92 and p. 88, l. 69. While such a phrase is an implicit pointer towards Siger's not believing in determinism, Hissette goes beyond the evidence when he writes: 'Précision importante, car elle interdit d'interpréter cet enseignement dans le sens du déterminisme psychologique' (*Enquête*, p. 257). Hissette also gives a stronger antideterminist interpretation to *Imposs. 5* at p. 247 n. 17 than does Van Steenberghen.

devoid of sense,³³ and unless we are to postulate without warrant a complete shift in viewpoint, he cannot be thought to defend the compatibility of determinism and punishment in *Imposs.* 5. Finally, there may be a simple explanation for the absence of explicit mention of free choice. In *Imposs.* 5 Siger is discussing the question of the public or political benefit of punishing, not its morality. The question as handled by Siger does not concern the moral rectitude of administering punishment but its civic utility. Thus he defines the moral good not in terms of the individual but in terms appropriate to the person as a citizen:

Ad secundum dicendum quod ratio malitiae in actu humano et ratio punitionis non considerantur attendendo ad totum genus entis, sed ad genus humanum. Et quia sunt actus humani qui, etsi fiant cum bono quorundam entium, redundant tamen in malum commune civitatis vel regni, hinc est quod sunt mali simpliciter humana malitia et prohibendi et puniendi. (p. 89, ll. 1-6)

Similarly, the appropriateness of administering punishment is judged according to its ability to prevent the recurrence of evil acts (as communally defined: p. 89, ll. 14, etc.). The punishment in question is the punishment to be administered by legislators, and, in particular, civic legislators: '... punitio autem humanorum actuum malorum ordinem habet in bonum humanum, hinc est quod punitiones, quibus legistatores malos puniunt, ex ordine Primi contingunt. Legislator autem in civitate...' (p. 88, ll. 79-81). Siger may well have considered that the question of free will as such lay outside his purview, where it sufficed to establish that human beings had control over their actions and could be influenced by punishment, and thereby to justify the use of punishment by public authority.

(b) *De necessitate et contingentia causarum*

One clear difference between *Imposs.* 5 and *De nec.* is that Siger in *De nec.* explicitly discusses the relation between his view of necessity and free will. It is quite clear that he upholds the doctrine of free will, and that his view of causality and necessity does not preclude this. He argues that his espousal of the Avicennian principle 'non tollit arbitrii libertatem' (p. 34, ll. 45-49). Shortly thereafter, having criticized two particular conceptions of free will, he goes on to affirm: 'Sed consistit in hoc libertas voluntatis quod...' (ibid., ll. 61-62).

As in *Imposs.* 5, where he discussed necessity in order to show that it is not incompatible with the usefulness of punishment, Siger treats free will in the *De nec.* when he defends himself against the charge that determinism is implied in

³³ *Met.* (PH) 6.9, p. 102, ll. 75-79; p. 105, ll. 63-66; pp. 105-106, ll. 82-87; p. 109, ll. 4-7.

his views regarding necessity. After outlining, in the first two chapters and the early part of chapter 3, his conception of the structure and causal interrelationship of the orders of being, he notes three doubts to which his exposition gives rise. He writes:

Secunda dubitatio est quia, licet causa, quae dicitur causa ut in pluribus, possit aliter se habere quam ut producat effectum, accepta per se et absolute, ipsa tamen accepta ut non impedita non potest aliter se habere quin producat effectum. Sic autem est causa producens effectum, in quantum, scilicet, non impedita. Ergo videtur quod effectus de necessitate procedat ex illa. (p. 30, ll. 56-61)

Siger replies to this doubt by explaining what he means by necessity, and his discussion of necessity leads him to talk of free will. The discussion of free will, interestingly, is not strictly germane, for he concludes his explanation of necessity by saying of those who would see determinism implied in Avicenna's principle: '... et apparet iam in quo erraverunt' (p. 33, ll. 26-27). He goes on to argue against those who deny determinism by upholding a view of free choice incompatible with his (Avicennian) explanation of causality and necessity: 'Alii autem, ut vitarent hunc errorem, inciderunt in alium..' (p. 33, ll. 27-28). We may conclude from this that Siger was eager to reject the idea that his view denied free will.

Here I shall concentrate on those elements which clarify his earlier discussion. In some ways Siger's argumentation in the *De nec.* is less easy to follow, lacking as it does the structural categorization of *Imposs.* 5. The necessity of coercion is not mentioned, hardly surprisingly, since what is under dispute is the compatibility of free will and Avicenna's principle. There are, however, several important explications of what was latent in his earlier treatment. In the analysis of the exposition of necessity in *Imposs.* 5, it was noted (p. 168 above) that a central point in Siger's position, and one which clears him of any charge of determinism, is that the necessity attaching to an impedible cause is one which obtains only if the effect actually takes place, i.e., when an effect does not necessarily take place when a cause exists, but does in fact occur, then it is brought about by a cause whose operation is necessary only when and because it is not impeded. This is made clearer in the *De nec.*:

... apparet quod *in eventu* effectus a causa impedibili est quaedam necessitas, et videlicet, quia causa ut in pluribus, *existens in dispositione* in qua habet causare effectum, et non impedita, non est in potentia ut non causet effectum, *sic se habens*.... Ista tamen *non est necessitas simpliciter*, sicut neque cuiuslibet praesentis. (p. 32, ll. 11-14, 18-19; italics mine)

The lines which follow clarify the nature of the conditionality by specifying the nature of the potency inherent in the impedible cause. Even when it is not impeded, a cause which normally operates ('causa ut in pluribus') is impedible

and has the potency that the effect may not come from it, although it does not have the potency to be impeded precisely as being in-the-state-of-not-being-impeded: 'Causa enim ut in pluribus, tunc cum non impedita, est impeditibilis et potentiam habens ut non fiat ab ea effectus, licet non habeat potentiam ut impediatur non impedita' (p. 33, ll. 19-21). Siger is here returning to a distinction taken from Aristotle, with which he had introduced his reply. In the *De caelo*, he says, Aristotle argues that whoever is sitting, while he is sitting, has the potency to stand. But whoever is sitting, while he is sitting, does not have the potency to-stand-while-he-is-sitting: '... ille qui sedet, dum sedet, habet potentiam ad standum. Sed qui sedet, dum sedet, non habet potentiam ad standum dum sedet' (p. 32, ll. 2-4).³⁴

Similarly, Siger argues, in the case of a cause that normally operates: even when it is not impeded, there is in the cause the possibility that it may not bring about the effect, although there is not the possibility that a cause precisely as-not-impeded may not bring about the effect: 'Sic etiam causa ut in pluribus non impedita, etiam quando non est impedita, possibile est ut non eveniat ab ea effectus, licet non sit possibile quod a causa non impedita non eveniat effectus, quando non impedita' (ibid., ll. 6-9). Moreover, in this logically exacting piece of reasoning the underlying metaphysical ground for Siger's insistence on the universal applicability of Avicenna's principle becomes more evident: unless a nonimpeded cause necessarily operates, then nothing would happen. The formulation here makes it plain that Siger adhered to Avicenna's principle not from any sense of respect for the authority of the philosopher, but because the principle embodies what Siger recognized on independent grounds to be a crucial metaphysical truth.

When he goes on to consider the view of those who believe that the principle embodied in Avicenna's dictum entails the denial of deliberation and free choice, another central feature in the compatibility of the two also becomes more apparent, namely, that in human actions it is *the will itself* which can place the obstacle to the operation of the cause. This is indicated in a number of ways. In the formulation of his adversaries' position, the final words imply that the will can in fact resist any influence brought to bear on it, i.e., it can impede the operation of the cause: 'Hoc etiam ipsum quod est: ipsam causam, producentem effectum, esse causam non impeditibilem et necessariam, tolleretur arbitrii libertatem, quia tunc omne velle nostrum causaretur a causa cui non

³⁴ See *De caelo* 1.12 (281b13). It is clear that Siger regarded the Avicennian principle as being in accord with Aristotle's thought: see also his references to Aristotle in *De nec.* 3, p. 32, ll. 4-6; *Met.* (PH) 6.9, pp. 103-104, ll. 14-18; *Met.* (V) 7.1, p. 378, ll. 55-58; p. 380, l. 25; p. 381, l. 64; p. 382, l. 99.

posset resistere voluntas' (p. 33, ll. 35-39). This same truth is stated positively when he writes:

Hoc ipsum autem quod est: voluntatem moveri ad volendum semper sub causa existente in dispositione illa in qua nata est movere voluntatem, et voluntate etiam existente in dispositione illa in qua nata est a tali moveri, non tollit arbitrii libertatem, eo quod nihil moveat voluntatem quin impedibile sit a motu, etsi tunc non sit impeditum quando eam movet. (p. 34, ll. 45-50)

Siger's formulation here marks an advance beyond his earlier treatment,³⁵ since it specifies that, for the cause to operate in human actions, there must be a double disposition: a disposition on the part of the cause to act, *and* a disposition on the part of the will to be acted upon. It is only when the latter also obtains that willing actually takes place.

The structure of Siger's argument has now led him to the position where he has to make clear why it is that human willing is free, i.e., what gives it autonomy vis-à-vis the cause and makes its disposition to be acted on (or not) a power in some sense intrinsic to the will itself. He rejects the view that to uphold freedom of the will means that one regards the will as the first cause of its own movement, or that it can move itself to choose either of several opposites without itself first being moved, or that, when the will is itself disposed to be moved by the cause and the cause is disposed to move, the will may not be moved.³⁶ Positively, Siger's own explanation makes the autonomy of the will dependent on the nature of rational judgment. In the course of outlining his adversaries' position, he had stated: 'Voluntas enim non movetur ad volendum nisi ex aliqua apprehensione' (p. 34, ll. 54-55). He prefaces the apologia for his own position by a strong statement affirming the impedibility of *all* causes that may operate on the will: 'Sed consistit in hoc libertas voluntatis quod, etsi ab aliquibus inveniatur aliquando mota voluntas, cum non sint impedita huiusmodi moventia voluntatem, talis est natura voluntatis quod quodlibet eorum, quae habent movere voluntatem, valeat a suo motu impediri' (pp. 34-35, ll. 60-64). His explanation of how this is so turns on the distinction between the judgment of sense and that of reason. The passage is worth quoting in full, because it has given rise to quite divergent interpretations:

... quod contingit voluntati econtra ad appetitum sensualem, quia voluntas vult ex iudicio rationis < quae se habet ad opposita >, appetitus autem sensibilis appetit

³⁵ There is, therefore, a touch of irony in the fact that Siger's formulation here is quoted almost verbatim in the condemnation of 1277: see above, p. 158 and n. 9.

³⁶ 'Unde considerandum quod libertas voluntatis in suis operibus non sic est intelligenda, quod voluntas sit prima causa sui velle et sui operari potens se movere ad opposita, ab aliquo priori non mota' (p. 34, ll. 50-53). See also *ibid.*, ll. 55-59, cited above, n. 9.

ex iudicio sensus. Nunc ita est quod nos nascimur cum determinato iudicio sensus circa delectabilia et tristabilia, haec determinate sentientes delectabilia, illa cum tristitia. Propter quod autem appetitus sensualis non libere quaecumque appetit vel refugit. Non sic autem nascimur cum determinato iudicio circa bona et mala, sed possibile alterutrum; propter quod et in voluntate. (p. 35, ll. 64-73)³⁷

Mandonnet, as we have noted, sees in this passage evidence of Siger's rational determinism, i.e., the will is necessitated to choose what the reason³⁸ judges to be good (or the greatest among several goods) – a heterodox opinion much in the mind of the compilers of the 1277 decree.³⁹ The passage is sufficiently opaque to leave Siger open to that charge, but a careful analysis makes this reading highly implausible. The essence of the contrast Siger draws between sense judgment and rational judgment is that whereas the former operates in a determined manner ('cum determinato iudicio sensus, ... determinate sentientes'), the latter does not, because in the case of reason a judgment can be formed concerning either of opposed alternatives ('non ... cum determinato iudicio circa bona et mala, sed possibile alterutrum'). The source of the determination in the sense judgment is the nature of man: '... nos nascimur cum determinato iudicio.'⁴⁰ Now, if it were the case that the rational judgment, the 'possibile alterutrum', with which Siger is contrasting the sensual, were operating according to purely rational laws, then the contrast would lose its central force. What the enigmatic 'possibile alterutrum' *cannot* mean if the proper contrast between the judgment of sense and reason is to hold is that the reason makes several judgments regarding good and bad and then, on the basis of its truth-judging function, selects the highest, which the will must follow. In this view of reason's operation and its relation to the will, reason is no less a 'given', it operates in no less determined a manner and is no less a part of the nature with which we are born than is the sense judgment. The contrast between the two types of judgment does, on the other hand, retain its full force if 'possibile alterutrum' means that the reason can conceive alternatives any one of which may be finally chosen or willed.

³⁷ The words 'quae se habent ad opposita', found in Mandonnet's text (*Siger* 2.118), are omitted by Duin, presumably through an oversight: see Van Steenberghen, *Maitre Siger*, p. 386 n. 2.

³⁸ I retain the word 'reason', since Siger almost always contrasts *ratio* with *voluntas*, although, of course, *ratio* could be used in medieval philosophy for the whole properly human faculty, the distinction within this being made between *intellectus* and *voluntas*.

³⁹ See propositions 130/166, 159/164, 163/163, 194/151, 208/157.

⁴⁰ *Nasci* in Siger's works refers always to what in living things is necessarily part of their nature, either in the strict sense of what pertains to each individual as a member of a species, or, in men, in the looser sense of what belongs to one's inborn individual talents and temperament: see, e.g., p. 34, ll. 46-47; *Met.* (PH) 5.8 passim; *Met.* (V) 5.8 passim; *Met.* (PH) 6.9, p. 100, l. 13; *Met.* (V) 7.1, p. 378, l. 58.

A further motive for accepting this interpretation is that it gives good sense to the equally enigmatic words that follow, a sense that alone makes Siger's reasoning truly explanatory: since the reason (or rational judgment) can conceive alternatives, then the will can will (or choose) any of the alternatives. Thus, Siger's reasoning is explanatory, because it would be the willing which, by its own act, resolves the indeterminacy of the reason, namely, in allowing one of the alternatives proposed by the reason to operate on it. The enigmatic final lines might be reconstructed in this fashion:

Non sic autem nascimur cum determinato iudicio circa bona et mala, sed possibile [est iudicare] alterutrum; propter quod et in voluntate [possibile est velle alterutrum].

It may be added here, by way of anticipation, that while Mandonnet was mistakenly led by the brevity and opaqueness of Siger's text to read in it evidence of rational determinism, he sensed correctly that behind the obscurity of expression lay a weakness of thought with respect to an adequate metaphysics of free will. What that weakness is will be considered more fully below (pp. 191-93), but it may with profit be briefly stated here, for it is a weakness that is not fully resolved in Siger's later works. Siger's explanation makes clear how willing is not determined by the cause: man by his reason can conceive of alternatives to the cause that is disposed to influence him. What this establishes is that in man there is *indeterminacy* with respect to the influence of any particular cause: first in the reason, and thereby also in the will. What, however, Siger's explanation does not make clear is how the indeterminacy is resolved. The logic of his argument suggests strongly that it is the will that resolves the indeterminacy by dictating to the reason which of the alternatives is to be realized. But Siger does not explain what feature of the will it is that gives it such a power.

(c) *Questions on the Metaphysics*

The accuracy of the above interpretation of the final purportedly explanatory lines of *De nec.* 3 is strongly, if not indubitably, confirmed by two questions of Siger concerning free will which have not hitherto been published: *Met.* (V) 5.8 and *Met.* (PH) 5.8. To ensure that the particular contribution of each reportation be evident, I shall discuss them separately, although the topic addressed in each is identical: 'utrum in hominibus sit libertas appetitus' (*Met.* [PH]); 'utrum in appetitu hominis sit libertas' (*Met.* [V], p. 330, l. 3). Both, it should be noted, are further witness to the fact that Siger believed man to have free will. His statements are unequivocal: 'Dico ad hoc quod in hominibus est libertas appetitus. ... Homo enim, cum non a nativitate habeat iudicium determinatum sed iudicium liberum, seipsum determinat et agit ad finem' (*Met.* [PH]); 'Dico quod voluntas hominis libera est. ... homo habet liberum appetitum. ... Homo

autem liberum appetitum habet...' (*Met.* [V], p. 330, ll. 18, 22-23, 30-31). (Since *Met.* [PH] 5.8 has not yet been published, I shall discuss first, and at greater length, *Met.* [V] 5.8.)

The *solutio* of the question in *Met.* (V) 5.8 in fact takes up where the *De nec.* left off. Again Siger is asserting that the will is free because of the contrast between animal (or sense) judgment and human judgment: judgment of the former kind, unlike the latter, is determined by nature, and hence animal appetite is also determined by nature. In describing appetite and judgment in man, Siger in effect clarifies the 'possibile alterutrum' of the *De nec.*, for he says that man's judgment can be indifferent to both good and bad: 'Per oppositam causam homo habet liberum appetitum, quia non nascitur cum determinato iudicio de bonis vel malis; immo possibile est iudicium humanum esse indifferens de aliquo quod sit bonum vel malum...' (p. 330, ll. 22-25). Although the consequence he draws from this indifference is expressed briefly to the point of obscurity ('... et ideo [homo] nascitur liber ad appetendum hoc vel oppositum': p. 330, ll. 25-26), the more obvious sense is that man through his appetite is free to choose either of the alternatives known by the reason. Siger's formulation stops short of saying that it is the will that resolves which judgment will operate. Nevertheless, the implication is that this role depends on the will, for if the judgment is indifferent and the individual is free to will (*appetere*) something or its opposite, then it is implied that the will takes away the indeterminacy. This, too, is implied in the further contrast Siger draws between the operation of animals, which is properly called *agi*, and the operation of man, which is *agere*. Referring to Aristotle's opinion that goodness and evil are more in animate things than in inanimate, and most of all in those who have choice, because knowledge of goodness (*ratio boni*) is most in these last, he explains:

... quia bruta, licet ex cognitione agant ad finem, tamen determinatur a natura; unde magis aguntur quam agant ad finem, propter quod habet finis operationis minus rationem boni in illis. Homo autem liberum appetitum habet et non determinatum a natura, propter quod magis dicitur agere ad finem quam agi, cum non sit actus a natura. (p. 330, ll. 28-32)

Aristotle's grading of types of operation according to the knowledge of the end or good is made to result from the further contrast between the sources of knowledge: in animals it is given by nature, in men it is dependent on the appetite. As in a similar contrast in the *De nec.*, the difference between these two would hardly make much sense if operative knowledge of the end in man (the particular judgment) were determined by his nature (either as an intelligent being as such or as a type of character), whereas it makes perfect sense if this practical knowledge of an end of which Siger speaks has its source in the individual's acting independently *through his appetite*.

The *Ad primum* confirms this analysis, since it speaks of the particular judgment and distinguishes it from the preceding indeterminate judgment. Once man has made a particular judgment concerning the specific course of action to be followed,⁴¹ the will is necessitated. But this does not mean that man is (absolutely speaking) necessitated in his willing, for by nature he has an ability to judge which is open to alternatives. The particular judgment and the determinate willing, then, follow upon a nondeterminate judgment concerning practical⁴² alternatives:

Ad rationem in oppositum, quidam habebant pro vero quod, stante iudicio in particulari quod hoc sit bonum vel malum, poterat adhuc eligere; eius tamen oppositum determinat Aristotiles VII^o *Ethicorum* et alibi. Unde dicendum est quod, licet insit libertas appetitui, tamen necesse est quod appetat quando appetit. Ad rationem dicendum quod non sequitur ex hoc quin appetitus sit liber. Quamvis enim sub tali iudicio determinatus est ad appetendum, tamen quia non natus est sic determinatus, nec sub tali iudicio determinate, sed sub iudicio de possibili ad utrumque, ideo nec nascitur sub appetitu determinato; unde a natura liber est in appetitu. (pp. 330-31, ll. 34-43)

Again, the contrast is made between the determinacy given by nature (in animals) and the freedom of man's appetite through the nondeterminacy of judgment in the latter. And the implication again is that the determinacy in man's judgment is brought about by the independent operation of the will. Similarly, an assertion of independence of willing vis-à-vis reason can be seen to be behind the position adopted in the reply to the second argument. Man does not become good or evil because he is born with good or evil judgment; rather it depends on individual men to become ('contingit hominibus fieri') good or evil.⁴³

⁴¹ See p. 331, ll. 36-37: 'stante iudicio in particulari'. The judgment in question must be understood to be the final judgment concerning which course of action the person actually judges to be the operative good here and now. This is clearer in the first argument of the parallel text *Met.* (PH) 5.8, where Siger writes: 'Nam existente apprehensione alicuius sub ratione boni actu et in particulari, impossibile est, stante illo iudicio, oppositum appetere'; this position is adopted by Siger in his reply, though he repudiates the deterministic conclusion that the argument wishes to draw from it.

⁴² Siger does not use the term 'practical', but since he is discussing the question of judgment concerning good or evil with respect to a possible course of action, the use of this term seems justified; Siger is not here talking about a purely theoretical consideration of what might be good or evil.

⁴³ 'Ad secundum, concedo quod aliquis nascitur bene iudicans de visibilibus, et aliquis male. Sed nonne quia efficitur bonus vel malus, iudicat sic vel sic quia natus cum bono iudicio vel malo? Dico quod non. Immo homo non nascitur cum determinato iudicio bono vel malo de bonis vel malis; immo contingit hominibus fieri bonos vel malos per iudicium bonum vel malum, ita quod poterant deduci per pravas consuetudines et operationes et iudicia prava, ita quod mali efficerentur' (p. 331, ll. 45-51).

The corresponding question in *Met.* (PH) need not be analyzed in detail, for it begins with the presentation of two arguments in favour of man's not having free choice that are the same as those given in *Met.* (V), and Siger's solution and replies embody essentially the same ideas. The implication is there that man's freedom is intrinsically a freedom of the will which resolves the indeterminacy of the judgment, but the markedly intellectualist character of Siger's explanation remains. The animal and human appetites are explicitly contrasted through the animal's being by nature determined in its judgment, while the latter by nature has a judgment open to opposites ('Homo enim ... nascitur ... cum iudicio possibili ad utrumque oppositorum'); the same point is repeated, with the openness to opposites being attributed specifically to the intellect, in the *Ad primum*.⁴⁴

The intellectualist bias of Siger's mind is particularly apparent in the second reply, where 'custom or doctrine' of the argument in the *corpus* is reduced to 'instruction':

Quamvis enim quidam homines magis sint apti nati ad iudicandum quam alii, non tamen habent a natura determinatum iudicium quin *per assuefactionem vel doctrinam* possint induci ad iudicandum oppositum illius ad quod sunt apti nati.

Non sic autem iudicat quia cum tali iudicio nascatur, ut dictum est; immo possibilis fuit ut *instrueretur* ad iudicium oppositum.

One feature which is very much worthy of remark is the statement of man's freedom in terms of self-determination: 'Homo enim, cum non a nativitate habeat iudicium determinatum sed iudicium liberum, seipsum determinat et agit ad finem.' Again, Siger does not go so far as to say that the *will* determines itself; it is generically to man that self-determination is attributed, but this is the first time that the idea of self-determination appears in Siger's discussion of free will.

In *Met.* (PH) 6.9 Siger explains why Aristotle's words on which he is commenting are not to be interpreted in a deterministic sense. He does little more here than re-present in shorter form the arguments of *Imposs.* 5 and *De nec.* 3. Only a few features which throw further light on Siger's thought need be considered. It may be noted that, as on the other occasions where he raises the subject, Siger's affirmation of free will is explicit and unqualified. Negatively, his rejection of determinism is implied in his rejection of the view that every cause is unimpedible:

⁴⁴ 'Quamvis autem intellectus, prout est sub tali iudicio, necessario habeat hoc appetere, quia tamen non nascitur sub tali iudicio determinato, sed sub iudicio possibili ad utrumque oppositorum, ideo nec ibi inest appetitus a natura determinatus' (*Met.* [PH] 5.8).

Advertendum autem est quod omnes effectus futuros procedere a causis non impedibilibus tollit arbitrii libertatem, quia voluntas, si ex causa aliqua moveatur ad volendum aliquid et causa illa non impedibilis sit, alias quodcumque movebitur et ex causa illa idem necessario volet et resistere non poterit, non habebit igitur arbitrium liberum. (p. 109, ll. 97-102)

Positively, he asserts: 'Sed est voluntas libera quantum ad hoc quod ipsa a nullo potest moveri quod non sit impedibile et etiam quandoque actu impeditum' (ibid., ll. 15-17).⁴⁵

When he first itemizes, with reference to their authoritative sources, the arguments in favour of the antideterministic position, he links Averroes, Aristotle and Catholic doctrine. Having concluded his outline of the prodeterministic arguments, he begins the outline of the opposite position: 'Oppositum vult hic Commentator' (p. 101, l. 44). Item 4 of the antideterministic arguments reads: 'Omnes effectus de necessitate evenire tollit arbitrii libertatem, tollit punitiones actuum malorum debere fieri; retrahit etiam ab actibus bonis. Quodsi haec omnia catholicae fidei contradicunt et cum hoc intentioni Aristotelis, non est ponendum omnia de necessitate evenire' (p. 102, ll. 75-79). Here Siger seems to be distinguishing nicely between what is expressed in Catholic doctrine and only implied in Aristotle. Discussion of freedom precisely in terms of free choice and freedom of the will was not, it will be recalled, part of the classical Greek philosophical heritage.

A variation here in Siger's formulation of the metaphysical principle which underlies the dictum of Avicenna points to one of the difficulties in understanding Siger's thought and appreciating how his position differs from determinism. At times his formulation makes it clear that, in the operation of an impedible cause, the effect will necessarily occur only if *both* the mover (cause) is disposed to act *and* the thing moved is disposed to be acted on.⁴⁶ But occasionally he compresses the double disposition into one, that of the cause, as when he says: '... causa existens in dispositione, in qua nata est effectum producere, de necessitate producit' (p. 105, ll. 79-80). The context makes it certain that the two formulations are interchangeable, and hence that, when Siger speaks of the disposition of the cause to operate, he is including within this disposition that of the object (or thing operated on) to be affected. It is easy to see how the shorter formulation could lead to misapprehension, especially if quoted out of context. And it is perhaps not without significance that, on two of the occasions when Siger does use the shorter formulation, he is describing the

⁴⁵ Siger is emphatic that determinism in human willing would follow only if causes that influence the will were unimpedible; see, e.g., p. 105, ll. 59-60: 'Ex his igitur patet quod valde differt dicere effectum aliquem evenire a causa non impedibili et a causa non impedita.'

⁴⁶ See, for example, p. 109, ll. 12-15 discussed below, p. 183.

misuse or denial of the principle by different sets of his adversaries (p. 100, ll. 97-99 and p. 105, ll. 79-80).⁴⁷ Contrariwise, it seems significant that, discussing explicitly the question of free will, he uses the longer formula to make it clear that the will must be disposed to be acted on if willing is to take place (p. 109, ll. 12-15).

As regards the distinction between the necessity that attaches to the operation of nonimpedible causes and that attaching to impedible causes, we have already noted that in *Met.* (PH) 6.9 Siger first describes the distinction as being between absolute and conditional necessity: 'Nam una est necessitas absoluta, alia autem conditionata' (p. 105, ll. 62-63). As before, Siger is emphatic that the distinction is radical ('Ex his igitur patet quod valde differt dicere effectum aliquem evenire a causa non impedibili et a causa non impedita': p. 105, ll. 59-60), and that only nonimpedible causality is incompatible with free choice ('Unde si omnes effectus provenirent a causis non impedibilibus, tolleretur libertas arbitrii et punitiones malorum actuum, et nihil valeret anxari nec negotiari. Effectus tamen evenire a causis non impeditis non tollit aliquod istorum': *ibid.*, ll. 63-66). The compatibility between the necessity attaching to impedible causes and free will is clearly seen to be a particular, though unique,⁴⁸ application of the broader compatibility between this type of necessity and contingency as such, for the discussion of free will just referred to occurs shortly after his insisting:

... contingentia hic accepta non opponitur necessitati hic acceptae. Necessitas enim consistit in hoc quod causa non impedita semper producit effectum; ex hoc est quod semper effectus sic provenit ex causa sic se habente. Contingentia autem in hoc consistit quod causa ista sic se habens semper impedibilis est. (pp. 104-105, ll. 45-50)

The underlying metaphysical point which leads Siger to insist on the universal validity of the Avicennian principle ('... universaliter vera est propositio Avicennae': p. 103, l. 11) also emerges clearly in this question. Having made this statement on Avicenna's principle, and formulated the principle in his usual terms of cause and effect, Siger grounds its validity by rephrasing it with the help of Aristotle in more general categories of mover and moved. He states that unless the principle holds true, then causes that normally operate would never produce their effects:

Hoc autem intendit Aristoteles 8^o *Physicorum* quod, quando movens est in dispositione in qua natum est movere et mobile in dispositione illa in qua natum est moveri, oportet hoc movere, illud autem moveri; immo, nisi ita esset, agentia ut in pluribus numquam producerent suos effectus. (pp. 103-104, ll. 14-18)

⁴⁷ The shorter formula is also found at p. 106, ll. 7-8.

⁴⁸ See below, pp. 189-91.

Later he further explains his thought:

Est autem praedicta propositio in tantum vera quod, qui eam negaret, necessario concedet aliquem effectum procedere a non sua causa vel causam propriam in actu existere sine suo effectu. Procedat enim aliquis effectus a causa ut in pluribus, existente sub defectu impimenti; aut ipsa sub ista dispositione existens est causa in actu propria huius effectus, aut non; si non, tunc iste procedit a non causa sua; si sic, tunc, nisi alias posita causa ista sub eadem dispositione ponatur idem effectus, erit causa in actu propria et sufficiens sine suo effectu. (pp. 106-107, ll. 14-23)

The point being made is that a cause which normally operates and is not impeded must be a sufficient and necessary cause of the effect, because otherwise either (1) the cause would sometimes not bring about its effect even when not impeded (which is *de facto* not the case), or (2) there would be an infinite regress of causes. In either instance what is called the cause would not properly speaking be the cause.

The implication noted earlier (p. 178, above), that the factor in free willing which places the impediment to the operation of the cause on the will is the will itself, comes a little closer to the surface. As in the *De nec.*, Siger here makes a statement about what belief in free will does not mean (i.e., the denial of Avicenna's principle) which could easily lend itself to being interpreted as a denial of the existence of free will: 'Nec est [voluntas] sic libera quod praesente voluto ipsi voluntati et ipsis existentibus in dispositione, in qua hoc quidem natum sit movere, illud autem moveri, possit voluntas velle et non velle indifferenter; immo necesse est eam velle ut sic existentem' (p. 109, ll. 12-15).⁴⁹ As in the *De nec.*, too, he goes on immediately to counteract the danger of misinterpretation by making a positive statement of his own. But whereas in the *De nec.* liberty of the will is said to obtain because any one of those things that can move the will can be impeded in its movement, in *Met.* (PH) 6.9 the independence of the will is more evident in that it is said *of the will itself* that it can be moved by nothing that may not be impedible and is sometimes actually impeded. In the *De nec.* we read: 'Sed consistit in hoc libertas voluntatis quod, etsi ab aliquibus inveniatur aliquando mota voluntas, cum non sint impedita huiusmodi moventia voluntatem, talis est natura voluntatis quod quodlibet eorum, quae habent movere voluntatem, valeat a suo motu impediri' (pp. 34-35, ll. 60-64). In this work he writes: 'Sed est voluntas libera quantum ad hoc quod ipsa a nullo potest moveri quod non sit impedibile et etiam quandoque actu impeditum' (*Met.* [PH] 6.9, p. 109, ll. 15-17).

⁴⁹ Cf. *De nec.* 3, p. 34, ll. 50-60.

However, despite these slight clarifications in formula, what is perhaps most remarkable is the continuity of doctrine and expression between *Met.* (PH) 6.9 and *Imposs.* 5 and *De nec.* In all three, Siger's intention of not denying the validity of Avicenna's principle dominates the discussion. Similarly, in all three, the reason for upholding the principle is that otherwise causes will not truly be causes (and hence what purport to be causal explanations will turn out to lack cogency). In *Met.* (PH) 6.9, as in the *De nec.*, Siger's opponents are those who, having failed to see the radical distinction between absolute and conditional necessity, are led into the two opposite errors of either denying the principle in order to uphold free will or admitting the principle and denying the existence of free will (cf. *De nec.* 3, p. 33, ll. 21-23 and *Met.* (PH) 6.9, p. 105, ll. 73-75). Finally in *Met.* (PH) 6.9, as in all the earlier passages where he upholds free will, Siger's intellectualist bent is apparent. He again (though briefly) explains the freedom of the will by contrasting what occurs in human willing with the judgment of sensible things (p. 109, ll. 17-20). Moreover, shortly after his discussion of free will, when saying that man is not passive in the face of causes and ought to strive to impede what might move him in the direction of evil, he speaks in terms of *studere* and *studium* rather than in more voluntaristic or moral terms:

... non tamen quaelibet causa in actu est causa necessaria. Sunt enim multae impedibiles. Et ideo studere debet unusquisque ad hoc ut fiat bonus, ut suo diligenti studio impediat aliquas causas particulares impedibiles, quae facerent ipsum malum nisi impedirentur. Si omnes causae non essent impedibiles, nostrum studium non valeret. (p. 110, ll. 42-47)

Met. (V) 7.1 follows closely in form and content *Met.* (PH) 6.9, and, with the exception of one point, need be considered here only in outline. All the main features noted in the earlier *quaestio* reappear. Siger explicitly affirms that man has free choice (see especially p. 380, ll. 34-37; p. 381, ll. 54-56; p. 385, ll. 19-23; p. 386, ll. 56-69). The same authorities are cited in favour of the antideterministic position (Averroes: p. 376, ll. 68-72; Aristotle: p. 376, ll. 73-100; Catholic belief: p. 385, ll. 27-28). The difficulty occasioned by Siger's compressing into one the two conditions involved in conditional necessity is again encountered (see, for example, p. 385, ll. 1-6). He continues to emphasize that the distinction between the necessity attaching to nonimpedible causes and that attaching to impedible causes is radical (see especially p. 380, ll. 27-31; p. 381, ll. 57-60), and that only the necessity that characterizes the operation of a nonimpedible cause is incompatible with free will (see especially p. 380, ll. 34-37; p. 381, ll. 54-56).

Siger's discussion is again dominated by his upholding Avicenna's principle that every effect is necessary with respect to its cause; the underlying meta-

physical point (that, if this were not so, what is called a cause would not truly be a cause) is again brought out (p. 378, ll. 49-58; p. 382, ll. 85-100). As in *Met.* (PH) 6.9, the implication that man has free will because the will itself can place an impediment to the cause is clearer than in Siger's earlier formulations: '... voluntas enim qualiter dicitur libera? ... Quandocumque vult sine aliqua apprehensione praecedente, in hoc voluntas non est libera. Sed cum iam mota est apprehendendo aliquid, libera est ut velit vel non velit illud...' (p. 386, ll. 61-62, 66-68). Siger again clarifies his position by opposing it to two very different errors: that of denying the validity of Avicenna's principle, and that of upholding the principle while maintaining that it is incompatible with belief in free will (p. 381, ll. 57-73; p. 385, ll. 13-30). His intellectualist perspective is evinced in his brief explicit discussion of the nature of free will, in which his main point is that the will is free only if it acts after an act of apprehension (p. 386, ll. 66-68, quoted above).

Siger's doctrine on free will in *Met.* (V) 7.1 is, then, identical in all major elements with that of *Met.* (PH) 6.9, and indeed with all his earlier writings on the subject. Two parenthetical remarks, however, point to a new awareness on Siger's part of the difficulty caused by his upholding the existence of contingency and free will within the context of defending Avicenna's principle. We have seen that in *Met.* (PH) 6.9 Siger describes the necessity attaching to nonimpedible causes as conditional (p. 182, above). We saw, furthermore, that in that discussion he regards the impedible cause as being both necessary and contingent: necessary, in that when it is not impeded it will always bring about its effect; contingent, in that it can always be impeded (*ibid.*). Faced in *Met.* (V) 7.1 with the difficulty endemic in his position of upholding the principle of Avicenna on the one hand, and on the other asserting that events that come from impedible causes which are not actually impeded 'non ... de necessitate eveniunt' (p. 378, ll. 66-67), Siger is, therefore, being entirely consistent with his earlier doctrine when he distinguishes between 'simple' and 'contingent' necessity (that of events which come from nonimpedible causes and that of events resulting from nonimpeded but impedible causes: p. 378, l. 66 - p. 381, l. 56, *passim*; p. 384, ll. 61-64, 80). In *Met.* (V) 7.1, for the first time, however, he acknowledges, albeit briefly and parenthetically, that to term 'necessary' what is contingent may be an improper use of language:

Sed advertendum quod multum differt aliquid evenire de necessitate primo modo, scilicet quia evenit a causa quae non tantum est non impedita, immo etiam non est impedibilis, et quod aliquid eveniat de necessitate (*si necessitas potest dici quod proprius dicitur contingentia*), eveniat dico ex causa quae, licet non sit impedita, est tamen impedibilis. Id est, differt aliquid evenire de necessitate simpliciter et aliquid evenire ex causa de necessitate contingenter et modo possibili aliter se habere. (p. 380, ll. 27-33)

This hesitation is again, though even more briefly, voiced when Siger comes to distinguish between the two errors opposed to his position (see above, p. 185). The root of both errors is that those who hold them fail to recognize the fundamental difference between the two types of necessity that Siger has been describing, i.e., between that attaching to nonimpedible causes and that attaching to nonimpeded but impedible causes. The first error consists in denying that the operation of the second type of cause is in any way necessary (p. 381, ll. 61-64). When Siger comes to describe the second error, the parenthetical qualification of his terminology for the second type of necessity again appears. Of those who hold the second error he writes: '... non distinguentes inter primum modum et secundum necessitatis, (*si necessitas potest dici*), devenerunt ad hoc quod omnia evenirent de necessitate ex suis causis non impeditis...' (p. 381, ll. 66-68).

At the very least, these two parenthetical remarks indicate that Siger had become more aware of how readily his position was susceptible of misinterpretation: to maintain the principle that all events which actually occur are in some sense necessary, he had to hold that some events (those caused by impedible causes which are *de facto* not impeded) are both contingent and necessary, or contingently necessary. It is a logically coherent position, but one whose expression did not conform to the normal use of language in his time.

In view of the strength of the qualifications indicated in the parenthesis (both call in question the propriety of terming 'necessary' the operation of impedible, i.e., contingent causes), and of the importance in Siger's metaphysical system of the point touched on, it may be that they mark something deeper: that Siger was being led to consider a significant reformulation of his thought (without, however, any change in doctrine). It is an interesting question, but one that cannot be answered, for *Met.* (V) 7.1 is the last attempt by Siger to treat at length of the nature of necessity and contingency.

(d) *Quaestiones super Librum de causis*

Siger touches on the subject of free will in the *L. de c.* when answering the question 'utrum animae superiores imprimant in animas nostras intellectivas, ita quod omne nostrum intelligere et velle nostrae animae intellectivae reducatur in orbem et animam orbis sicut in causam suam' (p. 100, ll. 5-8). The first argument in favour of the view that it seems that man's rational actions are not so caused reads: 'Voluntas enim libera est in volendo et sui actus domina; hoc autem non contingeret si ex orbe et orbis motore imprimatur sibi velle' (ibid., ll. 8-10). Siger's reply to this is in harmony with his earlier views in that he affirms the existence of free will, but he is tantalizingly brief. The formulation he employs suggests a more positive role for the will than anything he had written hitherto: 'Ad primum in oppositum est dicendum quod voluntas

dicitur libera et sui actus domina, non quia sit primum principium ex quo ipsa agitur ad volendum, sed quia valet ad contraria sine organo existens nec obligata ad alterum propter materiam et corporis dispositionem sicut appetitus sensualis' (p. 102, ll. 61-65). In particular, the words 'valet ad contraria' suggest that the will moves itself in choosing.

However, Siger's explanation of the influence of human activity in the *solutio* effectively rules out such an interpretation. He follows both the author on whom he is commenting (p. 100, ll. 15-16) and Aristotle (p. 101, ll. 17-20) in believing that everything in this world, including every new act of understanding and willing, has its cause in the heaven and its motor ('reducitur in orbem et motorem suam sicut in suam causam'). He denies that such a view implies that man's willing is necessitated: '... aliquando deficiunt in sua impressione caelestia cum non necessitent voluntatem' (p. 101, ll. 36-37). In explaining why this is the case, he presents a view of willing that regards every willing as having its cause in knowledge of the good, and not in another act of willing: 'Nihilominus tandem devenietur ad tale volitum quod vult voluntas non ex alia voluntate sed ex apprehensione eius sub ratione boni; hoc est immediate agens in quod non agitur voluntas ad volendum ex alterius voluntate, sed ex apprehensione illius sub ratione boni' (p. 101, ll. 41-45). The evident sense of the repetition 'non ex alia voluntate...; non ... ex alterius voluntate' is that, for the will to act, there is no need of an act of willing distinct from that occasioned by apprehension of the good and that indeed such a conception of 'double' willing is mistaken. It is difficult, not to say impossible, to see how belief in self-determination by the will – i.e., belief that there is positive act of the will, distinct from the attraction in the will through the apprehension of the good, which determines that what is apprehended become a practical good for the individual – is compatible with Siger's view. On the other hand, the constant Sigerian view of free will – that this can resist any influence brought to bear on it – is compatible with the view Siger presents here, and is perhaps demanded by it if Siger's denial of a further act of willing is not to be inconsistent with the belief in free will expressed here.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Siger's tracing of the source of someone's apprehending something as good to his character or disposition, which is in turn due to the influence of the heaven (pp. 100-101, ll. 47-55), should not be interpreted as an implicit affirmation of determinism. He has already discussed this question, in the passages dealing with free will, and concluded that character is not determinative of action: *Met.* (V) 5.8 ad 2 (p. 331, ll. 45-54); *Met.* (PH) 5.8 ad 2. In discussing whether moral virtues are generated by good acts, Siger argues that it is not sufficient to *hear* about virtue: man must set his hand to acting virtuously, for if the appetites are disordered the reason will often not function (*Q. morales*, q. 2 passim; see especially p. 100, ll. 19-27). In a similar vein, he notes that a way of life ('modus regiminis vitae') affects man's ability or desire to reason properly (*Met.* [Munich] 2, q. 19, p. 79, ll. 46-54).

III CRITICAL-HISTORICAL ASSESSMENT

Siger's position regarding free will may further be clarified by examining briefly two questions: how successful is his defence of free will? how does his position compare with that of his contemporaries?

To raise the question of the adequacy or otherwise of Siger's defence of free will is not to question whether or not he believed that man has free will. Our possession of the substantial *œuvre* of Siger makes it certain that from the *De nec.* to his last work he explicitly maintained this belief. This article has in part aimed at demonstrating that his mode of conceiving free will, while showing some development, remained basically the same throughout his life, and is in perfect continuity with his treatment of the value of punishment in the earlier *Imposs.* 5. A major question that remains when one grants this is: how consistent is Siger's belief in free will with his other opinions? The charges of inconsistency can be reduced to two.⁵¹ One, able more quickly to be countered, is that Siger's emphasis on the intellect, in his explanation of the source of freedom of the will, is equivalent to the espousal of rational determinism.⁵² This

⁵¹ The third ground advanced by Mandonnet (see above, p. 158) for attributing determinism to Siger in the *De nec.* is that, in his view, Siger regards the will as functioning in the same way as any physically contingent cause ('causa ut in pluribus'). This view is mistaken on two counts: in the first place, Siger never regards the will as a cause, but as that on which the cause operates, i.e., the subject in which the effect occurs (this is most apparent in the long exposition of *Imposs.* 5: see especially p. 91, ll. 47-74); secondly, as should be evident from the analysis of the texts, willing is a unique case among effects, since the will can itself resist whatever cause seeks to influence it. The impediment placed to the operation of any cause by the will is not, as in all other cases, the result of a fortuitous indisposition, i.e., of an 'accidental' circumstance (see also below, pp. 191-92). Aquinas pointed out that belief in one possible intellect for the whole of mankind entails a denial of individual autonomy and responsibility (*De unitate intellectus*, ed. L. W. Keeler [Rome, 1957], pp. 81-82, 88-89). This view underlies the reservation about Siger's belief in free will expressed by Van Steenberghen in his earlier works (see, e.g., *Aristotle in the West*, trans. with additional material, 2nd edition [Louvain, 1970], p. 224; *La philosophie au XIII^e siècle* [Louvain, 1966], p. 387). It can now be established that Siger finally repudiated belief in one possible intellect (see *L. de c.*, qq. 14, 18, 26-27); for the evolution of his views on this point see *Maitre Siger*, pp. 338-83; Z. Kuksewicz, *De Siger de Brabant à Jacques de Plaisance* (Wrocław, 1968), pp. 24-95. It should be noted, however, that even in his earlier works Siger never adverted to the denial of free will implied in this belief. Leff and Vasoli attribute astral determinism to Siger (see above, nn. 15 and 16). *L. de c.*, q. 25 is clear evidence that he did not do so, and it may be argued that astral determinism is excluded in principle by Siger's belief that every cause that influences the will is impendible. Even in the comparatively early *De aet.* 4 (pp. 131-32, ll. 79-93), Siger, when reporting the belief of Aristotle and Averroes that all the movements of the heavens are cyclical and therefore recur identically (as, consequently, do all the events on earth, which are dependent on them), disagrees with these authorities on this point.

⁵² Despite the fact that rational determinism was condemned in a number of propositions in 1277 (see above, n. 39), Hissette has concluded: 'Aucun texte professant le déterminisme

cannot be maintained, for the essence of this belief is that the will is necessitated without option to accept the object judged to be good by the intellect (or, in the case of competing goods, the object judged to be superior), and Siger always insisted that every cause can be impeded by the will. Nor can rational determinism be read into his view that man must will what he has actually (*actu*) and by a practical judgment judged to be a particular good for him, for Siger in this may be understood to be saying no more than, for example, Aquinas (in conformity with the opinion of Aristotle). Explicitly in Aquinas, implicitly in Siger, man is free if and because the intellect through its ability to judge can conceive of a variety of options, and thus release the will from necessity with respect to any good presented to it. It is only after the practical judgment is made (which, as Aquinas makes clearer, occurs after the free decision of the will) that necessitation occurs.

The core of the charge of inconsistency lies in the proposal that adherence to the view of necessity enshrined in Avicenna's dictum is incompatible with belief in free will. A comparison with Thomas' position can show us that these beliefs are not in principle incompatible and that Siger's position involves a restricted notion of freedom of the will. Thomas does not mention the Avicennian principle in any of his discussions of free will before the late *De malo*, q. 6, an indication perhaps that Siger's discussion of free will, or something similar to it emanating from the faculty of arts at Paris, forced him to raise the subject of the compatibility of the two.⁵³ The fifteenth argument purporting to show that man chooses 'non libere, sed ex necessitate' reads:

Praeterea, si voluntas respectu ad aliqua volita non ex necessitate moveatur, necesse est dicere quod se habeat ad opposita: quia quod non necesse est esse, possibile est non esse. Sed omne quod est in potentia ad opposita, non reducitur in actum alicuius eorum nisi per aliquod ens actu, quod facit illud quod erat in potentia esse in actu. Quod autem facit aliquid esse actu, dicimus esse causam eius. Oportebit ergo, si voluntas aliquid determinate vult, quod sit aliqua causa quae faciat ipsam hoc velle. Causa autem posita, necesse est effectum poni, ut Avicenna probat, quia si causa posita, adhuc est possibile effectum non esse,

psychologique et émanant de la faculté des arts n'a été retrouvé jusqu'ici' (*Enquête*, p. 255). For a comparison of Aquinas and Siger on the role of the intellect see below, pp. 190-92.

⁵³ It is highly probable that q. 6 of the *De malo* was occasioned by the appearance of controversial views on free will. It is an extraserial question, and Thomas begins his *solutio* with uncharacteristic polemical vigour: 'Respondeo. Dicendum quod quidam posuerunt, quod voluntas hominis ex necessitate movetur ad aliquid eligendum; nec tamen ponebant quod voluntas cogeretur. ... Haec autem opinio est haeretica. ... Est etiam annumeranda inter extraneas philosophiae opiniones: quia non solum contrariatur fidei, sed subvertit omnia principia philosophiae moralis.' J. A. Weisheipl would date *De malo*, q. 6 to 1270 (delivered at Paris): *Friar Thomas d'Aquino* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 364 and 366.

indigebit adhuc alio reducente de potentia in actum; et sic primum non erat sufficiens causa. Ergo voluntas ex necessitate movetur ad aliquid volendum.

Aquinas' reply indicates that he shared the essence of Siger's position, namely, that the principle of Avicenna does not imply determinism because the will can impede any influence brought to bear on it:

Ad decimumquintum dicendum, quod non omnis causa ex necessitate inducit effectum, etiam si sit causa sufficiens; eo quod causa potest impediri, ut quandoque effectum suum non consequatur: sicut causae naturales, quae non ex necessitate producant suos effectus, sed ut in pluribus, quia in paucioribus impediuntur. Sic ergo illa causa quae facit voluntatem aliquid velle, non oportet quod ex necessitate hoc faciat: quia potest per ipsam voluntatem impedimentum praestari, vel removendo talem considerationem quae inducit eum ad volendum, vel considerando oppositum, scilicet quod hoc quod proponitur ut bonum secundum aliquid non est bonum.

Aquinas' reply also indicates that he would not have been happy with Siger's attaching the name 'conditional necessity' to freely willed actions. Read in the context of the whole question, however, it is apparent that the reply marks more than a verbal difference between Aquinas and Siger. The laconic 'etiam si sit causa sufficiens' of Thomas operates by way of a 'dato sed non concesso'. Aquinas is saying that *even if one grants* (as he does not) that the (external) cause is a sufficient cause of voluntary activity, it does not follow that the cause determines the will to act, since the will can place an impediment to its operation. It is evident from an analysis of the *solutio* and other replies that Aquinas does *not* believe that in the case of willing the cause is a sufficient cause. In the *solutio*, Aquinas argues that in the realization of an act (*exercitium actus*) the will *moves itself* to act. To assert this is not, he argues, to be caught in the contradiction of ascribing to the will both potency and act in exactly the same respect; rather, the will is in potency with regard to the means, but in act with regard to the end, and hence can move itself to will the means. Aquinas' position, elaborated in the solution,⁵⁴ is most succinctly stated in the twentieth reply:

Ad vicesimum dicendum, quod idem secundum idem non movet seipsum; sed secundum aliud potest seipsum movere; sic enim intellectus, in quantum intelligit

⁵⁴ 'Quantum ergo ad exercitium actus, primo quidem manifestum est quod voluntas movetur a seipsa; sicut enim movet alias potentias, ita et se ipsam movet. Nec propter hoc sequitur quod voluntas secundum idem sit in potentia et in actu. Sicut enim homo secundum intellectum in via inventionis movet se ipsum ad scientiam, in quantum ex uno noto in actu venit in aliquid ignotum quod erat solum in potentia notum; ita per hoc quod homo aliquid vult in actu, movet se ad volendum aliquid aliud in actu.'

actu principia, reducit seipsum de potentia in actum quantum ad conclusiones; et voluntas in quantum vult finem, reducit se in actum quantum ad ea quae sunt ad finem.

Although Thomas states clearly here and in the contemporary *ST* 1-2.9.3 that the will in freely choosing moves itself, the idea is latent in his earlier work.⁵⁵

This belief points to an important difference between the perspectives of Thomas and Siger. The consistent view of the latter may be termed the veto-power or passive (but *not* determinist) theory of free will: the will is free not to be moved by any cause, and hence not to act; but if it does act, then the sufficient and total source of its activity is the cause external to itself. Aquinas, by contrast, holds an active theory.⁵⁶ The only necessity inherent in willing is its natural drive for beatitude or perfect knowledge of the infinite good. Thus, apart from the unique case of the beatific vision, all causes are insufficient to activate the will necessarily. The will, then, if it is to will any finite good (or the infinite good known through an imperfect idea of it), *must bring itself into play* (in Aquinas' terms: move itself) by activating from within its own natural and necessary act of willing to be united to the infinite good its potency to will any good less than that infinite good, as a means to that final good.⁵⁷

It is difficult to deny that Aquinas' conception of free will is, both metaphysically and empirically, a more adequate theory than Siger's. It can, for example, more easily account for such phenomena as human creativity and the direction of the intellect by the will.⁵⁸ More importantly, Siger's view seems to demand an unrealistic view of what occurs in human choice. Siger's view of

⁵⁵ See, for example, Thomas' view that what is determinate in the will, i.e., the end, is the principle of its willing what is indeterminate, i.e., the means (*De veritate*, q. 22, a. 6), and his belief that the act of choice strictly speaking ('electio', 'liberum arbitrium') is an act of the will (*ibid.*, a. 15 and *ST* 1.83.4).

⁵⁶ Principal loci for Aquinas' doctrine of free will are: *De veritate*, qq. 22 and 24; *Summa contra gentiles* 2.47-48; *De malo*, q. 6; *ST* 1.82-83 and 1-2.6-17.

⁵⁷ The analysis given here in terms of man's most fundamental natural drive (for his highest end, the infinite good as perfectly known) can be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to man's natural desire for basic secondary ends. The natural desire for any such secondary good enables man to move from actually desiring or willing that secondary end to willing the appropriate means to that end. See, for example, the example of health given in *De malo*, q. 6: '... ita per hoc quod homo aliquid vult in actu, movet se ad volendum aliquid aliud in actu; sicut per hoc quod vult sanitatem, movet se ad volendum sumere potionem; ex hoc quod vult sanitatem, incipit consiliari de his quae conferunt ad sanitatem; et tandem determinato consilio vult accipere potionem.'

⁵⁸ Siger seems to imply in a dense passage in *Met.* (Munich) 2, q. 17 (p. 76, ll. 73-79) that the will can direct the intellect to consider this or that field of enquiry, but does not offer an explanation for this view. Cf. also his reporting without demur Aristotle's view that man can set himself by virtue of his willing ('ad libitum') to understand particular problems: *In 3um De anima*, q. 15 (p. 58, ll. 45-46); *Q. naturales*, q. 3 (pp. 109-10, ll. 47-58).

the metaphysics of free will applies most plausibly where the choice is between doing or not doing a single course of action: the will can either resist or accede to a cause disposed to operate on it. But in many, perhaps most, cases of choice, the choice is not between a single course of action or inaction, but among a variety of courses of action (or, in terms closer to the medieval debate, among several goods). Admittedly, Siger's metaphysic can be applied here in that one can say that in this situation all goods apart from one are resisted; but it seems more in accord with experience and with the metaphysical structure of contingent being to say that the insufficiency of all the goods and the corresponding indeterminacy in the situation are resolved by man's determining on one course of action through a positive act of his will. Granted, this does not *entirely* clarify what takes place in human willing, for it is evident that from the perspective of both morals and self-interest man ought always to activate his will by choosing the greater good, but that in fact he not infrequently does not do so. Here we come up against the ultimate mystery in human free will, but our understanding up to that point is more adequately clarified by Aquinas than by Siger.

Indeed, it can be argued further that, despite his several analyses of necessity, Siger never came seriously to grips with metaphysical contingency as such. Mandonnet is mistaken, I have argued, when he says that for Siger the only contingency in the universe is physical contingency (in the sense that causes may be prevented from operating only through accidental happenings), because, for Siger, the will is a *unique* case: it can itself resist the influence of what would otherwise be a sufficient cause. But it is significant that Siger discusses free will within the context of physical contingency: free will for Siger is, as it were, a kind of physical contingency, even though the uniqueness of its special nature does safeguard the freedom that is normally defended by the doctrine of metaphysical contingency.

One suspects that the lack in the doctrine of metaphysical contingency of the total intelligibility that attaches to necessary reasons, its evident non-susceptibility to complete rational explanation, made it a subject uncongenial to Siger and one that ill-suited his great logical capacity. Such suspicions are confirmed when one reflects that Siger never grappled with free will as it applies to God. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that in Western intellectual history the freedom of God's willing to create is a problem to which Christianity gave rise. It would be going too far to assert that Siger believed there is no metaphysical contingency attaching to the created status of the universe. We have seen that Siger repudiated determinism in man on grounds of heterodoxy, among others. His works make it clear that, whenever he expounded a heterodox view on any subject, he was acting in the capacity of expositor of the opinion of ancient philosophers, or of philosophical reasoning,

and not adopting that position as his own.⁵⁹ Moreover, in his later writings he comes explicitly to argue in favour of orthodox beliefs or at least probe the weaknesses in heterodox beliefs regarding subjects which, in his earlier writings, he had been content to outline according to the heterodox position. But no such evolution takes place with regard to his early exposition of determinism in God's creating, as Van Steenberghen has made clear.⁶⁰ True, there are here and there cautionary statements that the will of God is not easy to understand, and that we can apply only analogously to him what we know from finite beings;⁶¹ but no more. Had he given attention to the problem of free will in God, Siger would have come face to face with the question of the insufficiency that is at the heart of metaphysical contingency, and with that the limits in his own position on man's free will. For while his explanation of free will in terms of a sufficient but nondetermining cause external to the will is a possible explanation of man's free will, it is simply inapplicable to divine free will which creates *de nihilo*. Whatever one thinks of the general validity of the view that Christian doctrine had a beneficially stimulating effect on philosophical reflection, it is hard to deny that it holds good in the case of free will.

More broadly, how does Siger's view of free will compare with those of his contemporaries? I know of no certainly contemporary thinker who held the same position as Siger. There is considerable similarity between his views and those expressed in some anonymous writings,⁶² particularly that of a treatise found in ms. Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 2173 whose author holds the essential Sigerian belief that man's willing is conditionally necessary.⁶³ Opinion, how-

⁵⁹ Despite the complexity of the question of Siger's attitude to the relation of reason and faith, it can be shown that he did not personally adopt heterodox views: see Van Steenberghen, *Maître Siger*, pp. 229-57. In particular, Siger did not espouse a 'double-truth' theory: *ibid.*, especially pp. 242-43 and 248-49.

⁶⁰ *Maître Siger*, pp. 305 ff.

⁶¹ See, e.g., *In 3um De anima*, q. 2 (p. 7, ll. 74-75); *Met.* (Paris) 5, q. 24 (p. 263).

⁶² Discussed and quoted by Lottin, *Psychologie* 3 (Gembloux, 1949), pp. 622-48.

⁶³ 'Ad primam questionem dicendum est quod in ultima deliberatione facta ab intellectu iudicando illud quod sic est deliberatum ultimatim esse prosequendum ut quoddam bonum simpliciter et absolute sine admixtione alicuius mali imminuentis et hoc bono sic oblato uoluntati, necesse est uoluntatem illud uelle; absolute tamen non fuit hoc necessarium, quia in potestate uoluntatis fuit habens (?) per uoluntatem absolute fuit hoc uelle et eius oppositum et ipsum uelle et eius oppositum, quia in potestate ipsius fuit inclinare intellectum ad considerandum circa hoc et circa oppositum et ad determinandum se uelle hoc et suum oppositum; ideo absolute non fuit hoc necessarium, sed ex conditione' (*ibid.*, p. 643).

ever, is divided about the dating of these works, and the more probable view is that they were written after the condemnation of 1277.⁶⁴

We have already noted both similarity and difference between the views of Siger and Aquinas. The difference, seen in Aquinas' theory of the active role of the will in free choice, is at least as important as the similarities. The lack of any reflection in Siger's works of this explication by Aquinas of what had been implicit in his earlier writings may well confirm Lottin's belief⁶⁵ that Siger never read *De malo*, q. 6 or *ST* 1-2.⁶⁶ The two questions most recently made available confirm that at least after *Imposs.* 5 there are similarities in the role accorded the intellect in free will by Thomas and Siger. Lottin (followed in this by Van Steenberghe and Hissette) has long since suggested linking Siger's explanation of free will in terms of the ability of the intellect to conceive alternatives for choice with Thomas' treatment of free will in the *De veritate*. As a general truth this holds, in that both Siger and Aquinas explain the freedom of the will by reference to the capacity of the intellect to present a plurality of choices. Both, in effect, regard the intellect as a cause of the will's freedom.⁶⁷

However, the possibility must be entertained that the *De veritate* was not the source, or not the only source, for Siger's thought. In the first place, the view that the freedom of the will depended on the intellect as well as on the will itself was, before the 1277 condemnation, held by others than Aquinas.⁶⁸ Secondly,

⁶⁴ See especially R. Hissette, 'La date de quelques commentaires à l'Éthique', *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 18 (1976) 79-83.

⁶⁵ *Psychologie* 1.271 n. 2.

⁶⁶ Lottin, in the note cited at n. 65 above, is speaking of the (pseudo-Sigerian) *Quaestiones super libros Physicorum*. By suggesting that the date of this work should be placed at 1271-74, before knowledge of these last works of Thomas was widespread, he implies that Siger may have read them after he had completed *Imposs.* 5 and *De nec*. There is no evidence, with respect to free will, that Siger did so. It could, on the other hand, be argued that Siger's position on free will was so different from Aquinas' on this fundamental point of the will's power of self-determination that nothing short of a radical revision by Siger of his view of free will (and causality) would have done justice to his reading of these last works of Thomas, and that Siger was not sufficiently convinced (or interested) to undertake such a revision.

⁶⁷ Lottin documents a shift in Aquinas' description of the role of the intellect in the direction of giving greater importance to the will in free choice, and in particular he highlights the attribution by Aquinas in his later works of final causality to the will rather than (as earlier) to the intellect: see, e.g., 'La date de la question disputée "De Malo" de S. Thomas d'Aquin', *Psychologie* 6 (1960), pp. 353-72 at pp. 356-57. Nonetheless, Aquinas still in the late *ST* 1-2.17.1 ad 2 describes the reason as the cause of man's free choice: 'Radix libertatis est voluntas sicut subiectum; sed sicut causa est ratio.' This is perhaps a refinement but is certainly not a complete rejection of his earlier view that 'totius libertatis radix est in ratione constituta' (*De veritate*, q. 24, a. 2).

⁶⁸ On the discussions of free will before 1270, Lottin writes in *Psychologie* 1: 'Les théologiens sont unanimes ... à faire intervenir la raison et la volonté dans le concept, sinon dans la définition, du libre arbitre' (p. 222). The inclusion by the theologians of reason within the process whereby man chooses freely was aided by the fact that Peter Lombard gave currency to two

the phrase from the *De veritate* cited by Lottin ('potest de suo arbitrio iudicare'⁶⁹) has no close equivalent in Siger's *De nec.* or in any other of Siger's works; nor is this simply a terminological difference, for there is lacking in Siger anything approaching the rich analysis by Aquinas of the intellect's ability to reflect on itself, and so to make a critique of its own spontaneous judgment and view it in the light of other possible judgments.⁷⁰ One is on firmer ground in seeing Siger as having been influenced by Aquinas in his belief that the particular judgment necessitates the will.⁷¹ Although again the influence is not certain, since Siger could have reached this conclusion from his reading of Aristotle (to whom alone he refers in proposing it),⁷² Thomas' position on this was not widely shared.⁷³

I do not know of any author contemporary with Siger who explicitly fulfils his claim that some deny the principle of Avicenna (that every effect is necessary with respect to its cause) in order to uphold free will. Two adherents of what may be called the voluntaristic school (or Franciscan⁷⁴ or Augustinian⁷⁵ school), namely, Walter of Bruges and Henry of Ghent, come close to this, and

definitions of 'liberum arbitrium' which incorporated both reason and will: 'facultas rationis et voluntatis' (4 *Sent.* 2.24.3) and 'liberum de voluntate iudicium' (4 *Sent.* 2.25.1); see Lottin, *Psychologie* 1.28-30 on Lombard, and *ibid.*, pp. 1-207 *passim* for medieval discussions of these definitions. Lottin singles out as giving special importance to the intellect Prevostinus of Cremona, William of Auxerre, Hugh of St. Cher, Roland of Cremona, Richard Fishacre and Albert the Great (*ibid.*, p. 222); for commentary on, and ample citation of texts of, these authors see Lottin, *ibid.*, pp. 50-54, 64-69, 96-103, 103-108, 112-18, 119-27.

⁶⁹ *De veritate*, q. 24, a. 1.

⁷⁰ See, e.g., *Summa c. gentiles* 2.48; *De veritate*, q. 22, a. 1 and q. 24, a. 2; *ST* 1.59.3 and 83.1.

⁷¹ *De veritate*, q. 24, a. 2.

⁷² *Met.* (V) 5.8 (p. 331, ll. 36-37), where he refers to *Ethics* 7.3 (1146b36-1147a3 and 1147a24-b20).

⁷³ Propositions 158/165 and 163/163 of the 1277 condemnation seem to have been directed against this view. William de la Mare regarded Thomas as having been censured by these propositions: see Hissette, *Enquête*, pp. 255-57. There is some verbal similarity between Siger and Aquinas on this point: cf. 'Sed iudicium de hoc particulari operabili, ut nunc, nunquam potest esse contrarium appetitui' (*De veritate*, q. 24, a. 2) and 'Nam existente apprehensione alicujus sub ratione boni actu et in particulari, impossibile est, stante illo iudicio, oppositum appetere' (*Met.* [PH] 5.8, arg. 1), and the first argument and reply in the parallel text, *Met.* (V) 5.8 (p. 330, ll. 4-6; pp. 330-31, ll. 34-44).

⁷⁴ I prefer not to use this name since some secular masters were important members of this group, notably Henry of Ghent.

⁷⁵ A. San Cristobal-Sebastian argues, convincingly, that the theory of free will elaborated in this group did not derive in any direct sense from Augustine, nor could it, since the questions faced in the latter part of the thirteenth century were not treated in his work (*Controversias acerca de la voluntad desde 1270-1300* [Madrid, 1958], pp. 250-67, especially pp. 250, 255, 261, 266).

certainly hold a view of free will very different from Siger's. It is easy to see how Siger's language must have sounded to them like a denial of free will. In St. Bernard's *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, one of the most influential texts in medieval discussions of free will, necessity and liberty are stated to be contradictories. When he poses the question of free will in his fourth disputed question, Walter recalls with approval the statements of Bernard 'Ubi est necessitas, iam non est voluntas' and 'Ubi est necessitas, non est ibi libertas',⁷⁶ and endorses the view that willing and necessity are mutually exclusive: '... ergo ubicumque est actus volendi, ibi nulla est necessitas'.⁷⁷ Similarly, Henry of Ghent writes in his first *Quodlibet*, q. 17: '... bonum autem apprehensum sub ratione veri nullo modo potest ex ratione boni cogniti necessitare voluntatem in appetendo'.⁷⁸

This rejection of any necessity in willing occurs within a view of free will in which the autonomy of the will is exalted and the intellect (and hence, too, the objective good) is given a role less than that of causality. One of the most forthright statements of the voluntaristic position is found in q. 16 of Henry's first *Quodlibet*, where he claims that the will in no way has its source of liberty in the intellect:

Unde et si proprie et stricte velimus loqui de electionis libertate, ipsa in sola voluntate est et nullo modo in ratione, nisi quatenus libere movetur ad diversa investiganda, a voluntate.... Nullo ergo modo voluntas principium libertatis a ratione habet sed a se ipsa primo, et sic electio libera. Virtutes et malitiae morales non tantum non sunt in ratione cognitiva ut in subiecto, sed nec ut in causa et principio, sed solum sicut in occasione.⁷⁹

In the following question, Henry again reduces the function of the intellect in free will below that of being a cause, when he writes: 'Potentiae enim volitivae

⁷⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De gratia et libero arbitrio* 2, *Sancti Bernardi opera* 3, ed. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais (Rome, 1963), p. 168, ll. 16-17 and p. 169, l. 13. For Aquinas the necessity that characterizes the will when it is immovably directed to God does not diminish its liberty (*ST* 2-2.88.4 ad 1).

⁷⁷ 'Quaestiones disputatae' de B. Gauthier de Bruges, ed. E. Longpré (Louvain, 1928), pp. 38-39.

⁷⁸ *Henrici de Gandavo Quodlibet I*, ed. R. Macken (Louvain, 1979), p. 125, ll. 30-32. This *Quodlibet* can be securely dated to late 1276: see Macken, p. ix.

⁷⁹ p. 107, ll. 94-96 and p. 108, ll. 5-9. Peter of Falco, writing c. 1280-82 (see Lottin, *Psychologie* 1.281 n. 2), carries on this manner of expression: 'Si loquamur de causa proprie dicta efficiente, tunc distinguo de libertate; quia libertas potest comparari ad duo. Potest enim comparari ad subiectum in quo radicatur, uel ad actum qui a voluntate libera elicitur. Et sic potest attribui uel attendi libertas voluntatis uel quoad radicem et essentiam, uel ut relata ad operationem siue actum. Si primo modo, sic dico quod ratio non est causa libertatis in voluntate' (Lottin, *ibid.*, p. 284, ll. 30-37).

nihil imprimitur quo informetur ut moveatur, neque metaphorice tamquam a fine alliciente.⁸⁰

In this respect, Walter of Bruges concedes slightly more importance to the intellect than Henry. Granted, Walter can describe the attraction of the good as merely stimulating and enlightening the will ('excitante et illuminante'),⁸¹ and he says the spontaneous attraction in the will aroused by the knowledge of the good is merely *complacentia* rather than *velle*.⁸² But Walter does say that there is a certain freedom proper to the intellect, a freedom of indifference (whereas to the will alone belongs freedom of choice): 'Ad decimum quartum dic quod habet libertatem indifferentiae a ratione, ut est nomen essentiae, sed libertatem praeferendi unum alii a seipsa voluntate.'⁸³ This last statement occurs, however, in the reply to *Sed contra* 14, and should not obscure the fact that for Walter, as for Henry, a central point to be upheld is that freedom in the will is something which belongs congenitally to the will and does not have its source in the intellect: '... voluntas habet libertatem proprie dictam et perfectam, non a ratione nec formaliter nec effective, sed a se vel a propria forma sibi ingenua et concreata.'⁸⁴

The view shared by Walter and Henry, that freedom of the will is due entirely to the will's autonomy vis-à-vis the intellect and the objective good, seems to involve one of the beliefs explicitly rejected by Siger, namely, that the will is the first cause of its own willing. That the view of the will outlined above is one rejected by Siger is confirmed by the fact that in Walter there occurs a phrase which closely resembles a view explicitly attacked by Siger. Where Siger writes:

Unde considerandum quod libertas voluntatis in suis operibus non sic est intelligenda, quod voluntas sit prima causa sui velle et sui operari, potens se

⁸⁰ p. 127, ll. 61-62. The language of influence in a metaphorical sense is found in Gerard of Abbeville, himself one of the voluntarist school: '... quia intellectus mouet uoluntatem secundum metaphoram et non secundum ueritatem, quia per modum cognitionis et ostensionis mouet affectum; sed non mouet secundum impetum operationis' (Lottin, *Psychologie* 1.250, ll. 52-54). After the 1277 condemnation, a variety of ways of expressing the reason's relationship to the will is found, in which the reason is given a very limited role: the good known is an *occasion* for the will to act in free choice (John Peckham, *Quaestiones de beatitudine corporis et animae*, cited by Lottin, *ibid.*, p. 290 n. 1); the intellect moves the will 'ostendendo et suadendo; hoc non est proprie mouere voluntatem, sed disponere ad motum voluntatis' and the will moves itself in the manner of an efficient cause (Richard of Middleton, *Quaestiones disputatae*, cited by Lottin, *ibid.*, p. 298). See also the following note.

⁸¹ *Quaestiones disputatae*, q. 4 ad 6 (pp. 42-43).

⁸² *ibid.*, q. 4 ad 3 (p. 41).

⁸³ *ibid.*, q. 5, Resp. 2 ad 14 (p. 55).

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, q. 5 (p. 52).

movere ad opposita, ab aliquo priori non mota. Voluntas enim non movetur ad volendum nisi ex aliqua apprehensione (*De nec.*, p. 34, ll. 50-55),⁸⁵

Walter proposes the view:

... voluntas etiam ad primum actum movet in eo quod vult ipsum converti ad speciem oblatam; nec illud velle praecedit intelligere illius actus in speciali, sed in generali, quia intelligit per voluntatem intellectum posse converti ad intelligibile.⁸⁶

While Henry's language is different, the thought seems evidently to be the same when he concludes:

Est igitur sciendum quod voluntas tripliciter flectitur ad appetendum aliquid sibi per cognitionem propositam: duobus modis sumendo occasionem, sed non causam aut necessitatem ullam, ab alio, ut a ratione, uno vero modo, sumendo causam et occasionem a se ipsa solum.⁸⁷

I have already suggested that one of the reasons why medieval philosophers reflected closely on metaphysical contingency was that the Christian doctrine of God's freedom in creating forced them to pose the problem in all its starkness. Siger's relatively undeveloped thought on free choice is something of a negative confirmation of this, in that he was less concerned than most of his predecessors and contemporaries to let Christian doctrine influence his thinking. I may conclude by carrying this suggestion a stage further and pointing to a possibly less appealing function of Christian doctrine in the disputes concerning free will in the period discussed.

A close reading of the polemic as it developed in the 1270s (especially when considered in the light of disputes in the years following the 1277 condemnation) shows a definite difference in formulae between the view of free will of the voluntaristic school and that of Thomas, but one is left wondering whether the differences in thought are, from a strictly metaphysical point of view, really so very great. Both, after all, held the essential point that the will is not determined by the intellect. The same might be said, *mutatis mutandis*, for Siger's point of view, even though the language of necessity tends to obscure this point. A remark by Walter may be illuminating here:

Philosophi tamen frequentius attribuunt imperare intellectivo quam appetitivo et voluntati, tum quia multum solliciti de scientia studebant ad perfectionem rationis magis quam voluntatis, unde et *ex abundantia cordis os eorum locutum est* 34, Matth. XII 34, tum quia ratio actum imperandi consulit exequi denuntiando et ita immediatius se habet ad actionem, et voluntas est quasi motor universalis, magis

⁸⁵ See also the parallel passage: *Met.* (PH) 6.9, p. 109, ll. 10-11.

⁸⁶ *Quaestiones disputatae*, q. 5 (p. 53).

⁸⁷ *Quodlibet* 1, q. 16 (p. 108, ll. 10-14).

autem attribuitur aliquid causae immediatori et speciali quam generali nonnunquam, tum quia voluntas nihil debet imperare sine consilio rationis, quod si facit contra rationem, potius praecipitat quam imperat. Sancti vero nostri plus vacant perfectioni voluntatis, per quam possunt adipisci vitam aeternam, quam voluntatem, quia vident dominari aliis viribus, dant ei imperium melius et magis proprie quam rationi.⁸⁸

The contrast drawn here by Walter suggests that the vigour of the debate on free will witnesses to a pedagogical as well as a metaphysical divide. For if almost exclusive emphasis is placed on the role of the will in choosing freely, then freedom of the will will be regarded as being enhanced (and virtue attained) almost exclusively by moral training. Such a view readily accords, too, with a traditional conception of the religious life in which freedom and virtue accrue to the will almost exclusively through grace received in the sacraments. On the other hand, if greater stress is given to the intellect, as it is in the view that freedom of the will depends in part on the intellect and its ability to reflect and present a variety of options, then freedom of the will increases in part with a higher level of learning. We have already noted the intellectualist penchant of Siger, and in particular his posing of the question of moral advancement in terms of *studium*. This last is of a piece with his great pleasure in intellectual attainment, something to which his entire *œuvre* witnesses.

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

⁸⁸ *Quaestiones disputatae*, q. 6 ad 2 (p. 62). Peter of Falco a few years later will express similar sentiments: 'Quidam enim magistri, sed pauci, dicunt quod ista libertas principaliter < est > a ratione; quorum ratio potissima est quia dicunt quod ratio est potentia motiva, uoluntas potentia mota, et hoc uidetur uelle Philosophus 3 de anima. ... Alii magistri et multi, magistri non tantum scientia imo uita, scilicet sancti, dicunt contrarium, ponentes quod uoluntas est per se libera, habens ingenitam, id est intus genitam, libertatem' (Lottin, *Psychologie* 1.282 n. 1).

THE *PASSIO S. LAVRENTII ET ALIORVM*:
LATIN MANUSCRIPTS
AND THE OLD ENGLISH MARTYROLOGY

J. E. Cross

As H. Delehaye indicated¹ when, as late as 1933, he published a complete text of the story of Lawrence and those recorded saints who were associated with him, it had not been immediately clear from the *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*² record that they were often linked in a sequential account. BHL had regarded the *passio* as an account in five parts noted separately under the names of some protagonists, Polychronius, Abdon and Sennen, Sixtus II, Laurentius, and Hippolytus,³ but with individual cross-references to one or another of this group. The story was certainly broken up for entry in some legendaries under the names of the individual saints, and this allowed the Bollandists to note the use of separate sections of the story, but catalogues of manuscripts which contain the whole account offer, as a result, a sequence of five BHL numbers. For three of the sections the number is single, for Polychronius BHL 6884, for Abdon and Sennen BHL 6, for Hippolytus BHL 3961, but for Sixtus II and for Laurentius, any number within a sequence, 7801-7808 for Sixtus, 4753-4760 for Laurentius, indicates a text of the same version with merely a differing opening phrase.

Delehaye published the complete *passio* from Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Arch. S. Pietro ms. A. 4 (saec. xi), with variants from Brussels, Bibliothèque Bollandiste ms. 14 (saec. ix med.-³/₄) and from Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale ms. 144 (saec. x).⁴ Two of these manuscripts were

¹ H. Delehaye, 'Recherches sur le Légendier Romain', *Analecta bollandiana* 51 (1933) 34-98.

² *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis* (= BHL), ed. Socii Bollandiani, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1898-99, 1900-1901) and *Supplementum*, 2nd enlarged edition (*Subsidia hagiographica* 12; Brussels, 1911).

³ See BHL under these names.

⁴ The manuscripts are described and dated as follows: the Vatican City ms. in A. Poncelet, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecarum Romanarum praeter quam Vaticanarum* (Brussels, 1909), pp. 10-15; the Bollandists' ms. in *Analecta bollandiana* 24 (1905) 432-

certainly written later than the ninth-century *Old English Martyrology*, so I have extended the list of complete or partial accounts among earlier manuscripts.

Complete accounts are extant in:

- (1) Zürich, Zentralbibliothek C 10 i (saec. ix ²/₄),⁵ fols. 132r-134v (BHL 6884, 6), 155v-157r (7801), 160v-162v (4754 and 4753), 164r-165v (3961).
- (2) Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek HB XIV 15 (saec. ix med. or ix²),⁶ fols. 158r-175r (BHL 6884, 6, 7801, 4754, 3961, this last with a passage omitted).
- (3) Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 358 (saec. ix ⁴/₄),⁷ fols. 68v-83r (BHL 6884, 6, 7804, 4760, 3961).

Partial accounts are extant in:

- (1) Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria D V 3 (Pasini 125) (saec. viii ex.),⁸ fols. 134r-139v (BHL 4755).
- (2) Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 1556 (saec. viii-ix),⁹ fols. 155v-165r (BHL 7803, 4754).
- (3) Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek Weissenburg 48 (saec. ix med.),¹⁰ fols. 151v-160v (7803, 4754, 3961, the last with omissions).
- (4) Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale 510 (469) (saec. ix ³/₄ or ⁴/₄),¹¹ fols. 77r-88r (end of ms.) (BHL 6, 7801).
- (5) Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine H 156 (saec. x in.),¹² fols. 137v-150r (BHL 7801, 4753, 3961).

39; the Chartres ms. in *Analecta bollandiana* 8 (1899) 125-28. The Bollandists' ms. 14 has, however, been generously redated for me by Bernhard Bischoff.

⁵ See L. C. Mohlberg, *Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, vol. 1: *Mittelalterliche Handschriften* (Zürich, 1951), no. 47, pp. 348-51 for date and description of contents. My dating, however, is from Bernhard Bischoff.

⁶ See *Die Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart*, 2nd Ser., *Die Handschriften der ehemaligen Königlichen Hofbibliothek* 4.2: M. S. Buhl and L. Kurras, *Codices physici, medici...* (Wiesbaden, 1969), p. 107 for date and description of contents. My dating, however, is from Bernhard Bischoff.

⁷ The manuscript is noted in *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, 10 vols. in 5 (Vienna, 1864-99; new edition, Graz, 1965), 1.53, but my dating is from Bernhard Bischoff.

⁸ The manuscript is described in *Analecta bollandiana* 28 (1909) 419-22. The date is from E. A. Lowe, ed., *Codices latini antiquiores. A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century* (= CLA), 11 vols. and Supplement (Oxford, 1934-71), 4, no. 446.

⁹ The manuscript is noted in *Tabulae codicum* (n. 7 above) 1.252. The date is from Lowe, CLA 10, no. 1502.

¹⁰ H. Butzmann, *Die Weissenburger Handschriften* (Kataloge der Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel 10; Frankfurt am Main, 1964), pp. 182-85 for the date and description of the contents of this manuscript.

¹¹ See *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements* (Octavo Series) 25 (*Poitiers-Valenciennes*) (Paris, 1894), pp. 408-409 for a date and description of the contents of this manuscript. My dating, however, is from Bernhard Bischoff.

¹² The manuscript is described and dated in *Analecta bollandiana* 34-35 (1915-16) 261-63. My dating, however, is from Bernhard Bischoff.

These manuscript texts record the existence of an extended account which was certainly presented as a sequence by the second quarter of the ninth century (1 complete, above) and parts of which were earlier (1 and 2 partial, above). But C. Narbey¹³ presented a case for another different but complete version, which, he argued, was the 'actes primitifs' of Sixtus, Lawrence, Abdon and Sennen, and Hippolytus. By their placing of this version *sub* Sixtus as BHL 7812 the editors of the *Supplementum*¹⁴ to the BHL appear to suggest that this is a variant of the main version of Sixtus. In Narbey's view, with which I and the scribe of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 17002 (saec. x) agree, it is not, since BHL¹⁵ *sub* Sixtus (BHL 7812) refers to item 24 in the Paris manuscript as a *passio* of Sixtus etc., but the title of item 25 in this same manuscript reads: 'Item alia, eodem die, sancti Sixti episcopi et Laurentii vel Hippolyti'. Presumably this latter (item 25) is the more normal but 'another' version from the one preceding (item 24).

Narbey consulted the 'short' version in three manuscripts (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale nouv. acq. lat. 2180 [saec. x], lat. 2179 [saec. xi], and lat. 11748 [saec. x]),¹⁶ and printed a text without variant readings presumably from one of these three manuscripts. This version is extant in some earlier manuscripts and in one printed text:

- (1) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 4554 (saec. viii ex. and viii-ix),¹⁷ fols. 86r-88r.
- (2) London, British Library Add. 11880 (saec. ix, before 847),¹⁸ fols. 21r-24r.
- (3) Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana A 28 inf. (saec. ix),¹⁹ fols. 204r-205v. This is a part of the version, concerned mainly with Lawrence. It includes a recapitulatory opening

¹³ C. Narbey, *Supplément aux Acta sanctorum*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1900-12), 2.234-43.

¹⁴ *Supplementum*, p. 282.

¹⁵ BHL 2.1130. The references there are to *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum ... in Bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1889-93), 2.60, item 130, otherwise Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 5306 (saec. xiv), and 3.366, item 24, otherwise Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 17002 (saec. x, for this section). I am a little surprised that Narbey missed this evidence since he used lat. 17002 for texts on other occasions.

¹⁶ For dates of the manuscripts, see Narbey, *Supplément* 2.243 n. 1; text, 2.243-45.

¹⁷ The manuscript is described in W. K. Dyroff, 'Lateinische Akten des hl. Psotius', *Münchener Museum* 1 (1911-12) 193-95 and also in *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* 1.2 (Munich, 1894), p. 206; it is discussed by Bernhard Bischoff, *Die südost-deutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, vol. 1: *Die bayrischen Diözesen* (Wiesbaden, 1960; 3rd edition, 1974), pp. 23 ff., 27 ff., and dated in Lowe, *CLA* 9, no. 1242.

¹⁸ The manuscript is described in *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1841-1845* (London, 1850), pp. 14-15 and discussed and dated by Bischoff, *ibid.*, p. 207.

¹⁹ See *Analecta bollandiana* 11 (1892) 205-206 for note of the date and of the hagiographical entries in this manuscript.

sentence, then it corresponds with Narbey 2.244, § 3 'Tunc Decius Caesar adduci... up to Narbey 2.245, § 3 'in eo die rapuit corpus ei Ypolitus ... et posuit illud (Lawrence's body) in cripta abditissima die quarto iduum augustarum'.

(4) *The Spanish Passionary* (SP), reputedly composed before 806 A.D.²⁰

These manuscript texts, with SP, confirm that Narbey's text omits phrases, but London Add. 11880 omits one long passage corresponding to Narbey 2.244, § 2 'Qui cum duceretur...' up to ibid. 'nostre uirtutis successionem', and Munich Clm 4554 has a dislocation of a long passage in comparison with Narbey. A considered and collated edition is needed.

Nevertheless the earlier manuscript texts confirm the points of difference noted by Narbey between the 'short' and the 'long' version. In the 'short' version Lawrence is buried in 'cripta abditissima' not 'in crypta in via Tyburtina', etc.; Abdon and Sennen only 'in cimeterio Pontiani', not first in 'arca plumbea in domo suo' by Quirinus; Hippolytus 'in cripta que est iuxta agrum Pretorianum', not 'in campo, iuxta nimpham ad latus agri Verani'. In the 'short' version the title *subreguli* is missing for Abdon and Sennen, and Lawrence is a *civis Romanus*, not a Spaniard. The 'short' version omits any reference to Polychronius, to Olympiades and Maximus, to Romanus, Tryphonia, Cyrilla, and The Forty-Six Soldiers. If the truism of textual criticism applies also to hagiography that time brings amplification not abbreviation, Narbey's points are well made.²¹

The discussion of the points of difference between the Latin versions has been preliminary to the identification of the version (whether in sequential whole or in parts) used by the composer of the *Old English Martyrology* (OEM).²² This work includes nine notices, in chronological order, Abdon and Sennen (30 July), Pope Sixtus II (6 August), Romanus (9 August), Lawrence (10 August), Hippolytus (13 August), Irenaeus and Abundius (26 August),

²⁰ A. Fabrega Grau, ed., *Pasionario hispánico*, vol. 2: *Texto* (Madrid-Barcelona, 1955), pp. 331-34. H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques du moyen âge. Étude sur la formation du Martyrologe Romain*, 2nd edition (Paris, 1908), has argued (pp. 140 ff.) that SP was used for the Lyons Martyrology, composed before 806 A. D. (p. 221).

²¹ There are abbreviations of the 'long version' extant in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14418 and Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M. p. th. q. 15 (both of saec. ix and related, according to Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*, p. 104). These differ at points of significant detail from the 'short version' and more clearly are abbreviations by omission from the 'long version'. I am told that such abbreviations are commonly found, but these are clearly recognisable as such.

²² *An Old English Martyrology*, ed. G. Herzfeld (EETS OS 116; London, 1900). The text quoted below, however, is that of Günter Kotzor, *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, vol. 2: *Edition, Anmerkungen und Indices* (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse. Abhandlungen, N. F. 88.2; Munich, 1981). For convenience of reference, the corresponding page numbers in the Herzfeld edition are given in parentheses, and the English translations of the passages discussed are my own.

Tryphonia (18 October), The Forty-Six Soldiers (24 October), and Cyrilla (28 October). As some of the names indicate, in relation to omissions from the 'short' version noted above, clearly OEM went to a text of the 'long' version for its information. So too, apparently, did Bede for his *Martyrology*, and noted some names from the story in Family I of the Bede manuscripts,²³ thus indicating that the 'long' version of the *Passio* was available, at least, from the beginning of the eighth century. In passing it may be added that the notices in Bede's *Martyrology* are in no case sufficiently detailed to be sole sources for the entries in OEM, although this Latin martyrology was probably available to the composer of OEM. For the Latin words which the vernacular martyrology used, however, we need sometimes to consult manuscript readings which vary from the printed versions.

1. *Abdon and Sennen* (30 July)

OEM reads:²⁴

On ðone ðritegðan dæg ðæs monðes bið þara æpelra weras tid Abdo ond Sennes, þæt wæron twegen Cristne ealdormenn on Perscwaras mægðe. Ða het Decius se casere hi gebindan, forðon þe hi on Crist gelefdon, ond he het hi lædan to Rome ond þær deoflum geldan. Ða hi þæt noldon, þa het he hi nacode sendan on wildra deora geweald. Ða weop eall Romana dugoð for þære dæde, forþon þa weras wæron wlitige ond fægres lichoman. Ða noldon þa wildan deor him onhrinan for Godes ege, ac þurh oþerne martyrdom hi heora lif geendedon, ond hira lichoman restað on Rome.

We note that the pair were *ealdormenn*²⁵ equating *subreguli* of the Latin and that this and all the other details are found in Delehaye, §§ 7-10, except one within the sentence: 'Ða weop eall Romana dugoð for þære dæde, forþon þa weras wæron wlitige ond fægres lichoman.' This statement, which, in the Old

²³ Quentin, *Martyrologes*, p. 78, and other entries from Family II, pp. 78-79. Quentin argues that mss. of Family I, which are extant in texts of saec. ix¹, basically reflect authentic Bede but (p. 53) these mss. end at VIII Kal. Aug. Three of the saints or groups of saints from the *Passio s. Laurentii* are entered before VIII Kal. Aug.

²⁴ Kotzor, pp. 163-64 (Herzfeld, p. 132). 'On the thirtieth day of the month is the festival of the noble men, Abdon and Sennen; they were two Christian *ealdormenn* (sub-kings) in the province of the Persians. Then the emperor Decius ordered them to be bound, because they believed in Christ, and he ordered them to be brought to Rome and there to sacrifice to idols. When they would not do that, then he ordered them to be sent naked into the power (control) of wild beasts. Then all the Roman senate wept because of that deed, because the men were handsome and of beautiful body (form, appearance). Then the wild beasts would not touch them for fear of God, but they ended their lives through another martyrdom and their bodies rest in Rome.'

²⁵ Old English '*ealdormenn*' is used to translate Latin words denoting men of high rank and power.

English, is the reaction of the Romans after the martyrs had been sent naked (cf. *denudavit eos* and *nudo corpore*, § 9) to the wild beasts, is not mentioned at this point in the Latin in any of the manuscripts, but may be a transfer from the earlier scene (§ 8) where the pair are led before the senate 'quos cum vidisset omnis senatus, mirari coeperunt in aspectibus eorum', with possibly a corruption (not seen in the manuscripts, however) of *lacrimari* for *mirari* and/or an influence from the next sentence: 'Tantam enim gratiam (variant: pulchritudinem)²⁶ contulit Dominus servis suis, ut magis dolor esset in ostensione (variant: amore)²⁷ eorum quam furor.'

2. Pope Sixtus II (6 August)

OEM reads:²⁸

On þone .vi.^{an} dæg ðæs monþes bið Sancti Sixtes þrowung þæs papan in Rome mid his .vi. deaconum. Þone Syxtum nedde Decius se casere Tiges deofolgyld; þa cwæð he to þam deofulgilde: 'Towyrpe þe Crist.' Ða sona gefeol þæs deofolgyldes huses sum dæl. Ða het se casere hine gemartyrian mid his deaconum; ond his lichoma resten in þam mynstre Calesti, ond his deaconas in þam mynþre (variant: mynstre) Pretextate.

Here again all the details save one are recorded in Delehaye, §§ 17-18, including the close translation of Sixtus' speech to the temple of Mars, 'Destruat te Christus', and of the result: 'et subito cecidit aliqua pars templi'. The exceptional point is that Sixtus suffered 'mid his .vi. deaconum' whereas in the *passio* only Felicissimus and Agapitus are martyred with him. Bede's *Martyrology* (Family II) reads²⁹ 'sancti Xysti episcopi, Felicissimi et Agapiti diaconorum qui decollati sunt sub Decio. Decollati sunt cum eo et alii quattuor subdiaconi'. H. Quentin argued³⁰ that the phrase referring to the 'other four' was not in the original Bede but was influenced by the *Liber pontificalis* which names six deacons. The composer of OEM used a recension of the *Liber pontificalis*³¹ and could have taken the information directly from that work.

²⁶ Zürich C 10 i reads: 'Tantam enim dominus contulit seruis suis pulchritudinem', etc.

²⁷ Among Delehaye's variants in his § 8 n. 15, and in other mss.

²⁸ Kotzor, p. 172 (Herzfeld, p. 140). 'On the sixth day of the month is the passion of St. Sixtus, the pope in Rome, with his six deacons. The emperor Decius forced this Sixtus to the worship of Tig (the Germanic equivalent of Mars); then he said to the idol: "May Christ destroy you." Then some part of the house (temple) of the idol fell. Then the emperor ordered him to be martyred with his deacons; and his body rests in the monastery (cemetery?) Calixti and his deacons in the monastery (cemetery?) Praetextati.'

²⁹ Quentin, *Martyrologes*, p. 79 and n. 1.

³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 79 n. 1.

³¹ See J. E. Cross, 'Popes of Rome in the *Old English Martyrology*' in *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 2 (ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs 3; Liverpool, 1979), pp. 191-211.

3. *Romanus* (9 August)

OEM reads:³²

On ðone .viii.^{an} dæg þæs monþes bið þæs cempa tid se is nemned *Sanctus Romanus*; se gelifde forþon ðe he geseah Godes engel stondan ond drygan mid sceatan *Sancti Laurentius* limu, þa Decius se casere hine het stigan (variant: swigan) mid irenum gyrdum tyndehtum; ond he ða onfeng fulwihte ond geþrowode martyrdom for Criste, ond his lichoma is bebyrged æt Rome on ðam londe Ueranum.

All the details are from the *passio* (Delehaye, §§ 25-26) including a paraphrase in indirect statement of Romanus' speech, § 26: 'Video in te hominem pulcherrimum stantem cum linteo et extergentem membra tua'. But there is one point of detail which aids editorial choices in the Old English. The torture 'þa Decius se casere hine het stigan (variant: swigan) mid irenum gyrdum tyndehtum' refers to Lawrence, not to Romanus. Decius merely orders for Romanus 'Exhibete eum cum fustibus' (§ 26), but had ordered for Lawrence 'Extendite eum, et scorpionibus cedentes affligite' (§ 25). If the one Old English variant 'swigan' (*affligere*, 'to beat') is accepted and certain glosses recorded in J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford, 1954) are noted, the Old English could be a fair rendering of the last part of the statement about Lawrence. Under 'tindiht' the dictionary records 'tindicti (-ecte) *rostratum*' from the Épinial-Erfurt Glossary and *sub* 'tindig' it notes 'óstig gyrd *vel* tindig (*scorpio*...)' from a glossary printed by Wright. It appears that a 'gyrd tyndeht' (a spiked beam, club) can equate *scorpio*, that the torture is one which Lawrence suffered, and that Old English 'þa' should here be translated 'when'.

4. *Lawrence* (10 August)

OEM reads:³³

On ðone .x.^{an} dæg þæs monþes bið *Sancti Laurentius* (tyd) þæs archidiacones; sé sealde monegum blindum men (variant: mannum) gesiðþe, ond he gedælde eal ða

³² Kotzor, p. 175 (Herzfeld, p. 142). 'On the ninth day of the month is the festival of the soldier who is called St. Romanus. He believed because he saw an angel of God stand and dry St. Lawrence's limbs with a cloth, when the emperor Decius ordered him to be pierced (variant: beaten) with spiked iron clubs; and then he received baptism and suffered martyrdom for Christ, and his body is buried at Rome in the district Veranum.'

³³ Kotzor, pp. 176-77 (Herzfeld, p. 142). 'On the tenth day of the month is the festival of the archdeacon St. Lawrence; he gave sight to many blind men and he distributed all the treasures which were in churches of God at Rome to poor men and to strangers (*peregrini*) and thus Decius, the pagan emperor, then tortured him with unspeakable tortures. And, at last, he ordered him to be stretched on an iron bed, and (them) to roast and broil him alive. And as he was roasted the more, so was he more beautiful in appearance. And then Lawrence raised up his eyes

goldhord þa ðe wæron in Godes cyricum æt Rome ðearfendum monnum ond elðeodegum; ond þa forþon Decius se hæðena kasere hine tintregode mid unasec-gendlicum witum. Ond ætnehstan he hine het aþenian on irenum bedde, ond hine cwicne hirstan ond brædan. Ond swa hine mon ma hirste, swa wæs he fægera on ondwlitan. Ond þa onhof Laurentius his egan up, ond cwæð to þam kasere: 'Geseoh nu, þu earma, et nu þas sidan þe her gehirsted is, ond acer (variant: wend) me on þa oþre.' Ond þa dyde he Gode þoncunga ond his gast onsende to heofnum. Ond on æfentid Iústinus se mæssepreost ond Ypolitus se Cristena tungerefa, unrote ond wepende hi byrgdon his lichoman on þan lande Uer anum, on þam wege þe hi nemnað æt Rome Tiburtina.

All the significant details save one and one adaptation are in Delehaye's edition: § 14 (the distribution of the treasures), § 20 (the healing of the blind men), §§ 23-25, 27-28 (the tortures, noted twice as *omne genus tormentorum*, §§ 23 and 27) and finally § 28 (the death scene) and § 29 (the burial). The famous speech of Lawrence is closely translated: 'Ond þa onhof Laurentius his egan up, ond cwæð to þam kasere: "Geseoh nu, þu earma, et nu þas sidan þe her gehirsted is, ond acer (variant: wend) me on þa oþre"'; cf. 'Et elevans oculos suos contra Decium, sic dixit beatus Laurentius: "Ecce, miser, assasti tibi"³⁴ partem unam; regira aliam et manduca"' (§ 28). So also are the details of the burial: 'Ond on æfentid Iustinus se mæssepreost ond Ypolitus se Cristena tungerefa, unrote ond wepende, hi byrgdon his lichoman on þan lande Uer anum, on þam wege þe hi nemnað æt Rome Tiburtina'; cf. 'Tunc beatus Iustinus presbyter et Yppolitus plorantes et multum tristes tulerunt corpus.... hora vespertina sepelierunt eum in crypta in via Tyburtina ... in agro Verano' (§ 29).

The detail missing from Delehaye's printed text is dependent on a variant reading found in two manuscripts. In the description of the distribution of treasure OEM reads: 'he gedælde eal ða goldhord þa ðe wæron in Godes cyricum æt Rome ðearfendum monnum ond elðeodegum'; cf. Delehaye, § 14: 'beatus Laurentius coepit per regiones curiose quaerere, ubicunque sancti clerici vel pauperes essent absconsi; et portans thesauros, prout cuique opus erat, ministrabat.' We see the poor but we miss the strangers ('elðeodig') from Delehaye's text. Latinists will suspect a corruption at *per regiones*, and find *peregrinos* in Vienna 1556, fol. 157r and in Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg 48,

and said to the emperor: "Look now, you wretch, eat now this side that is roasted here and turn (both variants) me on the other." And then he gave thanks to God and sent his spirit to heaven. And in the evening the priest, Iustinus, and Hippolytus the Christian town-reeve, sad and weeping, buried his body in the district Veranum, on the road at Rome which is called Tiburtina.'

³⁴ Most manuscripts omit *tibi* in opposition to Delehaye's base text.

fol. 154r. It is relevant to note that Ælfric also saw a manuscript with *peregrinos* when he wrote:³⁵ 'and dælde þære cyrcan maðmas preostum, and ælðeodigum, ðearfum, and wudewum' (the priests are in the quoted passage, the widows are from an adaptation of the story of a widow immediately following).

The adaptation is in the phrase describing Lawrence's reaction to the tortures: 'Ond swa hine mon ma hirste swa wæs he fægera on ondwilitan', which is similar in idea to 'et coeperunt omnes qui aderant mirari quomodo praeceperat Decius vivum eum assari. Ille (Lawrence) autem vultu placido dicebat' (Delehaye, § 28), but closer to the variant *uultu pulcherrimo* of all manuscripts except Delehaye's base text, and also except Stuttgart HB XIV 15 which reads: *uultu hilari* (cf. the 'short' version, Narbey 2.245: *hilari facie*).

5. *Hippolytus* (13 August)

OEM reads:³⁶

On ðone .xiii.^{an} dæg þæs monþes bið þæs þroweres gemynd *Sancti Ypoliti*; se was tungerefa on Rome, ac he gelyfde Gode þurh þa w[u]ndor þe he geseah æt *Sancti Laurentie* þam deacone, ond he onfeng fulwihte ond ealle his þeowas gefreode. Ða het Ualerianus, Decies prafest þæs caseres, gebindan ðysne Ypolitum on wildu hors þæt hyne drogon on gorstas ond on þornas. Ond þa gebæd he him to Drihtne ond onsende his gast, ond ða hors forleton ðone lichoman. Ond þa ymbe medmicelne fyrst æfter þam swealt Ualerianus se prauost; ond ær þan he swulte, he clypode ond cwæp: 'Eala, Laurentius, þæt ðu me gebundenne mid fyrenum racenteagum tyhst in ece fyr.' Ond Decius se kasere awedde, ond he clypode ær he swulte: 'Eala, Yppolitus, þæt ðu me grimlice lædest gebundenne in forwyrd.'

The section on Hippolytus presents a couple of small problems of detail although the bulk of the entry echoes the *passio* in idea and sometimes in word, the latter notably in the death-cries of the persecutors, Valerianus and Decius. For Valerianus, compare 'Eala, Laurentius, þæt ðu me gebundenne mid

³⁵ *The Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. B. Thorpe, 2 vols. (London, 1844-46), 1.418.

³⁶ Kotzor, pp. 179-80 (Herzfeld, pp. 144, 146). 'On the thirteenth day of the month is the commemoration of the martyr St. Hippolytus; he was town-reeve in Rome – but he believed in God through the miracles which he saw from the deacon, St. Lawrence, and he received baptism and freed all his slaves (servants). Then Valerianus, prefect of the emperor Decius, ordered this Hippolytus to be bound on wild horses so that they might drag him on brambles (gorse bushes) and on thorns. And then he prayed to the Lord and gave up his spirit, and the horses left the body. And then, in a short time after that, Valerianus the prefect died; and before he died, he called out and said: "Alas, Lawrence, that you draw me, bound with fiery chains, into eternal fire." And the emperor Decius went mad, and before he died he called out: "Alas, Hippolytus, that you harshly lead me bound into perdition."'

fyrenum racenteagum tyhst in ece fýr' with 'O Laurenti, igneis catenis me trahis' (Delehaye, § 33), but two manuscripts³⁷ read 'O Laurenti, igneis catenis me uinctum trahis'. For Decius, compare 'Eala, Yppolitus, þæt ðu me grimlice lædest gebundenne in forwyrd' with 'O Yppolite, tamquam vinctum catenis asperis et captivum me ducis' (Delehaye, § 33), although I suspect that OEM's Latin manuscript read *aspere*³⁸ as an adverb which could equate 'grimlice'. Other corresponding words allow comment on the choice of an Old English variant and on the breadth of the English martyrologist's knowledge of medieval Latin meaning. Hippolytus' martyrdom occurs when Valerianus 'het ... gebindan ðysne Ypolitum on wildu (variant: untame) hors þæt hyne drogon on gorstas ond on þornas'; cf. 'Beatum vero Yppolitum iussit ut pedes eius ligarentur ad colla equorum indomitorum et sic per cardetum et tribulos trahi' (edited from mss. opposing Delehaye's base text, § 31).³⁹ We note the one reading 'untame' equating *indomiti*, and realise that 'on gorstas ond on þornas' accurately renders *super cardetum et tribulos* of Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg 48, fol. 160r (Delehaye and other mss.: *sic per*).

But there are some differences from the text of Delehaye, the first that Hippolytus 'gebæd he him to Drihtne ond onsende his gast', whereas Delehaye (§ 31) has merely 'qui dum traheretur emisit spiritum'. But a short prayer is found in Vienna 358, fol. 80v: 'Qui dum traheretur eleuans oculos in celum sic ait: Domine Iesu Christe lumen claritatis et stella splendida iube me recipi in loco quo recepisti beatum Laurentium; et statim redidit spiritum.'⁴⁰ Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg 48, fol. 160r also has a prayer which reads: 'Qui dum traheretur exclamauit voce magna dicens: Domine suscipe animum seruum tui; et cum his dixisset emisit spiritum.' The composer of OEM certainly saw a text including a prayer.

Within the succeeding phrases, however, occurs a statement which has no equivalent in the printed texts or mss., that 'ða hors forleton ðone lichoman', whereas the Latin has 'eadem hora dimiserunt corpora in campo iuxta nimpham', etc. (Delehaye, § 31). One assumes that the humans *dimiserunt corpora*, so the Old English results from a hasty reading or from an extension of the Latin material.

There is one more small difference from the Latin, that when Hippolytus received baptism 'ealle his þeowas gefreode'. The conversion results from 'pa

³⁷ Zürich C 10 i and Stuttgart HB XIV 15.

³⁸ Stuttgart HB XIV 15 reads *asperissimum*, which indicates that variants occurred for the word *asperis*.

³⁹ For the first phrase Delehaye (§ 31) reads: 'Beati vero Yppoliti pedes iussit ligari ad colla...'

⁴⁰ This prayer is in the text printed by Boninus Mombritius, *Sanctuarium seu Vitae sanctorum*, 2 vols. (before 1480; 2nd edition, Paris, 1910), 2.29, ll. 52-54.

wundor', the healing of the blind by Lawrence (§ 20), but the Latin merely notes Hippolytus' request 'ut omnis domus mea baptizetur' (§ 21) and the resulting baptism. Much later, however, after the death of Lawrence, Hippolytus returned to his house 'et dedit pacem omnibus, etiam servis suis et ancillis' (§ 30). The phrase *dedit pacem* here might have been taken to mean 'he gave pardon'.⁴¹

6. Irenaeus and Abundius (26 August)

OEM reads:⁴²

On ðone .xxui.^{an} dæg ðæs monþes biþ þara martyra tid þe seondon nemned Sanctus Heremus (variant: Herenius), se wæs cægþora in Rome, ond Sanctus Habundius (variant: Abundius). Hi atugon sumes haliges wifes lichoman of anum adolseaðe ond þone arwyrðlice bebyrgdon; ða het Ualerianus se refa hi forþon acwellan in þam ylcan adolseape.

All the details for this brief entry are found in the *passio* (Delehaye, § 32) except the curious statement that Irenaeus was a 'cægþora' (key-bearer), whereas in the Latin he was a *cloacarius* (a sewer-man). Latinists will, however, suspect a Latin corruption or confusion with *clauicarius*, *clauacarius*, a man who deals with keys or locks, especially since Du Cange records *clavaca* (sewer),⁴³ and one ms. (Zürich C 10 i) of the *passio* describes Irenaeus and his place of work as *clo.acarius*, *clo.acarium* respectively, with an erasure of one letter before the first *a* in each case. One has to admit a real error of hasty reading here, however, since the Latin account (Delehaye, § 32) makes it quite clear that Concordia's body ('sumes haliges wifes lichoman') was found in a sewer ('adolseaðe'),⁴⁴ and that Valerianus ordered the martyrs to be killed in the same 'adolseaðe' (cf. 'Valerianus ... tenuit Hereneum et Abundium et iussit ut vivi in cloaca necarentur': Delehaye, § 32).

⁴¹ My suggestion is very tentative since, when OEM notes that Hermes (28 August) on baptism freed his slaves (servants) ('ond þa he ealle ærest gefreode'), the Old English accurately translates the Latin of the *Passio Alexandri*, which is the source, viz. 'prius fecit fieri ingenuos' (*Acta sanctorum*, *Mai.* 1, p. 375; *Mombritius*, *ibid.* 1.44). For further detail on Alexander and Hermes, see Cross, 'Popes of Rome', 199-200.

⁴² Kotzor, p. 189 (Herzfeld, p. 154). 'On the twenty-sixth day of the month is the festival of the martyrs who are called St. Herenius, who was a key-bearer in Rome, and St. Abundius. They recovered (drew out) the body of a certain holy woman from a sewer and buried it honourably; then Valerianus, the prefect, ordered them to be killed for this in the same sewer.'

⁴³ C. Du Cange, *Glossarium manuale ad scriptores mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, 6 vols. (Halle, 1772-84), s. v. *clavaca* (which in mss. would be written *clauaca*). This *clavaca* is glossed with *burca*, and *burca* (s. v.) is glossed with *cloaca* (once in the form *clauaca*).

⁴⁴ J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, s. v. 'adelseap', note glosses of this word with *cloaca*.

7. Tryphonia (18 October)

OEM reads:⁴⁵

On ðone ilcan dæg bið þære halgan cwene gemynd *Sancta* Trifonia; seo wæs Decies cwen þæs caseres, ond heo wæs aryst hæðen ond wælgrim. Ac heo geseah hu Decius se casere wedde ond hrymde dæges ond nihtes ær ðon he dead wære. Þa gelyfde heo on God ond onfeng fulwihte; ond sume dæge ðær heo hy gebæd, heo onsende hyre gast to Gode.

The details for this brief entry correspond with a selection on Tryphonia from Delehaye, § 33. We note a few, that she was 'hæðen ond wælgrim' (*pagana crudelis*) before conversion, that the reason for her conversion was her seeing 'hu Decius se casere wedde ond hrymde dæges ond nihtes' (cf. 'Decius ... triduo non cessavit a daemonio agitari'⁴⁶ qui et ipse clamabat omni die vel nocte'), and that 'sume dæge ðær heo hy gebæd, heo onsende hyre gast to Gode' (cf. 'alia ... die, dum orat, Triphonia emisit spiritum').

8. The Forty-Six Soldiers (24 October)

OEM reads:⁴⁷

On ðone ilcan dæg bið .xvi. cempena tid, ða het Claudius se casere heafde beceorfan in ðære ceals|tre Figligna (variant: Figlina); forðon ðe hy fulwihte onfengon, ond hie wæron bliðran to ðam deaðe þonne hy her on hæðengilde lifden. Þara cempena .iiii. wæron nemned Piosius (variant: Peodosius) ond Lucius ond Marcus ond Petrus.

The details are in the variant manuscript texts although not all in Delehaye's edition. These confirm one error of Roman numeral in the Old English texts,⁴⁸ 'xui cempena', but 'quadragenta sex, xlui, xltā ui' in the Latin manuscripts, also a more original form of the name of the city in one Old English manuscript, 'Figlina' (variant: 'Figligna'; cf. Latin variants *Figlina*, *Ficlina*, *Figlinas*) and a more original name of one of the martyrs 'Peodosius' (variant 'Piosius') as in

⁴⁵ Kotzor, p. 231 (Herzfeld, p. 188). 'On the same day (18 October) is the commemoration of the holy queen, St. Tryphonia; she was the queen of the emperor Decius and first she was a pagan and cruel. But she saw how the emperor Decius went mad and cried out day and night before he died. She believed then in God and received baptism; and on a certain day where she prayed she sent forth her spirit to God.'

⁴⁶ All other manuscripts against Delehaye's base text which reads *agi*.

⁴⁷ Kotzor, p. 239 (Herzfeld, p. 194). 'On the same day (24 October) of the month is the festival of the sixteen (*recte* forty-six) soldiers whose heads the emperor Claudius ordered to be cut off in the city, *Figlina*, because they received baptism; and they were the happier in this death than had they lived here in paganism. Four of these soldiers were called Theodosius and Lucius and Marcus and Petrus.'

⁴⁸ Both Old English mss. for this section read 'xui cempena'.

the list of names in Latin: *Theodosius, Lucius, Marcus et Petrus* (Delehaye, § 35). Delehaye's base text, however, omits a balanced phrase, which is used in OEM and found in the variant mss., since it presents 'cum intentione maxima moriendi', a unique reading among the mss. considered by me. Delehaye's variant texts read: 'cum intentione ferventes mori laeti quam vivere male', a reading supported in four other manuscripts.⁴⁹ This phrase clearly gives rise to the statement in OEM: 'ond hie wæron bliðran to ðam deaðe þonne hy her on hæðengilde lifden'.

9. *Cyrilla* (28 October)

OEM reads:⁵⁰

On ðone ilcan dæg bið *Sancta* Cyrillan þrowung þære fæmnan; seo wæs Decies dohtor þæs caseres, a[c] Claudius se casere hy nydde þæt heo deofolgild herede. Ða heo ðon wiðsoc, ða het he hy mid sweorde ofstingan ond hyre lichoman weorpan hundum. Ða Iustinus se mæssepreost genom þone lichoman on niht ond bebyrigde mid oðrum halgum monnum.

Apart from one difference, all the details about *Cyrilla*, daughter of Decius, are found within Delehaye's text (§ 34). The difference is the verb 'ofstingan', normally meaning 'to stab, pierce, transfix etc.',⁵¹ which does not equate the Latin *iugulare* of Delehaye and the Latin mss. in the descriptions of the manner of death. Compare 'ða het hy mid sweorde ofstingan' (both OE mss.) and 'hyre lichoman weorpan hundum' with 'Claudius ... praecepit eam iugulari et, necata gladio, iussit corpus eius in platea canibus relinqui' (Delehaye, § 34). I cannot offer a reasonable explanation for this change.

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The composer of OEM had given himself a large task of producing a full martyrology which included anecdotes and detail from a number of extensive

⁴⁹ Zürich C 10 i has one variant *feruente* for *feruentes*; Montpellier H 156 reads *magis* instead of *laeti*; Stuttgart HB XIV 15 omits the phrase after *ferventes*; Vienna 358 reads *cum intentione frequenter mori quam uiuere male*. All of these in various ways support the reading of Delehaye's variant manuscripts against his base text.

⁵⁰ Kotzor, p. 241 (Herzfeld, p. 196). 'On the same day (28 October) is the passion of the virgin St. *Cyrilla*; she was the daughter of the emperor Decius but the emperor Claudius forced her to worship idols. When she refused this, he ordered her to be stabbed with a sword and her body to be thrown to dogs. Then the priest Iustinus took the body at night and buried it together with other holy people.'

⁵¹ Bosworth and Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary and Supplement*, s. v. 'stingan', 'ofstingan', 'þurhstingan'. OEM uses 'ofstingan' to describe Herod's death by his own sword (28 December; Herzfeld, p. 10) and 'þurhstingan' to describe the apostle Thomas' death in one account (21 December; Herzfeld, p. 222). Both of these cases indicate 'stabbing, piercing'.

texts, not only *passiones* or *gesta*, but other tracts of book-length as well. He could, of course, have simply and easily copied (and/or translated) sections from Bede's *Martyrology* which he probably knew and may have used on occasions. In such a situation slight differences should be expected from the wording of the comparatively few Latin manuscripts which still remain from the eighth and ninth centuries. Variant readings from the unpublished but extant texts noted above indicate that we might have been more certain about some details which, at present, are speculative, if more Latin texts of the *passio* from this period had been preserved. Nevertheless it is clear that the English martyrologist read a 'long version' of the *Passio s. Laurentii et aliorum* and abstracted phrases from it rather more closely than the printed texts allow us to suspect.

The University of Liverpool.

OCELLI NOMINVM:
NAMES AND SHELF MARKS
OF FAMOUS/FAMILIAR MANUSCRIPTS (I)

Wilma Fitzgerald, S.P.

IF one may speak of manuscript letters as rustic capitals, square capitals, uncials; call them Merovingian, insular, Carolingian, Beneventan; describe ornate initials as vinestem, interlaced, inhabited; discuss figures in illuminations as set on a diapered background, in patterned gold lozenges; term some illuminations as *bas-de-page* and others *tête-bêche*; designate entire designed pages as carpet pages and in so doing endow each part of a codex with a brilliant, personalized history and character, it is only natural for codices themselves to be named *Cathach of St. Columba*, *Book of Deer*, *Térence des Ducs*, *Windmill Psalter* or *Codex Gisle*.

Art historians know the *Belleville Breviary*, schoolmasters know the *Vatican Terence* and the *Vergilius Romanus*, the layman speaks of the *Book of Kells*. All may use the familiar name with ease, but the too casual use of a familiar name for a familiar codex among the world's vast collection of unique volumes often leaves even the most experienced scholars at a loss, not all of whom will know readily that, while the *Welles Apocalypse* (alias *Greenfield Apocalypse*), *Wharnccliffe Hours*, and *Windmill Psalter* are close in an alphabetical list, they are as distant in place as London, Melbourne, and New York. It seems reasonable to expect the *Turin Beatus* to be in Turin, but the *Silos Beatus* is in London, the *San Pedro de Cardena Beatus* in Madrid, Paris, and Gerona, the *Las Huelgas Beatus* in New York. There is also the *Paris Psalter*, a justly famous name, except that three manuscripts lurk under it, one in Latin, one in Greek, and one in Latin and English.

Librarians, scholars' constant silent friends, having found it difficult to conserve codices, frequently with multiple texts, in a tidy, accessible order, early devised various sequential numbering systems to ensure precise location on shelf or in cupboard. In fact their systems are as imaginative as all terms relating to manuscripts. A simple numbering system beginning with '1' often finds the codices arranged in a hierarchy of subject matter: Bible, Biblical commentaries, Theology, Philosophy, Science, Literature. Size (folio, quarto,

octavo) provides another arrangement system. The name of a *fonds* as in the great collections of the British Library, the Bodleian Library, or the Vatican Library indicates a former owner and with it a wealth of history. An individual owner might follow a personal whim in arranging a collection as did Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631) who used the names of Roman emperors.

Most codices, particularly those kept in larger libraries public or private, do have shelf marks assigned by their librarians and it is by these numbers that they are precisely designated. Some codices because of an exceptional value or housing are termed *sine numero* (S.N.) and cited by a proper title as is, for example, the *Fragmentum Spirense*. In practice, authors and lecturers when mentioning a ms. 242 or a ms. A. 614 find it more interesting to provide a descriptive name which then because of its pleasanter aspects supplants the shelf mark '242' or 'A. 614'. The reader or listener often remembers the name only and thus München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14000 becomes the *Regensburg Golden Gospels* while New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M. 102, on the basis of one lovely illumination, is known as the *Windmill Psalter*.

The list given below of familiar or proper titles which we shall call *ocelli nominum* grew out of a need for the student of art history to locate manuscripts often cited only by these names, and hence the majority of our *ocelli nominum* designate codices best known for illuminations. To this nucleus of names have been added others of manuscripts that are important palaeographically or for their association with an author such as Chaucer, Dioscorides, and Horace, or because they are of a type such as the Marginal psalters and the *codices purpurei*.

The principles governing the arrangement of the list are as follows:

(1) English is the principal working language and names and terms are usually given in their English equivalent. Thus, for example, Charles the Bald (Fat, Rash) and Philip the Bold (Good, Fair) are preferred to Charles le Chauve (Gros, Téméraire) and Philippe le Hardi (Bon, Bel) as are Hours, Bible, and Gospels to Heures, Bibbia, and Evangelia. However, where *ocelli nominum* have been found to be cited most frequently or only in a non-English form, these forms will be given, as François instead of Francis and Liber instead of Book. There are some admittedly hybrid forms where it is customary to cite the vernacular in combination with a term from another language, and these have been retained, as in the case of the *Sankt Gangolph Missal* or the *Pierre de Châteauroux Glossed Bible*.

(2) Manuscripts to be identified with an author are grouped under the simple English name of that author, such as Justinian, Horace, Bede, and the manuscripts numbered individually as a), b), c), etc. In the same way are listed manuscripts of a particular type like the Aristocratic and Marginal psalters.

Manuscripts associated with a family or a single private owner are placed together under the surname ('Bohun mss.' or 'Berry, Jean, duc de').

(3) When several *ocelli nominum* designate a single codex, there will be a main entry listing all forms and given usually under the name first in the order of the alphabet, with cross-references thereafter in the appropriate places. Thus the main entry for *Codex Kenanensis* will be the *Book of Kells*, and the = sign in this entry indicates other names or a category. The sign — indicates a variant different enough so as to be misleading and to suggest erroneously another manuscript altogether to those not thoroughly acquainted with the codex in question. Slight variations in spelling and small occasional additions are placed in parentheses.

(4) If two or more codices have the same name, they are numbered 2), 3), etc. beneath the first entry or the general entry if they also have other and/or more precise *ocelli nominum*.

(5) For purposes of simplification and convenient reference, 'Hours of', 'Pontifical of', and similar generic terms follow the proper name. Thus 'Hours of Henry VIII' will be listed as 'Henry VIII Hours'. Exceptions are 'Book of' ('Liber') and 'Codex' which, if transposed, give rise to an uncommon expression.

(6) 'Leabhar' and its variants are alphabetized as if spelled 'Liber'. 'Saint' as a geographic name is 'Saint', 'San', 'Sankt' as required. 'Saint' as a title of respect is abbreviated 'St.' and placed after the personal name (hence, for example, 'Chad, St., Gospels').

(7) For certain Biblical manuscripts the *siglum* commonly used for that manuscript is given in parentheses after the name.

(8) When a manuscript is written entirely or to a large extent in a language other than Latin, its language is indicated in square brackets placed after the name.

(9) Names of libraries that have been abbreviated in the list are cited in full in the Index of Manuscripts on pp. 274 ff.

(10) The shelf marks given for all entries derive from investigation of manuscript catalogues and scholarly studies, both recent and earlier, and every care has been taken to ensure that the shelf marks are accurate and current. Occasionally two shelf marks are given, that is, both old and new, as, for example, in the case of the Trinity College, Dublin manuscripts where the serial numbers in T. K. Abbott, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin-London, 1900) are now preferred to the older press marks. The citation here of both is not intended to sanction the continued use of the original shelf mark singly or in combination with the serial number; rather, the original shelf mark has been supplied for the sake of convenience and

clarity, since this older designation is found not only in earlier works but also in modern studies.

This list is, then, a modest attempt to provide a practical help in identifying manuscripts frequently referred to only by *ocelli nominum*. Undoubtedly many worthy candidates have been omitted or missed, and, of course, there will always emerge new *ocelli nominum* as more is learned about the owners and illuminators of manuscripts and as new manuscripts come to light. Nevertheless it is hoped that the list will be an aid to those who consult it. I would be very grateful for suggestions regarding manuscripts that should have been included as well as for notice of any error or inaccuracy. When enough information has been collected, supplements will be published from time to time in *Mediaeval Studies*. I am now preparing a companion volume that will explain the origins of the *ocelli nominum*.

Special thanks must go to the many keepers of manuscripts who have provided information about shelf marks and current location of codices, for without their assistance chaos would reign. I am also indebted to Rev. James J. Sheridan, who suggested *ocelli nominum* as the title of this article, and to Professor Paul Oskar Kristeller, who communicated corrections and valuable suggestions.

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| Aachen Golden Gospels | Acciaiuoli-Strozzi Hours |
| = Codex aureus g) | Melbourne, NG: Felton 4 |
| Aachen, PL: IV 1 | Achadeus, Count, Psalter |
| Abbeville Golden Gospels | Cambridge, CCC: 272 |
| = Saint Riquier Gospel Book | Acre Bible |
| = Codex aureus g) | = Arsenal Bible |
| = Codex purpureus c) | Paris, BA: 5211 |
| Abbeville, BM: 4 (1) | Ada Gospels |
| Abdinghof Evangeliarium | = Codex Adae |
| Kassel, MB: Theol. fol. 60 [destroyed in | = Codex aureus g) |
| World War II] | Trier, SB: 22 |
| Abdinghof Gospels | Adalbold Gospels |
| Berlin, KK: 78 A 3 | Paris, BN: lat. 17227 |
| Aberdeen Bible [Hebrew] | Adelaide of Savoy Hours |
| Aberdeen, UL: 23 | Chantilly, MC: 76 (1362) |
| Aberdeen Breviary | Adelbert, St., Bible: see Alcuin Bibles a) |
| Edinburgh, UL: 27 (Laing 26) | Ademar Codex: see Aesop a) |
| Aberdeen Psalter and Hours | Admont (Giant) Bible |
| Edinburgh, NL: Adv. 18.8.14 | = Geb(b)hard(t) Bible |
| Abingdon (Abbey) Apocalypse | Wien, ÖNB: Ser. n. 2701-2702 (olim |
| London, BL: Add. 42555 | Admont, SB: 1) + Paris, EBA: S.N. |
| Abingdon Abbey Missal | (2 fols.) |
| Oxford, BL: Digby 227 + Oxford, TC: | Adolf II von Nassau Pontifical |
| 75 | Aschaffenburg, HB: 12 |

- Adrianople Gospels [Armenian]
Venezia, SL: 887/116
- Ædelwald the Bishop Prayerbook
= Book of Cerne
= Liber Æthelwoldi episcopi
Cambridge, UL: L1.1.10
- Ælfric Heptateuch [English and Latin]
= Ælfric Pentateuch
= Ælfric Paraphrase
= Anglo-Saxon Heptateuch
London, BL: Cotton Claudius B.iv
- Ælfric Homilies
London, BL: Royal 7.C.xii
- Elfwine Prayerbook
London, BL: Cotton Titus D.xxvi-xxvii
- Aesop
a) Ademar Codex
— Ademar de Chabannes Aesop
= Latin Aesop
Leiden, BR: Voss. lat. O. 15
- Æthelgifu, Will of
Princeton, SLP: S.N.
- Æthelstan Gospels
London, BL: Royal 1.A.xviii
- Æthelwold, St., Benedictional
London, BL: Add. 49598 (olim Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire Collection)
- Aetzaert (Kaetzaert) de Zaers Hours
Leiden, BR: B.P.L. 224
- Afflingham Evangeliary
Paris, BA: 1184
- Agimundus Homiliary
Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 3835-3836
- Aich Bible of 1310
Kremsmünster, SB: Perg. 351-354
- Ailly Hours: see Berry, Jean, duc de a)
- Aix Gospels
= Otto Gospel Book
Aachen, Dom: S.N.
- Alarich II Breviary
München, SB: Clm 22501
- Alba Bible [Hebrew]
Madrid, Marqués de Villarreal de Alba Collection
- Alba Julia Missal
Alba Julia, BB: II-134
- Albani Psalter
= Saint Albans Psalter
Hildesheim, SG: S.N. + Köln, SM: M 694 (1 fol.)
- Albelda Conciliar Codex
= Codex Albaidlense (Albaidlensis)
— Codex Albeldensis
= Codex Vigilano y Albeldense
— Codex Vigilanus
El Escorial, BSL: d.I.2
- Albert III of Austria Gospels
= Johannes von Troppau Gospels
Wien, ÖNB: 1182
- Albert (Albrecht) V, Archduke of Austria, Hours
Wien, ÖNB: 2722
- Albert (Albrecht) of Brandenburg Hours
Aachen, PL: IX 18
- Albert (Albrecht) of Brandenburg Missal and Prayerbook
Modena, BE: Est. lat. 136 (α.U.6.7)
- Albi Codex
Albi, BM: 29
- Albino Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana j)
- Album of Villard de Honnecourt: see Villard de Honnecourt Album
- Alcalá Bible I, II, III
= Codex Complutensis I, II, III
Madrid, BU: 31-34
- Alcuin Bible
= Bamberg Bible
= Codex Bambergensis (B)
= Alcuin Bibles b)
Bamberg, SB: Msc. Bibl. 1 (A.I.5)
- Alcuin Bibles¹
a) = Adelbert, St., Bible
Gniezno, BC: 1
b) see Alcuin Bible
c) see Charles the Fat Bible
d) see Codex Carolinus Grandivallensis
e) = Codex Vallicellianus
Roma, BV: B 6

¹ Alcuin (735-804) at the request of Charlemagne attempted to produce a Biblical text which would follow a grammatical norm and serve as a standard text for school and monastery. Those Bibles which follow Alcuin's version of the Vulgate text bear the *siglum* Φ for Alcuin's sobriquet 'Flaccus'.

- f) Zürich, ZB: Car. C. 1
 Aleppo Bible (A) [Hebrew]
 = Codex Aleppo
 = Keter Aram Zova
 Jerusalem, BZ: 1
 Alessandrina Bible
 Roma, BA1: 1
 Alessandro Farnese, Cardinal, Hours
 = Farnese Hours
 New York, PM: M. 69
 Alexander Bible
 Paris, BN: lat. 11930-11931
 Alexandrian World Chronicle [Slavonic]
 = Golenisheff Chronicle
 Moscow, GMII: I.1.v.310
 Alfonsina Bible
 Napoli, BN: VI AA 20
 Alfonso el Magnánimo Hours
 = Alfonso V of Aragon Prayerbook
 London, BL: Add. 28962
 Alfonso of Aragon, Duke of Calabria, Hours
 London, VAM: L. 2387-1910 (Salting 1224)
 Alfonso of Castile, Infante Don, Hours
 New York, PM: M. 854
 Alfonso V of Aragon Prayerbook: see Alfonso el Magnánimo Hours
 Alfonso V of Naples Dante: see Dante a)
 Alfonso Psalter
 = Tenison Psalter
 London, BL: Add. 24686
 Alfonso I [d'Este di Ferrara] Office
 Zagreb, SG: SG 339-352
 Algard Bible
 Valenciennes, BM: 9-11 (4)
 Alice de Vere Hours
 Cambridge, CC: 8
 Amartol Chronicle [Slavonic]
 = Chronicle of Georgius Hamartolos
 Moscow, GBL: MDA 100
 Ambroise le Veneur Missal
 Évreux, BM: 100
 Ambrosian Bible
 Milano, BA: B 30-32 inf.
 Ambrosian Plautus: see Plautus a)
 Ambrosian Psalter
 Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 83
 2)[Greek]: = Aristocratic psalters a)
 Milano, BA: M 54 sup.
 Ambrosian Terence: see Terence a)
 Amédée de Saluces Hours
 = Saluces Hours
 London, BL: Add. 27697
 Amédée VIII de Savoie Breviary
 = Marie de Savoie Breviary
 Chambéry, BM: 4
 Amesbury Psalter
 Oxford, ASC: 6
 Amherst ms. [English]
 London, BL: Add. 37790
 Ampleforth Leaf: see Oscott Psalter
 Anchin Missal
 Douai, BM: 90
 Anderson Pontifical
 London, BL: Add. 57337
 Andrew Lundy Primer: see Lundy, Andrew, Primer
 Angelica Bible (First, Second, Third Atlantic/Giant Bibles)
 Roma, BAn: 1272 (T I. 9)-1274 (T I. 11)
 Anglo-Saxon Gospels
 = Maeseyck Gospels
 Maeseyck, SKK: S.N.
 Anglo-Saxon Heptateuch: see Ælfric Heptateuch
 Ango Hours
 Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 392
 Anhalt (-Morgan) Gospels
 New York, PM: M. 827
 Aniago Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana e)
 Anian Pontifical
 Bangor, Cathedral: S.N.
 Anjou Hours
 = King René Hours
 = London Hours of René of Anjou
 = René of Anjou Hours
 London, BL: Egerton 1070
 Anlaby Chartulary
 Cambridge, FM: 329
 Annales Laureshamenses
 Wien, ÖNB: 515
 Annals of In(n)isfallen
 Oxford, BL: Rawl. B. 503
 Annals of Saint Neots
 Cambridge, TC: 770 (R.7.28)

- Anne de Beaujeu Hours
New York, PM: M. 677
- Anne de Bretagne Hours
= Très petites heures d'Anne de Bretagne
New York, PM: M. 50
- 2) = Marie de Rieux Hours
Edinburgh, NL: Dep. 221 # 2 (Aberdeen, BC: 2) + New York, PM: M. 190 + Paris, BN: lat. 1170 + Tours, BM: 217
- 3) = Petites heures d'Anne de Bretagne
Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 3027
- 4) = Grandes heures d'Anne de Bretagne
Paris, BN: lat. 9474
- Anne de Mathefelon Hours
Bourges, MB: 924.4.1
- Anne de Montmorency, (Connétable), Hours
= Montmorency Hours
Chantilly, MC: 1476 (1943)
- Anne of Austria Hours
Cambridge, TC: 269-270 (B.11.31-B.11.32)
- Anne of Bohemia Hours
Oxford, BL: Lat. liturg. f. 3
- Anthologia Latina
= Codex Salmasianus
Paris, BN: lat. 10318 (olim suppl. lat. 685)
- Anthologia Palatina [Greek]
Heidelberg, UB: Pal. gr. 23 + Paris, BN: suppl. gr. 384
- Anthologia Planudea [Greek]
Venezia, BN: Zan. gr. 481 (863)
- Antoine de Caulaincourt Hours
Paris, BN: lat. 18034
- Antoine de Châlon, Bishop of Autun, Pontifical
Autun, BM: 129 (S.151)
- Antoine de Neufchâtel, Bishop of Toul, Pontifical
Besançon, BM: 157
- Antwerp Breviary
= Mayer van den Bergh Breviary
Antwerpen, MBM: 946
- Apamea Pontifical
London, BL: Add. 57528
- Aprutina Bible
Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 10220
- Aquileia (Atlantic) Bible
= Cividale (Atlantic/Giant) Bible
Cividale del Friuli, MAN: Sacri 1, 2 (I, II)
- Aracoeli Bible
Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 7797
- Arbroath Calendar
London, BL: Add. 8930
- Arbuthnott Hours
Paisley, MAG: S.N.
- Arbuthnott Missal
Paisley, MAG: S.N.
- Arbuthnott Psalter
Paisley, MAG: S.N.
- Arcimboldi Missal
Milano, BC: S.N.
- Arenberg Bible
Aachen, PL: I 13
- Arenberg, (Duke of), Gospels
New York, PM: M. 869
- Arenberg-Guennol Hours (Guennol Hours): see Catherine of Cleves Hours
- Aristocratic psalters [Greek]
= Aulic psalters
- a) see Ambrosian Psalter 2)
- b) Athos Psalter
= Dumbarton Oaks Psalter
= Pantocrator Psalter
olim Mount Athos, Pc: 49 and now divided among three libraries: Washington, D.C., DO: 3 + Athens, MBen: Vitr. 34 # 6 (fol. 78) + Cleveland, CMA: Marlatt 50.154 (fol. 254)
- c) Basil II Psalter
Venezia, BN: Zan. gr. 17 (421)
- d) see Paris Psalter 3)
- e) Vatopedi Psalter
Mount Athos, BAT: 760 (olim 633)
- f) Vatopedi Psalter
Mount Athos, Bat: 761 (olim 608) + Baltimore, WAG: W. 530b (fol. 111)
- g) Berlin, HU: Inv. 3807 [destroyed by fire]
- h) Leningrad, GPB: gr. 269
- i) London, BL: Add. 36928
- j) Mount Athos, SP: 35
- k) Mount Sinai, SCM: gr. 38
- l) Mount Sinai, SCM: gr. 61
- m) Vaticano, BAV: Barb. gr. 320 (olim III.39; 202)

- n) Vaticano, BAV: Pal. gr. 381
 o) Vaticano, BAV: Vat. gr. 752
- Armagh Gospels
 = Book of Armagh
 = Codex Dublinensis
 = Gwynn ms.
 = Liber Ardmachanus
 Dublin, TC: 52
- Armand de Narcès Pontifical
 Aix-en-Provence, BM: 13
- Arnamagnaeae ms.
 København, AI: AM 557 4°
- Arnstein Bible
 London, BL: Harley 2798-2799
- Arnulf II of Milan Prayerbook
 London, BL: Egerton 3763
- Arras Bible
 = Saint Vaast d'Arras Bible
 Arras, BM: 559 (435)
- Arsenal Bible: see Acre Bible
- Arundel Psalter
 London, BL: Arundel 60
 2) London, BL: Arundel 155
- Ashburnham Bible
 Firenze, BLaur: Ashb. 93
- Ashburnham Gospels
 = Lindau Gospels
 = Codex aureus g)
 New York, PM: M. 1
- Ashburnham Pentateuch
 = Tours Pentateuch
 Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 2334
- Ashburnham-Morgan Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana s)
- Ashmole Bestiary
 Oxford, BL: Ashmole 1511
- Assemani Gospels [Glagolitic]
 = Codex Assemanianus
 Vaticano, BAV: Vat. slav. 3
- Assisi Missal
 Baltimore, WAG: W. 75
- Athelstan Gospels: see Coronation Gospels c)
- Athelstan, (King), Psalter
 London, BL: Cotton Galba A.xviii
- Athos Psalter: see Aristocratic psalters b)
- Auchinleck ms. of Sir Orfeo [English]
 Edinburgh, NL: Adv. 19.2.1 + Edinburgh, UL: 218 (Laing Div. ii D) (4 fols.)
 + Saint Andrews, UL: PR 2065 A.15 and R.4 (4 fols.) + London, UL: 593
- Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, Sermons
 a) Codex Bobulenus
 Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 5758
- Augustine, St., Gospel Book
 = Cambridge Gospels
 Cambridge, CCC: 286
 2) = Codex Oxoniensis (O)
 Oxford, BL: Auct. D.2.14
- Aulic psalters: see Aristocratic psalters
- Aurifaber Bible
 Paris, BSG: 1181
- Avag Vānk Gospels [Armenian]
 London, BL: Or. 13654
- Averbode Gospels
 Liège, BU: 363 C (Grandjean 5)
- Avicia de Boys Psalter and Hours
 = Du Bois Psalter
 — Hawisia, Lady, de Bois Hours
 New York, PM: M. 700
- Avila (Giant) Bible
 Madrid, BN: Vitr. 15
- Badianus de la Cruz Herbal
 = Badianus ms.
 = Codex Badianus
 Vaticano, BAV: Barb. lat. 241
- Bagnayr Gospels [Armenian]
 Yerevan, Mat: 230/1519
- Bainbridge, Christopher, Pontifical
 Cambridge, UL: Ff.6.1
- Bald's Leechbook [English]
 London, BL: Royal 12.D.xvii
- Baltimore Marginal Psalter: see Marginal psalters a)
- Bamberg Apocalypse
 Bamberg, SB: Msc. Bibl. 140 (A.II.42)
- Bamberg Bible: see Alcuin Bible
- Bamberg Lectionary
 = Otto III Gospels
 München, SB: Clm 4453 (Cim. 58)
 2) = Henry II, Emperor of Germany, Lectionary
 = Henry II, St., Lectionary/Pericopes
 München, SB: Clm 4452 (Cim. 57)

- Bangor Antiphonary
Milano, BA: C 5 inf.
- Barberini Bible
= Belbello di Pavia Bible
= Niccolò III d'Este Bible
Vaticano, BAV: Barb. lat. 613
- Barberini Gospels
Vaticano, BAV: Barb. lat. 570
- Barberini Psalter: see Marginal psalters b)
- Barcelona Haggadah [Hebrew]
London, BL: Add. 14761
- Bardolf-Vaux Psalter
= Vaux Psalter
London, LPL: 233
- Bari Exultet Rolls: see Exultet rolls b)
- Barlaam (Varlaam) of Khutyn (Khou-
tinski) Missal [Slavonic]
= Khoutinsky Missal
Moscow, GIM: Syn. 604
- Barton, Jean, Bishop of Limoges, Ponti-
fical
Paris, BN: lat. 1225
- Basil II Menologion [Greek]
= Vatican Menologion
Vaticano, BAV: Vat. gr. 1613
- Basil II Psalter: see Aristocratic psalters c)
- Baudeloo Abbey Missal
Gent, BR: 74
- Beatty, Chester, Hours
= Salvin Hours
London, BL: Add. 48985
- Beatus of Liébana
- a) Barcelona, ACA: frag. 209
 - b) Berlin Beatus
Berlin, SBPK: Theol. lat. fol. 561
 - c) Osma Beatus
= Petrus Clericus Beatus
= Santa Maria de Carracedo Beatus
Burgo de Osma, BC: 1
 - d) El Escorial Beatus
El Escorial, BSL: &.II.5 (olim III.A.4
and I.H.1)
 - e) Aniago Beatus
El Escorial, BSL: f.I.7 (olim I.C.1 and
II.L.20)
 - f) Gerona Beatus
= Codex Gerundensis
Gerona, AC: 7
 - g) Lorvão Beatus
Lisboa, ANT: (Casa Forte) 160
 - h) Lisboa, BN: Alcobaça 247
 - i) Silos Apocalypse
= Silos Beatus
= Santo Domingo de Silos Beatus
London, BL: Add. 11695
 - j) Albino Beatus
Madrid, AH: Aemil. 33
 - k) San Salvador de Tábara (Távара)
Beatus
= Tábara Beatus
Madrid, AHN: 1097B (olim Vitr. 35,
n. 257; 1240B)
 - l) San Millán Beatus
Madrid, BN: Vitr. 14.1 (olim Hh. 58)
 - m) Facundus Beatus
= Ferdinand, King, and Queen San-
cha Beatus
= León Beatus
= San Isidoro de León Beatus
Madrid, BN: Vitr. 14.2 (olim B. 31)
 - n) Madrid, BN: Vitr. 14.2 frag.
 - o) San Pedro de Cardena Beatus
Madrid, MAN: 2 + Paris, Marquis
de Vasselot Collection (15 fols.) +
Madrid, Biblioteca Herredia Spinola
(Zabálburu Collection) (2 fols.) +
Gerona, AC: S.N. (1 fol.)
 - p) Rylands Beatus
Manchester, JR: Lat. 8 (olim Marquis
de Astorga Collection)
 - q) Montserrat, BM: 793-VIII (1 fol.)
 - r) Burgos Beatus
= Las Huelgas Beatus
New York, PM: M. 429
 - s) Ashburnham-Morgan Beatus
= Morgan Beatus
New York, PM: M. 644
 - t) Saint Sever Beatus
Paris, BN: lat. 8878
 - u) Roncesvalles Beatus
Paris, BN: lat. 1366
 - v) San Andrés de Arroyo Beatus
Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 2290 +
American private collection (pur-
chased London, Sotheby sale of 20
June 1978, lot 4) (olim Frankfurt am

- Main, Robert von Hirsch Collection)
(1 fol.)
- w) Corsini Beatus
Roma, BCor: Cors. 369 (40 E 6)
- x) King's Beatus
Salamanca, BU: 2632 (olim Madrid, BP: 347 [2.B.3])
- y) Urgel Beatus
Seo de Urgel, AC: S.N.
- z) Silos, ASD: frag. 1-3 (3 fols.)
- aa) Silos, ASD: frag. 4
- bb) Turin Beatus
Torino, BN: I II 1 (olim d.V.39)
- cc) Valcavado Beatus
Valladolid, BU: 433 (olim 390)
- dd) Vatican Beatus
Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 7621
- ee) Zaragoza, Private collection
- Beauchamp Hours
= Beaufort Hours
London, BL: Royal 2.A.xviii
- Beauchamp, Margaret, Hours
= Talbot Hours 3)
Cambridge, FM: 41-1950
- Beaufort Hours: see Beauchamp Hours
- Beaufort, Lady Margaret, Hours
= Margaret, Lady, Hours
Cambridge, SJC: 264
- Beaumont-La Forêt, Louis, Bishop of
Paris, Pontifical
Paris, BN: lat. 961
- Beaune-Semblançay et de Montmorency-Fosseux Hours
Chantilly, MC: 87 (1557)
- Beauneveu, André, Psalter: see Berry, Jean, duc de e)
- Beauvais Pontifical
Besançon, BM: 138
- Beauvais Psalter
New York, PM: M. 101
- Bede
a) Gladbach Abbey Bede
Manchester, JR: Lat. 182 (Eng. 243)
- b) Leningrad Bede
Leningrad, GPB: lat. Q.v.I.18
- c) London Bede
London, BL: Cotton Tiberius C.ii
- d) Moore Bede
Cambridge, UL: Kk.5.16
- e) Oxford Bede
Oxford, BL: Tanner 10
- Bedell, Bishop, Bible
Cambridge, EC: I.I.5-7
- Bedford Breviary
= Salisbury Breviary
Paris, BN: lat. 17294
- Bedford Hours/Missal
London, BL: Add. 18850
- Bedford Psalter and Hours
= John, Duke of Bedford, Psalter and Hours
London, BL: Add. 42131
- Behem, Balthasar, Codex
Kraków, BJ: 16
- Belbello di Pavia Bible: see Barberini Bible
- Belleville Breviary
= Jeanne de Belleville Breviary
Paris, BN: lat. 10483-10484
- Benedict XIII Breviary
Wien, ÖNB: 1254
- Bentivoglio Bible
Baltimore, WAG: W. 151
- Bentivoglio, Giovanni II, Hours
New York, PM: M. 53
2) London, VAM: L. 1707-1902 (Reid 64)
- Beowulf [English]
a) Nowell Codex
London, BL: Cotton Vitellius A.xv
- b) Thorkelin Transcripts
København, KB: Ny. kgl. Saml. 512 4º, 513 4º
- Berkeley Hours
New York, PM: G. 9
- Berlaere Hours
Chicago, UC: 184 (BX 2160 A.1.14 747355)
- Berlaymont Hours
San Marino, HL: HM 1173
- Berlin Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana b)
- Bernard, St., Breviary
Dijon, BM: 115 (83)
- Bernard d'Ornesan, Bishop of Lombez, Pontifical and Hours
Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 221
- Bernat de Lerc Gospels
Vich, ME: 64

- Bernhard von Rohr Missal
= Salzburg Missal
München, SB: Clm 15708-15712
- Bernward, St., Gospels
Hildesheim, BB: 61
- Berry, Jean, duc de
a) Belles heures
= Ailly Hours
New York, MMA: Cloisters 54.1.1
b) Grandes heures
Paris, BN: lat. 919
c) Brussels Hours
— Très belles heures de Bruxelles
= Belles heures de Jean de France
Bruxelles, BR: 719 (11060-61)
d) Petites heures
Paris, BN: lat. 18014
e) Psalter [French]
= Beauneveu, André, Psalter
Paris, BN: fr. 13091
f) Très belles heures de Notre-Dame
Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 3093
(= Robinet d'Étampes Hours) + Torino, BN: K IV 29 (= Turin Hours) [destroyed by fire 1904] + Torino, MC: 47 (= Milan Hours) + Paris, ML: RF 2022-24
g) Très riches heures
Chantilly, MC: 65 (1284)
- Berta New Testament [Georgian]
Tbilisi, IR: Q 906
- Berthold, Abbot, Missal
New York, PM: M. 710
- Bertolt, Custos, Lectionary
New York, PM: M. 780
- Bessarion Psalter
Vaticano, BAV: Barb. lat. 585
- Béthune Hours
Chantilly, MC: 69 (1456)
- Bible moralisée [13th century]
a) Wien, ÖNB: 1179
b) Oxford Bible Moralisée
London, BL: Harley 1526-1527 + Oxford, BL: Bodley 270^b + Paris, BN: lat. 11560
c) Rica Bible
= San Luis Bible
Toledo, BC: 1-3 + New York, PM: M. 240 (8 fols. of vol. 3)
- Bible of Ceolfrid Pandects
London, BL: Add. 37777 + Add. 45025
(= Middleton Leaves)
- Bible of 920 (in Spain)
= León Bible
León, BC: 6
- Bible of 960 (in Spain)
= Codex Gothicus Legionensis
= San Isidoro Bible
León, CSI: 2
- Billyng, Robert de, Bible
Paris, BN: lat. 11935
- Birago Hours
London, BL: Add. 35310 (olim Rothschild 1)
- Bird Psalter
Cambridge, FM: 2-1954
- Birds' Head Haggadah [Hebrew]
Jerusalem, IM: 180/57
- Birev, Isaak, Gospels [Slavonic]
Moscow, GBL: M 8659 (Tr.15)
- Bixby Gospels
San Marino, HL: HM 1081
- Bizet, Tristan, Bishop of Saintes, Pontifical
Troyes, BM: 2267
- Black Hours: see Charles the Rash, (Duke of Burgundy), Hours
- Blanche of Castile, Psalter
= Louis, St., and Blanche of Castile Psalter
= Royal Psalter
Paris, BA: 1186
- Blanche of France Breviary
Vaticano, BAV: Urb. lat. 603
- Blanche of France Hours
New York, NYPL: Spencer 56
- Blanche of Savoy Hours
München, SB: Clm 23215
- Blantyre Psalter
Durham, UL: Deposit Bamburgh Castle, Sharp Collection, Select 6
- Blickling Homiliary (Homilies)
Princeton, SLP: Scheide 71
- Blickling Psalter
= Lincoln Psalter
= Lothian Psalter
New York, PM: M. 776
- Blutfogel, Balthasar, Prayerbook [German]
Budapest, ELTK: Germ. 2

- Bobbio Missal
Paris, BN: lat. 13246
- Bobbio Psalter
München, SB: Clm 343
- Bobbio Sacramentary
Wien, ÖNB: 958
- Bodleian Genesis [Greek]
= Codex Bodleianus Geneseos (E)
Oxford, BL: Auct. T.inf.ii.1 (= Tischendorfianus V) (29 fols.) + Cambridge, UL: Add. 1879.2 (1 fol.) + Leningrad, GPB: gr. 62 (146 fols.) + London, BL: Add. 20002 (16 fols.)
- Bodleian Terence: see Terence b)
- Bodmer Hours
= Michelino da Besozzo Prayerbook
New York, PM: M. 944
- Bodmin Gospels
= Saint Petroc Gospels
London, BL: Add. 9381
- Bohairic Gospels
New York, PM: M.616-617
- Bohun mss.
- Bohun Psalter
Wien, ÖNB: 1826
 - Bohun Psalter
London, BL: Egerton 3277
 - Eleanor de Bohun Psalter
Edinburgh, NL: Adv. 18.6.5
 - Elizabeth Courtenay Psalter and Hours
Oxford, BL: Auct. D.4.4
 - Humphrey Bohun Psalter
Oxford, EC: 47
 - John of Gaunt Psalter
Cambridge, FM: 38-1950
 - Mary de Bohun Hours
København, KB: Thott 547 4º
- Bolton Hours
York, ML: Add. 2
- Bona of Savoy Hours: see Sforza Hours 2)
- Bonaparte, Joseph, Hours: see Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, Hours 2)
- Bonaparte-Ghislieri Hours
= Ghislieri Hours
London, BL: Yates Thompson 29
- Bonne of Luxembourg Psalter and Prayerbook
New York, MMA: Cloisters 54.2.1
- Bonne-Espérance Bible
Bruxelles, BR: 41 (II.2524)
- Book of Armagh: see Armagh Gospels
- Ballymote
= Leabhar Breac Mhic Aodhagáin
= Speckled Book of Mac Egan
Dublin, RIA: 536 (23 P 12)
- Cadmay
= Cadmug Gospels
Fulda, LB: Bonifat. 3
- Cerne: see Ædelwald the Bishop Prayerbook
- (St.) Chad
= Chad, St., Gospels
= Codex Ceaddae Latinus
= Codex Lichfeldensis
= Lichfield Cathedral Gospels
Lichfield, CL: 1
- Chess, Dice, and Draughts (of Alfonso X)
= Book of Games (of Alfonso X)
El Escorial, BSL: T.I.6
- Clanranald [Irish]
Dublin, RIA: 778 (E i 3)
- Deer
Cambridge, UL: Ii.6.32
- Dimma
= Book of Roscrea
Dublin, TC: 59 (A.4.23)
- Durrow
= Codex Durmachensis
= Liber Durmachensis
Dublin, TC: 57 (A.4.5)
- Fenagh [Irish]
= Leabar Caillín (Chaillín)
Dublin, RIA: 479 (23 P 26)
- Fermoy [Irish]
= Book of Roche
Dublin, RIA: 1134 (23 E 29)
- Games (of Alfonso X): see Book of Chess, Dice, and Draughts
- Glendalough [Irish]
= Book of Leinster
= Leabhar na Nua-Chongbála
Dublin, TC: 1339 (H.2.18)

- Book of Hengest: see Red Book of Hengest
- Hy Brasil [Irish and Latin]
= Book of the O'Lees
Dublin, RIA: 453 (23 P 10 ii)
- Hy Many [Irish]
= Book of the O'Kellys
= Leabhar Ua Maine (Uí Maine)
Dublin, RIA: 1225 (D ii 1)
- Kells
= Codex Kenan(n)ensis (Cenan[n]ensis)
= Columcille Gospels
Dublin, TC: 58 (A.1.6)
- Kings [Greek]
= Vatican Book of Kings
Vaticano, BAV: Vat. gr. 333
- Book, (Great), of Leca(i)n [Irish]
= Leabhar Mór (Mhic Fhir Bhisigh)
Leacáin
= Leabhar Oiris Leacáin
Dublin, RIA: 535 (23 P 2)
- Book of Leinster: see Book of Glendalough
- Lindisfarne
= Codex Lindisfarnensis (Y)
= Cuthbert, St., Gospels
= Durham Book
= Lindisfarne Gospels
London, BL: Cotton Nero D.iv
- Lismore [Irish]
= Book of MacCarthaigh Riabhach (MacCarthy Reagh)
Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire Collection: S.N.
- MacDurnan
= MacDurnan Gospels
= Maeiel Brith Mac Durnan
London, LPL: 1370
- Mulling (Moling)
= Mulling, St., Gospels
Dublin, TC: 60 (A.1.15)
- Nunaminster
London, BL: Harley 2965
- Ó Lochlainns [Irish]
Dublin, RIA: 11 (E iv 3)
- Prophets [Greek]
= Vatican Prophets 2)
Vaticano, BAV: Vat. gr. 755
- Roche: see Book of Fermoy
- Roscrea: see Book of Dimma
- Book of Taliesin [Welsh]
Aberystwyth, NLW: Peniarth 2
- the Dun Cow [Irish]
= Lebor Na Huidre
Dublin, RIA: 1229 (23 E 25)
- the O'Kellys: see Book of Hy Many
- O'Lees: see Book of Hy Brasil
- Bordeaux Bible
= Redon Bible
= Saint Sauveur of Redon Bible
Bordeaux, BM: 1
- Borso (d'Este) Bible
Modena, BE: Est. lat. 422-423 (V.G.12)
- Borso (d'Este) Gradual
Bologna, MSP: Cor. 111
- Borso (d'Este) Missal
Modena, BE: Est. lat. 239 (a.W.5.2)
- Bosworth Psalter
London, BL: Add. 37517
- Bothwell, Abbot, Psalter
Boulogne, BM: 92
- Boucicau(l)t Hours
= Maréchal de Boucicau(l)t Hours
Paris, MJA: 255
- Boulogne Gospels: see Saint Bertin Gospels
- Bourbon-Corency Hours
Paris, BA: 417
- Bovino Bible
= Codex Bovinensis
Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 10510-10511
- Bovino Legendary
Napoli, BN: XV AA 14 + XV AA 15
- Brailes, William de, Bible
Oxford, BL: Lat. bib. e. 7 (olim Dyson Perrins) + Laud Lat. 13
- Brailes, William de, Biblical Cycle
Baltimore, WAG: W. 106
- Brailes, William de, Hours
London, BL: Add. 49999
- Brailes, William de, Psalter
= Fitzwilliam Genesis
Cambridge, FM: 330
- Braybrooke, Lord, Psalter
= Gorleston Psalter
London, BL: Add. 49622
- Bregilles Hours
London, BL: Yates Thompson 4
- Bristol Psalter: see Marginal psalters c)

- British Museum Pentateuch [Hebrew]
 London, BL: Or. 4445
- Bromholm Psalter
 Oxford, BL: Ashmole 1523
- Brother to the Rylands Spanish Haggadah
 [Hebrew]
 London, BL: Or. 1404
- Brussels Hours: see Berry, Jean, duc de c)
- Budapest Bible
 Budapest, OSK: c.l.m.ae 32
- Burchard Gospels
 Würzburg, UB: M.p.th.f.68
- Burchard Homilies
 Würzburg, UB: M.p.th.f.28
- Burgos Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana r)
- Burnet, Bishop, Psalter
 Aberdeen, UL: 25
- Bury St. Edmunds Bible
 Cambridge, CCC: 2
- Bury St. Edmunds Gospels
 London, BL: Harley 76
- Bury St. Edmunds New Testament: see
 Cologne Gospels
- Bury St. Edmunds (English) Psalter
 München, SB: Clm 835
 2) Vaticano, BAV: Reg. lat. 12
- Butler New Testament [Arabic]
 London, BL: Add. 11856
- Butzbach Bible
 Giessen, UB: 653
- Byčkov Psalter [Slavonic]
 Mount Sinai, SCM: slav. 6 (135 fols.) +
 Leningrad, GPB: Q.p.I.73 (8 fols.)
- Byrhtferth's Handbook [Latin and Eng-
 lish]
 Oxford, BL: Ashmole 328
- Byzantine Bible
 San Daniele del Friuli, BCG: Guarner. 3
- Cadmug Gospels: see Book of Cadmay
- Caedmon Book [English]
 = Caedmon Genesis
 Oxford, BL: Junius 11
- Cairo Prophets [Hebrew]
 = Moshe Ben Asher Prophet Codex
 Cairo, KS: S.N.
- Calci (Atlantic/Giant) Bible
 = Pisa Bible
 Calci, BAC: 1
- Calci Psalter
 Calci, BAC: 4
- Calderini, Andreas, Bishop of Ceneda,
 Pontifical
 Cambridge (Mass.), HU: fMS Typ 1 (olim
 Yates Thompson 90)
- Caldes de Montbuy Missal
 Paris, BN: lat. 1109
- Calendar of Filocalus
 = Calendar of the Sons of Constantine
 = Calendar of 354
 = Chronograph of 354
 Vaticano, BAV: Barb. lat. 2154
- Camaldoli Psalter
 London, BL: Yates Thompson 40
- Camaldoli Sacramentary
 Firenze, BLaur: Conv. soppr. 292
- Cambrai Apocalypse
 Cambrai, BM: 386 (364)
- Cambridge Bestiary
 Cambridge, CCC: 22
- Cambridge Gospels: see Augustine, St.,
 Gospel Book
- Cambridge Josephus: see Josephus a)
- Cambridge *Troilus*: see Chaucer (*Troilus*)
- Canonici Apocalypse
 Oxford, BL: Canon. Bibl. Lat. 62
- Cantacuzenus (Kantakouzenos), Johannes,
 ms. [Greek]
 Paris, BN: gr. 1242
- Canterbury Codex Aureus: see Codex
 aureus c)
- Canterbury Gospels
 London, BL: Royal 1.E.vi + Oxford, BL:
 Lat. bib. b. 2 (P) + Canterbury, CL: Add.
 16
- Canterbury Psalter
 = Eadwine Psalter
 = Tripartitum Psalterium Eadwini
 = Utrecht Psalter (Cambridge Copy)
 Cambridge, TC: 987 (R.17.1)
- Canute, King, Gospels
 London, BL: Royal 1.D.ix
- Capua Exultet Roll: see Exultet rolls c)

- Capua Gospel Book [Greek]
Vaticano, BAV: Vat. gr. 2138
- Cardinal: see under proper names
- Carew-Poynts Hours
Cambridge, FM: 48
- Carilef Bible
Durham, CL: A.II.4
- Carlos: see also Charles
- Carlos V Antiphonary
Madrid, BN: Vitr. 16.1
- Carlos V Hours
Madrid, BN: Vitr. 24.3
- Carmelite Missal, Reconstructed
London, BL: Add. 29704-29705 + Add. 44892
- Carmina Burana
München, SB: Clm 4660
- Carrow Psalter
Baltimore, WAG: W. 34 (olim Yates Thompson 52)
- Castrocaro Bible
Roma, BN: Sessor. 2
- Cathach of St. Columba (Columcille)
Dublin, RIA: S.N.
- Catherine: see also Katherine
- Catherine de'Medici Hours
= Francis I Hours
Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 82
2) 's-Gravenhage, KB: 74 G 39
- Catherine of Cleves Hours
New York, PM: M. 917 + M. 945
(= Arenberg-Guennol Hours)
- Catherine of Lochhorst Hours
Münster, WLMK: 530
- Cava, (La), Bible: see Codex Cavensis
- Cervera Bible: see Lisbon Bible 2)
- Chabot, Renée, Hours
London, BL: Add. 28785
- Chad, St., Gospels: see Book of (St.) Chad
- Châlons Missal
New York, PM: M. 331
- Châlons Pontifical
Paris, BN: lat. 1246
- Chantault Hours
Paris, BN: Smith-Lesouëf 39
- Chappes Hours [French and Latin]
Paris, BA: 438
- Charioteer Papyrus
London, EES: P. Ant. S.N.
- la Charité sur Loire Psalter
London, BL: Harley 2895
- Charlemagne Gospels
= Coronation Gospels a)
= Schatzkammer Gospels
= Codex purpureus c)
Wien, KM: S.N.
2) = Saint Martin des Champs Gospels
= Codex aureus g)
= Codex purpureus c)
Paris, BA: 599
- Charlemagne Lectionary
= Godescalc Gospels (Lectionary)
= Codex aureus g)
= Codex purpureus c)
Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 1203
- Charlemagne Psalter
= Dagulph (Dagulf) Psalter
= Golden Psalter
= Codex aureus g)
Wien, ÖNB: 1861
2) Oxford, BL: Douce 59
- Charles V Bible
= Jean de Vaudetar Bible
's-Gravenhage, RMW: 10 B 23
2) [French]
Paris, BN: fr. 5707
- Charles V Breviary
Paris, BN: lat. 1052
- Charles d'Angoulême Hours
Paris, BN: lat. 1173
- Charles de Neufchâtel Breviary
Besançon, BM: 69
- Charles de Neufchâtel Pontifical
Besançon, BM: 115-117
- Charles IV Golden Bull
Wien, ÖNB: 338
- Charles V, Emperor, Hours
New York, PM: M. 696
- Charles V Hours
New York, PM: M. 491
- Charles VI Hours
= Vienna Hours
Wien, ÖNB: 1855
- Charles VIII Hours
Paris, BN: lat. 1370

Charles the Bald Bible

= Charles the Bald First Bible

= Vivian Bible

Paris, BN: lat. 1

2) = Charles the Bald Second Bible

Paris, BN: lat. 2

Charles the Bald Gospels

= Noailles Gospels

Paris, BN: lat. 323

Charles the Bald Psalter

= Codex aureus g)

= Codex purpureus c)

Paris, BN: lat. 1152

Charles the Fat Bible

= Codex Paulinus

= San Callisto Bible

= San Paolo (fuori le Mura) (Giant) Bible

= Alcuin Bibles c)

Roma, BSP: S.N.

Charles the Rash, (Duke of Burgundy),
Hours

= Mary of Burgundy Hours 2)

= Black Hours

Wien, ÖNB: 1857

2) = Sforza Hours

= Black Hours

Wien, ÖNB: 1856

Charles V Livy: see Livy a)

Charles VI Missal

New Haven, YU: 425

Charles V of France Coronation Book

London, BL: Cotton Tiberius B.viii

Charles of France Hours

Paris, BM: 473 + New York, MMA:

Cloisters 58.71a,b (2 fols.)

Charles V Prayerbook

Wien, ÖNB: 1859

Charles VIII Psalter

Paris, BN: lat. 774

Charles the Noble Hours

Cleveland, CMA: Marlatt 64.40

Charlotte of Savoy Hours

New York, PM: M. 1004

Chartres Pontifical

Orléans, BM: 144 (121)

Châteauroux, Pierre de, Glossed Bible

= Mazarine Bible

Paris, BM: 131-144

Chaucer (*Canterbury Tales*) [English]

a) Askew 1

= Hodson

London, BL: Egerton 2864

b) Askew 2

= Ingilby

London, BL: Add. 5140

c) Campsall

New York, PM: M. 817

d) Cholmondeley

= Delamere-Penrose

Tokyo, Toshiyutzi Takamiya Collection: 32 (olim Boies-Penrose Collection kept at Philadelphia, Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library)

e) Ellesmere

San Marino, HL: EL 26 C 9

f) Ely

Cambridge, UL: Mm.2.5

g) Glasgow

= Spirleng

Glasgow, UL: Hunter. Mus. 197 (U.1.1)

h) Haistwell

London, BL: Egerton 2726

i) Helmingham

= Tollemache

Princeton, SLPU: Princeton 100 (olim Helmingham Hall)

j) Hengwrt-Peniarth

= Wynne

Aberystwyth, NLW: Peniarth 392D (Hengwrt 154)

k) Hodson mss.

London, BL: Egerton 2863 (= Norton), 2864 (= Askew 1); Manchester, JR: Eng. 113; New York, PM: M. 249

l) Huth

San Marino, HL: HM 144

m) McCormick

Chicago, UC: 2400 (PR 1865 1400)

n) Norton

London, BL: Egerton 2863 (olim Hodson)

o) Paris

Paris, BN: angl. 39

- Chaucer (*Troilus*) [English]
 a) Cambridge *Troilus*
 Cambridge, CCC: 61
- Chester Plays [English]
 San Marino, HL: HM 2
- Chevalier, Étienne, Hours
 Chantilly, MC: 71 (40 fols.) + Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 1416 (1 fol.) + London, BL: Add. 37421 (1 fol.) + Paris, ML: RF 1679 and MI 1093 (50, 50a) (2 fols.) + Paris, MM: Wildenstein 153 (1 fol.) + New York, MMA: Lehman M. 194 (1 fol.) + Upton House, LBC: P/184 (1 fol.) + European private collection (purchased London, Sotheby sale of 14 July 1981, lot 37) (2 fols.)
- Chichele Breviary
 London, LPL: 69
- Cholet, Cardinal John, Book of Epistles
 Padova, BC: C 47
- Cholet, Cardinal John, Missal
 Padova, BC: D 34
- Chrétienne de France Hours [French and Latin]
 Paris, BA: 562
- Christian I, Bishop of Mayence, Pontifical
 Paris, BN: lat. 946
- Christina Psalter
 København, KB: Gl. kgl. Saml. 1606 4^o
- Chronicle of Georgius Hamartolos: see Amartol Chronicle
- Chronicle of San Vincenzo al Volturno
 Vaticano, BAV: Barb. lat. 2724
- Chronicle of Santa Sofia
 Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 4939
- Chronicle of the Kings
 Paris, BN: lat. 13836
- Chronograph of 354: see Calendar of Philocalus
- Cicero
 a) Codex Heinsianus
 Leiden, BR: B.P.L. 118
 b) *De republica* [palimpsest]
 Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 5757
 c) Ferrante, King of Naples, Cicero
 Wien, ÖNB: 4
 d) Milan Cicero
 Milano, BA: S.P. 2, 56 (olim R 57 sup.)
- Cider Bible: see Wycliffe Bible 3)
- Cincinnati Haggadah, First [Hebrew]
 Cincinnati, HUC: 444
- Cincinnati Haggadah, Second [Hebrew]
 Cincinnati, HUC: 444.1
- Ciolek, Erasmus, Pontifical
 Kraków, BM: Czart. 1212
- Cividale (Atlantic/Giant) Bible: see Aquileia (Atlantic) Bible
- Cividale Psalter
 = Codex Egberti
 = Codex Gertrudianis
 = Egbert Psalter
 = Gertrude Psalter
 Cividale del Friuli, MAN: Sacri 6 (CXXXVI)
- Clairvaux (Giant) Bible
 Troyes, BM: 27
- Clare Psalter
 New York, PM: M. 100
- Claude de France Primer
 Cambridge, FM: 159
- Clement V Missal
 Cambridge, FM: McClean 51
- Clement VII Hours: see Lorenzo de' Medici Hours 2)
- Clement VII (Anti-pope) Bible
 London, BL: Add. 47672 (olim Holkham Hall 7)
 2) Paris, BN: lat. 18
- Clement VII (Anti-pope) Missal
 Berlin, KK: 78 D 17 (Ham. 443)
 2) Avignon, BM: 136
- Cleves Gospels
 Berlin, SBPK: Theol. lat. fol. 260
- Cluny Lectionary
 Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 2246
- Coblenz Bible
 = Sankt Kastor in Koblenz Bible
 = Schloss Pommersfelden Bible
 Pommersfelden, GSB: 333-334 (olim Count Schönborn 2776)
- Coburg Pentateuch [Hebrew]
 London, BL: Add. 19776
- Codex Aboensis Skokloster
 = Codex Särkilathi
 Stockholm, R: Skokl. fol. 70
 — Adae: see Ada Gospels

Codex Aemilianensis (Emilianense)

El Escorial, BSL: d.I.1

— Aesinas (Aesinus) see Tacitus a)

— Agennensis: see Livy b)

— Albaidlense (Albaidlensis), Albedensis: see Albelda Conciliar Codex

— Albensis

Graz, UB: 211

— Aleppo: see Aleppo Bible

— Alexandrinus (A) [Greek]

London, BL: Royal 1.D.v-viii

— Ambrosianus (Septuagint) (F)

[Greek]

Milano, BA: S.P. 51 (olim A 147 inf. and gr. 808)

2) (Vulgate)

Milano, BA: B 47 inf.

3) (Vetus latina frag.) (s)

= Fragmenta Ambrosiana

Milano, BA: S.P. 9, 12 (olim O 210 sup. and C 73 inf., fols. 73-76)

— Amiatinus (Vulgate) (A)

— Codex Am

Firenze, BLaur: Amiat. 1

— Anicia Juliana: see Dioscorides b)

— Aniciensis: see Theodulf Bibles a)

— Argenteus Upsaliensis

= Gothic Gospels

= Ulfila Gospels

= Codex aureus g)

= Codex purpureus c)

Uppsala, UB: DG 1 + Speyer, D: S.N.

(= Fragmentum Spirense) (1 fol.)

— Assemanianus: see Assemani Gospels

— Atalan

Milano, BA: S.P. 10, 21 (olim S 45 sup.)

— Atheniensis [Greek]

Athens, EB: 44

— Aubin [Mexican]

London, BL: Add. 31219

— Augiensis [Greek and Latin]

Cambridge, TC: 412 (B.17.1)

Codex Augusteus: see Virgil a)

— aureus

a) Codex Aureus Epternacensis

= Echternach Golden Gospels

Nürnberg, GM: 156 142

b) Codex Aureus Harleianus

= Harley Golden Gospels

London, BL: Harley 2788

c) Codex Aureus Holmiensis (aur)

= Canterbury Codex Aureus

= Codex purpureus c)

Stockholm, KB: A.135

d) Codex Aureus Laureshamensis

= Lorsch Gospels

Alba Julia, BB: II-1 + Vaticano,

BAV: Pal. lat. 50 + London, VAM:

138-1866 (ivory cover)

e) Codex Aureus Monacensis

= Codex Aureus of Charles the Bald

= Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram

= Emmeram, St., Golden Gospels of

Charles the Bald

= Regensburg Golden Gospels

München, SB: Clm 14000

f) Codex Aureus Scorialensis

= Henry III Gold Gospel Book

El Escorial, BSL: Vit. 17

g) also note²

Aachen Golden Gospels

Abbeville Golden Gospels

Ada Gospels

Ashburnham Gospels

Charlemagne Gospels

Charlemagne Lectionary

Charlemagne Psalter

Charles the Bald Psalter

Codex Argenteus Upsaliensis

Codex Brixianus

— Nanianus

— Neapolitanus

— Palatinus

— Rossanensis

— Sarzanensis

² These mss., although usually not bearing the term *aureus* in their names, are classed among the *codices aurei* (*argentei*) because of the use of gold (or silver) in their writing. Shelf marks are given under the main entries.

- Codex Sinopensis
 — Turicensis
 Coronation Sacramentary
 Drogo Sacramentary
 Golden Latin Gospels of Henry VIII
 Golden Psalter
 Hanto (Hatto), Abbot of Reichenau, Gospels
 John, St., Gospels 3)
 Leningrad Codex Purpureus
 Lothair Gospels
 Reims Gospel Book
 Saint Germain Psalter
 Saint Médard (de Soissons) Gospel Book
 Theodora, St., Gospels
 h) [Tetraevangelium] [Greek]
 Napoli, BN: Vindob. suppl. gr. 12 (olim Wien, ÖNB: Gr. 2)
 Codex Badianus: see Badianus de la Cruz Herbal
 — Bambergensis: see Alcuin Bible
 — Basiliano-Vaticanus (N, V) [Greek]
 Vaticano, BAV: Vat. gr. 2106 + Venezia, BN: Zan. gr. 1 (320) (= Codex Venetus)
 — Bellovacensis: see Pliny the Younger a)
 — Bembinus (A): see Terence c)
 — Beneventanus (F)
 = San Vincenzo al Volturno Gospels
 London, BL: Add. 5463
 — Beratinus (Φ) [Greek]
 = Codex aureus g)
 = Codex purpureus c)
 Berat, BM: 1
 — Bezae (D, d) [Greek and Latin]
 Cambridge, UL: Nn.2.41
 — Bigotianus
 Paris, BN: lat. 281-282
 — Blandinius Vetustissimus: see Horace a)
 — Bobiensis (k)
 Torino, BN: G VII 15
 2) (s)
 Wien, ÖNB: 16
 — Bobulenus (of Augustine): see Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, Sermons
 Codex Bodleianus (Psalms) [Greek]
 Oxford, BL: Auct. D.4.1
 — Bodleianus Geneseos: see Bodleian Genesis
 — Bodley [Mexican]
 Oxford, BL: Mex. D.1
 — Boernerianus (G, g) [Greek]
 Dresden, SL: A.145b (separated from Sankt Gallen, SB: 48)
 — Bongarsianus
 Bern, BB: 318
 — Boreelianus [Greek]
 Utrecht, BR: 1 (gr. 5)
 — Borgianus [Greek and Coptic]
 Vaticano, BAV: Borg. copt. 109, fasc. 65 (olim Prop. Fide LVII) + New York, PM: M. 664A (2 fols.) + Paris, BN: copt. 1297-10 (9 fols.)
 — Bovinensis: see Bovino Bible
 — Brixianus (f)
 = Codex aureus g)
 = Codex purpureus c)
 Brescia, BQ: S.N.
 — Budapestiensis
 Budapest, OSK: c.l.m.ae 1
 — Caesareus Upsaliensis
 Uppsala, UB: C 93
 — Caesariensis [Greek]
 Leningrad, GPB: gr. 537 (= Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus) (182 fols.) + London, BL: Cotton Titus C.xv (4 fols.) + Vaticano, BAV: Vat. gr. 2305 (6 fols.) + Wien, ÖNB: Theol. gr. 31 (2 fols.) + Athens, MB: frag. 21 (K.Πρ. 225) (1 fol.) + Patmos, MHI: 67 (= Codex Porphyrius [N]) (33 fols.) + Lerma, BAS: S.N. (1 fol.) + New York, PM: M. 874 (1 fol.)
 — Carafianus
 Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 12959-12960
 — Carinthianus (Vetus latina) (β)
 Sankt Paul im Lavanttal, SB: 1.1 (25.3.19; XXV.a.1) (fols. 1-2)
 — Carolinus [Gothic and Latin]
 Wolfenbüttel, HAB: Weissenb. 64 (fols. 255, 256, 277, 280)
 — Carolinus Grandivallensis
 = Codex Grandivallensis

- = Moutier-Grandval Bible
- = Alcuin Bibles d)
- London, BL: Add. 10546
- Codex Cavensis
 - = (La) Cava Bible
 - = Danila Bible
- Cava dei Tirreni, BAT: 1
- Ceaddae Latinus: see Book of (St.) Chad
- Cenaniensis: see Book of Kells
- Cervinianus: see Codex Ottobonianus
- Claromontanus (Epistles) (D) [Greek and Latin]
 - Paris, BN: gr. 107, 107A, 107B
- 2) (Gospels) (h)
 - Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 7223
- Coisluniensis [Greek]
 - Paris, BN: Coislin gr. 1
- Colbertinus (Vetus latina) (c)
 - = Moissac-Agen Gospel Book
 - Paris, BN: lat. 254
- Colberto-Sarravianus [Greek]
 - = Codex Sarravianus
 - Leiden, BR: Voss. gr. Q. 8 + Leningrad, GPB: gr. 3 (1 fol.) + Paris, BN: gr. 17 (23 fols.)
- Complutensis I, II, III: see Alcalá Bible I, II, III
- Corbeiensis (ff)
 - Leningrad, GPB: lat. Q.v.1.39
- 2) (ff₁)
 - Leningrad, GPB: lat. O.v.1.3
- 3) (ff₂)
 - Paris, BN: lat. 17225
- Cospi [Mexican]
 - Bologna, BU: 4093
- Cottonianus Geneseos (D) [Greek]
 - = Cotton Genesis
 - London, BL: Cotton Otho B.vi + Paris, BN: fr. 9530 (= Peirsac Watercolors)
- Cryptoferratensis [Greek]
 - Grottaferrata, BG: E.β. VII (130 fols.) + Vaticano, BAV: Vat. gr. 1658 (4 fols.)
- 2) (Vetus latina)
 - Grottaferrata, BG: Γ.β. VI
- Curiensis (Vetus latina)
 - Chur, RM: S.N.
- Codex Cyprius [Greek]
 - Paris, BN: gr. 63
- Danielis: see Nepos a)
- Dublinensis: see Armagh Gospels
- Durmachensis: see Book of Durrow
- Eadui
 - Hannover, KM: WM XXI^a 36
- Ebnerianus [Greek]
 - Oxford, BL: Auct. T.inf.1.10
- Egberti (Gospels)
 - = Egbert Gospel Book
 - Trier, SB: 24
- Egberti (Psalter): see Cividale Psalter
- Eginio (Eginonis)
 - Berlin, DSB: Philipps 1676
- Emilianense: see Codex Aemilianensis
- Ephesinus [Greek]
 - London, LPL: 528
- Ephraemi (Syri Rescriptus Parisiensis) (C) [Greek]
 - Paris, BN: gr. 9
- Epternacensis
 - = Echternach Gospels
 - = Willibrord, St., Gospels
 - Paris, BN: lat. 9389
- Etruscus: see Seneca a)
- Euricianus
 - Paris, BN: lat. 12161
- Eusebianus (a)
 - = Codex Vercellensis
 - = Eusebius, St., Gospels
 - = Codex purpureus c)
 - Vercelli, BC: S.N.
- F
 - = Florence Antiphonary
 - Firenze, BLaur: 29.1
- Farnesinus: see Festus a)
- Fejérváry-Mayer [Mexican]
 - Liverpool, LPM: M 12014
- Flateyensis [Icelandic]
 - = Flateyjarbók
 - København, KB: Gl. kgl. Saml. 1005 2^o
- Forojuliensis (J)
 - Cividale, MAN: S.N. (CXXXVIII) + Praha, KMK: Cim. 1 (2 quires) + Venezia, BSM: S.N.

- Codex Friderico-Augustanus: see Codex Sinaiticus, Leipzig portion
- Frisianus [Icelandic]
= Frissbók
København, AI: AM 45 2°
- Frisingensis (r)
München, SB: Clm 6436
- Fuldensis
Fulda, LB: Bonifat. 1
- Gero: see Gero Codex
- Gertrudianis: see Cividale Psalter
- Gerundensis: see Beatus of Liébana f)
- Gifanius: see Nepos a)
- Gigas Holmiensis
Stockholm, KB: Gigas librorum
- Gisle: see Gisela von Kerssenbrock Gradual
- Gothicus Legionensis: see Bible of 960 (in Spain)
- Gottvicensis
Göttweig, SB: 1 (9) (fols. 23-24)
- Grandior³
- Grandivallensis: see Codex Carolinus Grandivallensis
- Hardenbergensis [Icelandic]
= Magnus Lagaböters Norske Landslov
København, KB: Gl. kgl. Saml. 1154 2°
- Harleianus
London, BL: Harley 1775
- Hartker
Paris, BN: lat. 17436
- Havniensis (Hafniensis) of Adam(us) Bremensis
København, KB: Gl. kgl. Saml. 2296 4°
- Heinsianus: see Cicero a)
- Hersfeldensis: see Tacitus a)
- Hillelis [Hebrew]⁴
- Hillinus
Köln, EDDb: XII
- Hispalensis
= Codex Toletanus
Madrid, BN: Vitr. 13.1 (olim Tol. 2.1 and Vitr. 4)
- Codex Hubertianus: see Theodulf Bibles b)
- Hulsianus: see Suetonius a)
- Ingilrammi
Vaticano, BAV: Reg. lat. 1997
- Ingolstadiensis
München, UB: 2° 29 (Cim. 1)
- Italicus (F)
= Pantheon Bible
= Sancta Maria ad Martyres Bible
= Santa Maria Rotonda Bible
Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 12958
- Kenan(n)ensis: see Book of Kells
- Kingsborough [Mexican]
= Codex Tepetlaoztoc
London, BL: Add. 13964
- Koridethi [Greek]
Tbilisi, IR: Gr. 28
- Laud [Mexican]
Oxford, BL: Laud Misc. 678
- Laudianus [Latin and Greek]
Oxford, BL: Laud Gr. 35
- Laurentianus: see Seneca a)
- Legum Langobardorum
Cava dei Tirreni, BAT: 4
- Lemovicensis
Paris, BN: lat. 2328
- Leninopolitanus [Greek]
Leningrad, GPB: gr. 54
- Lichfeldensis: see Book of (St.) Chad
- Lindisfarnensis: see Book of Lindisfarne
- Lipsiensis (Septuagint) (K) [Greek]
Leipzig, UB: gr. 2 + Leningrad, GPB: Arab. iv.2.2 (6 fols.) (= Fragmenta Lipsiensia)
- Magliabecchiano [Mexican]
Firenze, BN: Magl. XIII 3
- Manesse [German]
= Manesse, Rüdiger II, ms.
= Minnesinger ms.
Heidelberg, UB: Pal. germ. 848
- Marchalianus (Septuagint) (Q) [Greek]
Vaticano, BAV: Vat. gr. 2125

³ Cassiodorus (*Institutiones* 1.5.2, 14.2) made a Pandect Bible, no longer extant, of the *Vetus latina* version. The Codex Amiatinus was once thought to be this Bible.

⁴ A codex no longer extant which is frequently cited by copyists and grammarians and attributed to a Rabbi Hillēl ben Mōšeh ben Hillēl of León who wrote it in the seventh century.

Codex Marianus [Glagolitic]

- Moscow, GBL: M 1689 (Grig.87.6)
- Martino-Turonensis
- Tours, BM: 22
- Mazarinaeus (Vulgate)
- Paris, BM: 5
- Mediceus: see Livy c), Virgil b)
- Mediceus I and II: see Tacitus b), c)
- Mediolanensis (M)
- Milano, BA: S.P. 45 (olim C 39 inf.)
- Medocino [Mexican]
- Codex Mendoza
- Oxford, BL: Arch. Selden. A. 1
- Mesmianus: see Theodulf Bibles c)
- Millenarius
- = Kremsmünster Gospels
- Kremsmünster, SB: Cim. 1
- Mödruvallensis [Icelandic]
- Mödruvallabók
- København, AI: AM 132 2°
- Monacensis (q)
- = Codex Valerianus
- = Valerianus Gospels
- München, SB: Clm 6224
- Nanianus [Greek]
- = Codex aureus g)
- Venezia, BN: Marc. gr. I 8 (1397) (olim Nanianus I)
- Neapolitanus
- = Codex Vindobonensis
- = Codex aureus g)
- = Codex purpureus c)
- Napoli, BN: Vindob. lat. 3 (olim Wien, ÖNB: 1235)
- Nitriensis: see Homer a)
- Nuttall: see Codex Zouche-Nuttall
- Oscensis
- Madrid, AHN: 485
- Ottobonianus
- = Codex Cervinianus
- Vaticano, BAV: Ottob. lat. 66
- 2) [Hebrew]
- Vaticano, BAV: Vat. ebr. 448
- Oxoniensis: see Augustine, St., Gospel Book 2)
- Palatinus (e)
- = Codex aureus g)
- = Codex purpureus c)

Trento, MP: M. Naz. n. 1589 (olim S.N. and Wien, ÖNB: 1185) (228 fols.) + London, BL: Add. 40107 (1 fol.) + Dublin, TC: 1709 (N.4.18) (1 fol.)

2) see Virgil c)

Codex Paneth

- New Haven, YUML: 28
- Parcensis: see Nepos b)
- Parisiensis [Greek]: see Marginal psalters d)
- 2) (Vetus latina): see John, St., Gospels 2)
- Paulinus: see Charles the Fat Bible
- Peresianus [Mexican]
- Paris, BN: mexicain 386
- Perpinianus (Vetus latina)
- Paris, BN: lat. 321
- Petropolitanus (Gospels) [Greek]
- Leningrad, GPB: gr. 34
- 2) (Numbers) [Greek]
- Leningrad, GPB: gr. 5
- Pictaviensis (Vetus latina)
- Poitiers, BM: 17 (65) (fols. 3-14)
- Pisanus: see Justinian a)
- Pithoeanus: see Juvenal a), Persius a)
- Porfirianus (Porphyrianus) (New Testament) [Greek]
- Leningrad, GPB: gr. 225
- Porphyrius: see Codex Caesariensis, Patmos leaves
- Prayanus
- Budapest, OSK: MNY 1 (olim 387 4° Hung.)
- purpureus
- a) Codex Purpureus (Petropolitanus): see Codex Caesariensis, Leningrad leaves which was the first of the *codices purpurei* to be well known and thus in early art studies the only one to have this name.
- b) Codex Purpureus Vindobonensis [Greek]
- = Vienna Genesis
- Wien, ÖNB: Theol. gr. 31 [bound with this codex are two leaves from the Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus which are now numbered 'pp. 49-52']

- c) also note:⁵
- Aachen Golden Gospels
 - Abbeville Golden Gospels
 - Charlemagne Gospels
 - Charlemagne Lectionary
 - Charles the Bald Psalter
 - Codex Argenteus Upsaliensis
 - Aureus Harleianus
 - Aureus Holmiensis
 - Beratinus
 - Brixianus
 - Eusebianus
 - Neapolitanus
 - Palatinus
 - Rossanensis
 - Sarzanensis
 - Sinopensis
 - Turicensis
 - Veronensis
 - Golden Latin Gospels of Henry VIII
 - Hanto (Hatto), Abbot of Reichenau, Gospels
 - Hincmar Gospel Book
 - Leningrad Codex Purpureus
 - Saint Germain Psalter
- d) [Gospels]
- [Greek] Napoli, BN: Vindob. suppl. gr. 12 (olim Wien, ÖNB: Gr. 2)
 - Paris, BN: lat. 9387
 - 's-Gravenhage, KB: 135 F 10
- Codex Puteanus: see Livy d)
- Rachionis
 - Strasbourg, BM: S.N. (olim Bern 11)
 - [destroyed in siege of Strasbourg 24/25 August 1870]
 - Ragyntrudis
 - Fulda, LB: Bonifat. 2
 - Regius of Grágás [Icelandic]
 - København, KB: Gl. kgl. Saml. 1157 2°
 - Regius of Older Edda [Icelandic]
 - København, KB: Gl. kgl. Saml. 2365 4°
 - Regius of Younger Edda [Icelandic]
 - København, KB: Gl. kgl. Saml. 2367 4°
 - Rehdigeranus
 - Wrocław, BU: Rehdig. 169 [destroyed in 1945]
- Codex Rescriptus Dublinensis [Greek]
- Dublin, TC: 32 (K.3.4)
 - Ríos [Mexican]
 - = Codex Vaticanus A
 - Vaticano, BAV: Messicano 3738
 - Rodensis (*r*)
 - = Roda Bible
 - = Rosas Bible
 - = Saint Peter of Roda Bible
 - Paris, BN: lat. 6
 - Romanus: see Virgil d)
 - Rorigonis
 - = Rorigon Bible
 - = Saint Maur des Fossés Bible
 - Paris, BN: lat. 3
 - Rossanensis [Greek]
 - = Rossano Gospels
 - = Codex aureus g)
 - = Codex purpureus c)
 - Rossano, BA: S.N.
 - Rushworthianus
 - = MacRegol Gospels
 - = Rushworth Gospels
 - Oxford, BL: Auct. D.2.19
 - Saint George
 - Vaticano, BAV: Arch. S. Pietro C 129
 - Salmasianus: see Anthologia Latina
 - Sangallensis (*n*)
 - Sankt Gallen, SB: 1394 (pp. 51-88, 172, 258) + Sankt Gallen, VB: 70 (fol. 278) + Chur, RM: S.N. (2 fols.)
- 2) (*o*)
- Sankt Gallen, SB: 1394 (pp. 91-92)
- 3) (Δ and δ) [Greek and Latin]
- Sankt Gallen, SB: 48 [the Pauline epistles separated from this codex are known as the Codex Boernerianus (see above)]
- 4) see Virgil e)
- Sangermanensis (Epistles) [Greek and Latin]
 - Leningrad, GPB: Firk. F v 20
 - Sangermanensis I
 - = Saint Germain Bible
 - Paris, BN: lat. 11553
 - Sangermanensis II
 - Paris, BN: lat. 13169

⁵ Although these codices are not written entirely on purple dyed pages, they are considered to be among the *codices purpurei*. Their shelf marks are given under the main entries.

- Codex Särkilathi: see Codex Aboensis Skokloster
- Sarravianus: see Codex Colberto-Sarravianus
- Sarzanensis (Saretianus) (j)
= Codex aureus g)
= Codex purpureus c)
Sarezzano, BP: S.N.
- Selden [Mexican]
Oxford, BL: Arch. Selden. A. 2
- Sinaiticus (ⲁ, S) [Greek]
= Sinai Bible
London, BL: Add. 43725 (olim Lenin-grad, GPB: gr. 2, 259, 843) + Leipzig, UB: gr. 1 (= Codex Friderico-Augustanus) + Mount Sinai, SCM: Arab. 455 (fols. 1, 4)
- Sinopensis [Greek]
= Sinope ms.
= Codex aureus g)
= Codex purpureus c)
Paris, BN: suppl. gr. 1286
- Sorbonicus
= Codex Universitatis
Paris, BN: lat. 15467
- Taurinensis [Greek]
= Theodoretus ms.
Torino, BN: B I 2
- Telleriano-Remensis [Mexican]
Paris, BN: mexicain 385
- Tepetlaoztoc: see Codex Kingsborough
- Theodosianus
Torino, BN: A II 2 [destroyed by fire, 1904] + Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 5766 (fols. 25-43, 46-48)
- Theodulfus: see Theodulf Bibles c)
- Toletanus: see Codex Hispalensis
- Traguriensis: see Petronius a)
- Tuota
= Codex Uta
= Niedermünster Gospel Book
München, SB: Clm 13601
- Turicensis [Greek]
= Zürich Psalter
= Codex aureus g)
= Codex purpureus c)
Zürich, ZB: C. 84
- Codex Universitatis: see Codex Sorbonicus
- Ursicinus
Verona, BC: XXXVIII (36)
- Usserianus alter (secundus)
= Garland of Howth
Dublin, TC: 56 (A.4.6)
- Usserianus primus
Dublin, TC: 55 (A.4.15)
- Uta: see Codex Tuota
- U(V)yšehradensis
= Coronation Gospels b)
= Wratisław, King, Gospels
Praha, SK: XIV A 13
- Valerianus: see Codex Monacensis
- Vallicellianus: see Alcuin Bibles e)
- Vaticanus: see Virgil f)
2) [Greek]
Vaticano, BAV: Vat. gr. 1209
- Vaticanus A: see Codex Ríos
- Vaticanus B [Mexican]
Vaticano, BAV: Messicano 3773
- Velserus
München, SB: Clm 3514
- Venetus (V): see Codex Basiliano-Vaticanus
- Vennessenus
Vendôme, BM: 2
- Vercellensis: see Codex Eusebianus
- Veronensis (b)
= Verona Gospels
= Codex purpureus c)
Verona, BC: VI (6)
- Vigilano y Albeldense: see Albelda Conciliar Codex
- Vindobonensis: see Codex Neapolitanus
2) (u)
Wien, ÖNB: 502 [fly-leaves only]
- Vossianus
= Junius Psalter
Oxford, BL: Junius 27
- 2) see Terence d)
- Vyšehradensis: see Codex Uyšehradensis
- Washingtoniensis I [Greek]
Washington, D.C., FG: Gr. II
- Wirceburgensis
Würzburg, UB: M.p.th.f. 64a

- Codex Wittech(k)indeus
 Berlin, DSB: Theol. lat. fol. 1
 — Wormianus of Younger Edda [Icelandic]
 København, AI: AM 242 2°
 — Zante
 London, BFBS: 24
 — Zographensis [Glagolitic]
 = Zography Gospels
 Leningrad, GPB: Glag. 1
 — Zouche-Nuttall [Mexican picture writing]
 = Codex Nuttall
 London, MK: 1926-12.17.1 (= London, BL: Add. 39671; Parham LXXXIX)
 — Zuqninensis Rescriptus [Syriac and Greek]
 Vaticano, BAV: Vat. syr. 162 (122 fols.)
 + London, BL: Add. 14665 (5 fols.)
 Coëtivy, Olivier de, Hours
 = Olivier de Coëtivy and Marie de Valois Hours
 Wien, ÖNB: 1929
 Colbert Gospels
 Paris, BN: lat. 324
 Coldingham Breviary
 London, BL: Harley 4664
 Coldingham Calendar
 London, BL: Harley 4747
 Colin le Besc Hours
 Barcelona, BC: 1850
 Cologne Gospels
 = Bury St. Edmunds New Testament
 = Saints Martin and Elphidius Gospels
 Bruxelles, BR: 466 (9222)
 Colonna, Cardinal Pompeo, Missal
 Manchester, JR: Lat. 32-37
 Columille Gospels: see Book of Kells
 Conrad von Brünenberg Prayerbook [German]
 München, SB: Cgm 145
 Conradin (Corradino) Bible
 Baltimore, WAG: W. 152
 Constance, Queen, Gospels and Psalter [Greek]
 Palermo, BC: Dep. museo 4
 Constantine Gospels, Second [Armenian]
 Jerusalem, APG: 251
 Constantine of Bulgaria Gospels [Slavonic]
 Moscow, GIM: Syn. 262
 Copenhagen Gospels
 København, KB: Gl. kgl. Saml. 10 2°
 Coptic Glazier ms. [Coptic]
 New York, PM: G. 67
 Corbie Psalter
 Amiens, BM: 18
 Corbie Ritual
 Paris, BN: lat. 12083
 Corbie Sacramentary
 Paris, BN: lat. 12052
 Corbolinus Bible
 Firenze, BLaur: Conv. soppr. 630
 Coridon Psalter
 Oxford, BL: Auct. D.2.4
 Corn Merchant: see Il Biadajolo
 Coronation Book
 = Liber Regalis
 London, WA: 38
 Coronation Book of Charles V (of France):
 see Charles V of France Coronation Book
 Coronation Gospels
 a) see Charlemagne Gospels
 b) see Codex U(V)yšehradensis
 c) Coronation Gospels of the Anglo-Saxon Kings
 = Athelstan Gospels
 London, BL: Cotton Tiberius A.ii
 Coronation Sacramentary
 = Metz Sacramentary
 = Codex aureus g)
 Paris, BN: lat. 1141
 Corpus Glossary
 Cambridge, CCC: 144
 Corradino Bible: see Conradin Bible
 Correctorium Jacobi Bible
 = Dominican Bible
 = Jacobin Bible
 Paris, BN: lat. 16719-16722
 Corsini Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana w)
 Corvinus, Mathias, Bible
 Firenze, BLaur: 15.17
 Corvinus, Mathias, Breviary
 Vaticano, BAV: Urb. lat. 112
 Corvinus, Mathias, Missal
 Bruxelles, BR: 449 (9008)

- Cosmas Indicopleustes [Greek]
 a) Cosmas ms.
 = Vatican Cosmas
 Vaticano, BAV: Vat. gr. 699
 b) Firenze, BLaur: 9.28
 c) Mount Sinai, SCM: gr. 1186
- Cotton Genesis: see Codex Cottonianus Geneseos
- Cotton Psalter
 = Tiberius Psalter
 London, BL: Cotton Tiberius C.vi
- Count: see under proper name
- Courtenay, Elizabeth, Psalter and Hours:
 see Bohun mss. d)
- Coverdale Bible
 Oxford, BL: Arch. Selden. C. 9
- Coverham Abbey Prayer Roll
 Princeton, SLP: G. 39
- Cracow Gospels
 = Czartoryski Gospels
 Kraków, BM: Czart. 1801
- Cracow Pontifical
 Kraków, BJ: 2057
- Crawford Apocalypse
 Manchester, JR: Lat. 19
- Crawford Psalter
 = Joan of Navarre Psalter
 Manchester, JR: Lat. 22
- Crowland (Croyland) Apocalypse [French]
 Cambridge, MC: 5 (F.4.5)
- Croy Prayerbook
 Wien, ÖNB: 1858
- Cuerden Psalter
 New York, PM: M. 756
- Culross Psalter
 Edinburgh, NL: Adv. 18.8.1
- Cunegonde (Kunegunde), Abbess, Passionary (Passionale)
 Praha, SK: XIV A 17
- Cureton Gospels [Syriac]
 London, BL: Add. 14451 + Berlin, SBPK: Orient. qu. 528 (3 fols.)
- Cuthbert (Cutbercht) Gospels
 Wien, ÖNB: 1224
- Cuthbert, St., Gospels: see Book of Lindisfarne
- Cyril of Bélozerski Monastery Gospels [Slavonic]
 Leningrad, GPB: Kiril.-Beloz. 44/49
- Cysoing Gospels
 Lille, BM: 33
- Czartoryski Gospels: see Cracow Gospels
- da Costa Hours
 New York, PM: M. 399
- Dagulph (Dagulf) Psalter: see Charlemagne Psalter
- Dalby (Dalby-boken) Gospels
 København, KB: Gl. kgl. Saml. 1325 4°
- Damascus Keter [Hebrew]
 Jerusalem, NUL: Heb. 4° 790
- Danielstoun, Elizabeth, Hours
 London, BL: Add. 39761
- Danila Bible: see Codex Cavensis
- Dante [Italian]
 a) Alfonso V of Naples Dante
 London, BL: Yates Thompson 36
 b) Federigo da Montefeltro Dante
 Vaticano, BAV: Urb. lat. 365
 c) Hamilton Dante
 Berlin, KK: Botticelli (Ham. 201)
- Darmstadt Haggadah I [Hebrew]
 Darmstadt, LH: Or. 8
- Darmstadt Haggadah II [Hebrew]
 Darmstadt, LH: Or. 28
- David de Bernham Pontifical
 Paris, BN: lat. 1218
- De Brailes, William: see Brailes, William de
- De Buz Hours
 Cambridge (Mass.), HU: Richardson 42
- De Castro Pentateuch [Hebrew]
 Jerusalem, IM: 180/94 (olim Sassoon 506)
- De Gaulle, Charles, Bible
 Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 14430
- De Grey Hours
 Aberystwyth, NLW: 155337 C (olim Yates Thompson 27)
- De La Twyere Psalter
 New York, NYPL: Spencer 2
- De Lévis Hours
 New Haven, YU: 400
- De Lisle Psalter
 = Howard Psalter
 = Robert de Lisle Psalter
 London, BL: Arundel 83

- De Quincey Apocalypse
= Lambeth Palace Apocalypse
London, LPL: 209
- Deerhurst (Duryst) Missal
Oxford, BL: Rawl. liturg. c. 3
- Delamere Chaucer: see Chaucer d)
- Della Rovere, Cardinal Domenico, Pontifical
New York, PM: M. 306 (olim Beatty 90)
- Demeter Nekksei-Lipócz Bible
= Nekksei-Lipócz Bible
Washington, D.C., LC: Med. and Ren. 1
- Denstone Bible
= Glazier Bible
New York, PM: G. 38
- Dering Roll
London, BL: Add. 38537
- Desiderian Lectionary
Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 1202
- D'Esneval Hours
San Marino, HL: HM 25773
- D'Este (Este) Psalter
Modena, BE: Est. lat. 990 (α.Q.4.9)
- Devon Bible
= William of Devon Bible
London, BL: Royal 1.D.1
- Diane, Marquise de Croy, Hours
= Lady Diana de Croy Missal Album
Sheffield, GAG: Accession R.3548
- Dietrich von Erbach, (Archbishop of Mainz), Missal
= Sankt Gangolph Missal
Mainz, SB: II.136
- Dinteville Hours
Paris, BN: lat. 10558
2) London, BL: Add. 18854
- Dioscorides [Greek or Arabic]
a) Arabic copy
Paris, BN: arabe 4947
b) Codex Anicia Juliana
Wien, ÖNB: Med. gr. 1
c) Lavra Dioscorides
Mount Athos, ML: Ω 75 (5275)
d) Leiden Dioscorides
Leiden, BR: Or. 289
e) ms. of 1229
Istanbul, TSM: 3703 (olim Seraglio: Ahmed III 2147)
- f) Naples Dioscorides
Napoli, BN: Vindob. suppl. gr. 28
(olim Wien, ÖNB: Gr. 1)
- Dobrejscho Gospels [Slavonic]
Sofiya, NB: 1117 (307)
- Dobрила Gospels [Slavonic]
Moscow, GBL: Rum. 256/103
- Dom(h)nach Airgid ms.
= Silver Shrine Gospels
Dublin, RIA: 24 Q 23
- Dominican Bible: see Correctorium Jacobi Bible
- Domka Gospels [Slavonic]
= Miliata Gospels
Leningrad, GPB: Fp I.7
- Dorbbéne Gospels
Schaffhausen, SA: Gen. 1
- dos Jeronimos Bible
Lisboa, ANT: (Casa Forte) 161¹⁻⁷
- Douai Psalter
Douai, BM: 171
- Douce Apocalypse
Oxford, BL: Douce 180
- Douce Psalter
Oxford, BL: Douce 50
- Douce Psalter Cuttings
Oxford, BL: Douce d. 19 and b. 4
- Dover Bible
Cambridge, CCC: 3, 4
- Downes Psalter
Oxford, BL: Holkham 23
- Dragon Haggadah [Hebrew]
Hamburg, SUB: Heb. 155
- Drapers' Certificate of 1339 [Italian]
Bologna, MC: 86
- Drogo Sacramentary
= Cqdex aureus g)
Paris, BN: lat. 9428
- Du Bois Psalter: see Avicia de Boys Psalter and Hours
- Du Prat, Cardinal, Bible
Boston, BPL: 1532 (olim Phillipps 4259)
- Duc de Berry: see Berry, Jean, duc de
- Duc de Mayenne Hours
Paris, BN: lat. 18035
- Ducs d'Orléans Hours
Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 3115
- Dufay Gospels
Paris, BN: lat. 9385

- Duke Humphrey Psalter
London, BL: Royal 2.B.i
- Duke of Sussex Pentateuch [Hebrew]
London, BL: Add. 15282
- Dumbarton Oaks Psalter: see Athos Psalter
- Dunkeld Music Book
Edinburgh, UL: 64 (D.b.I.7)
- Dunois, Jean, Hours
London, BL: Yates Thompson 3
- Dunstan, St., Class Book
Oxford, BL: Auct. F.4.32
- Dunstan, St., Pontifical
= Sherborne Pontifical
Paris, BN: lat. 943
- Durham Book: see Book of Lindisfarne
- Durham Gospel Book
Durham, CL: A.II.17 (fols. 2-102) + Cambridge, MC: Pepys 2981 (19) (frag. fol. 70)
- Durham Gospels
Durham, CL: A.II.10 (fols. 2-5) + C.III.13 (fols. 192-195) + C.III.20 (fols. 1-2)
- Durham Ritual
Durham, CL: A.IV.19
- Duryst Missal: see Deerhurst Missal
- Dutch Bible of 1431 [Dutch]
= Peterson, Claes, Dutch Bible
Bruxelles, BR: 108 (9018-19, 9020-23)
- Eadwine Psalter: see Canterbury Psalter
- Ebbo Gospels
Épernay, BM: 1 (1)
- Echternach Golden Gospels: see Codex aureus a)
- Echternach Gospel Book
Bruxelles, BR: 461 (9428)
- Echternach Gospels: see Codex Epternacensis
- Edward II Coronation Ordo
London, PRO: C. 57-1
- Egbert Gospel Book: see Codex Egberti (Gospels)
- Egbert Pontifical
Paris, BN: lat. 10575
- Egbert Psalter: see Cividale Psalter
- Egerton Genesis
London, BL: Egerton 1894
- Egino Codex: see Codex Eginonis
- Egmond Breviary [Dutch]
= Reinald IV of Guelders Breviary
New York, PM: M. 87 + Cambridge, FM: 1-1960 (1 fol.) + Utrecht, BR: 12.C.17 (1 fol.)
- Egmond Gospels
's-Gravenhage, KB: 76 F 1
- Egmont Hours
London, BL: Add. 35319
- El Escorial Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana d)
- Eleanor de Bohun Psalter: see Bohun mss. c)
- Eleanor of Austria Hours
Paris, BN: lat. 10533
- Eleanor of Portugal Breviary
New York, PM: M. 52
- Éléonore de Bourbon Psalter
Chantilly, MC: 11 (1421)
- Élie II d'Angoulême Pontifical
Nantes, MD: X
- Élisabeth de Genlis Psalter
Paris, BSG: 2689
- Elizabeth, St., Psalter
Cividale, MAN: Sacri 7 (CXXXVII)
- Elizabeth the Queen Hours
London, BL: Add. 50001 (olim Yates Thompson 59)
- Eller Gospels
London, BL: Harley 2826
- Ellesmere Chaucer: see Chaucer e)
- Elna Pontifical
= Jérôme d'Ochon Pontifical
Paris, BN: lat. 967
- Emmeram, St., Golden Gospels of Charles the Bald: see Codex aureus e)
- Emperor: see under proper names
- Englebert of Nassau Hours
Oxford, BL: Douce 219-220
- Ercole I (d'Este) Breviary
Modena, BE: Est. lat. 424 (V.G.11)
- Ercole I (d'Este) Gradual
Modena, BE: Est. lat. 453 (α.P.1.6)
- Erentrude, St., Pericopes
München, SB: Clm 15903
- Erlangen Gospel Book
Erlangen, UB: 141

- Erna Michael Haggadah [Hebrew]
Jerusalem, IM: 180/58
- Erznka (Erzinjan) Bible [Armenian]
Jerusalem, APG: 1925
- Esayi Ntchetsi Bible [Armenian]
Yerevan, Mat: 206
- Escorial: see El Escorial
- Este Psalter: see D'Este Psalter
- Etchmiadzin Gospels [Armenian]
Yerevan, Mat: 2374 (olim Etchmiadzin 229)
- Ethelbert, St., Gospels
= Hereford Gospels
Cambridge, PC: 302
- Étienne Chevalier: see Chevalier, Étienne
- Eusebius, St., Gospels: see Codex Eusebianus
- Evangelium longum
Sankt Gallen, SB: 53
- Evert van Soudenbalch Bible
= Vienna Bible
Wien, ÖNB: 2771-2772
- Evesham Psalter
London, BL: Add. 44874
- Exeter Book of Old English Poetry [English]
Exeter, CL: 3501
- Exeter Suetonius: see Suetonius b)
- Exultet rolls
- a) Avezzano, CV: S.N.
 - b) Bari, AD: Exultet Roll 1, 2, 3
 - c) Capua, BA: S.N. (formerly in the Archivio del Duomo)
 - d) Gaeta, AD: Exultet Roll 1, 2, 3
 - e) London, BL: Add. 30337
 - f) Manchester, JR: Lat. 2
 - g) Montecassino, AB: Exultet Roll 1, 2
 - h) Mirabella Eclano, ACC: Exultet Roll 1, 2 (on deposit Napoli, BN)
 - i) Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 710
= Fondi Exultet Roll
 - j) Pisa, MNSM: Exultet Roll 1, 2, 3
 - k) Roma, BCas: 724 (B I 13) iii
 - l) Salerno, MD: S.N.
 - m) Troia, AD: Exultet Roll 1, 2, 3
 - n) Vaticano, BAV: Barb. lat. 592; Vat. lat. 3784, 3784A, 9820
 - o) Velletri, MC: S.N.
- Facundus Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana m)
- Farfa Bible
= Ripoll Bible
= Santa Maria de Ripoll Bible
Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 5729
- Farfa Gospel Book
Roma, BV: E 16
- Farnese Hours: see Alessandro Farnese, Cardinal, Hours
- Fauchet, Claude, Gospel Book
Paris, BN: lat. 270
- Fécamp Bible
London, BL: Yates Thompson 1 (olim Yates Thompson 2)
- Fécamp Psalter
's-Gravenhage, KB: 76 F 13
- Federigo da Montefeltro Bible
= Federigo of Urbino Bible
= Urbino Bible
Vaticano, BAV: Urb. lat. 1-2
- Federigo da Montefeltro Dante: see Dante b)
- Federigo of Urbino: see Federigo da Montefeltro
- Fedorovski Gospels: see Theodore Gospels 2)
- Ferdinand V and Isabella of Spain Hours
Cleveland, CMA: Hanna 63.256
- Ferdinand, King, and Queen Sancha Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana m)
- Ferdinand, King, and Queen Sancha Prayerbook
Santiago de Compostela, BU: Res. 1
- Fernaig ms. [Irish]
Glasgow, UL: Gen. 85
- Ferrante, King of Naples, Cicero: see Cicero c)
- Festus
a) Codex Farnesinus
Napoli, BN: IV A 3
- Fieschi Psalter
Baltimore, WAG: W. 45
- Fiesole Bible
Firenze, BLaur: Faesul. 4
- Figeac Sacramentary
Paris, BN: lat. 2293
- Filocalus Calendar: see Calendar of Filocalus

- Findern Anthology [English]
— Findern ms.
Cambridge, UL: Ff.1.6
- First Cincinnati Haggadah: see Cincinnati Haggadah, First
- First Ibn Merwas Bible [Hebrew]
London, BL: Or. 2201
- First Joshu Ibn Gaon Bible [Hebrew]
Paris, BN: hébr. 20
- First Leningrad Bible: see Leningrad Bible, First
- First New York Haggadah: see New York Haggadah, First
- Fitzalan Prayerbook
Edinburgh, UL: Adv. 53.3.14
- Fitzwarren (Fitzwarin) Psalter
Paris, BN: lat. 765
- Fitzwilliam Genesis: see Brailles, William de, Psalter
- Fitzwilliam Missal
Cambridge, FM: 34
- Flateyjarbók: see Codex Flateyensis
- Flavigny Gospels
Autun, BM: 4 (S.3) + Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 1588 (fols. 1-14)
- la Flora Hours
Napoli, BN: I B 51
- Floreffe Bible
London, BL: Add. 17737-17738
- Florence Antiphony: see Codex F
- Florence Gospels [Greek]
Firenze, BLaur: 6.23
- Florence Psalter
Firenze, BR: 309
- Folcardus (Folchard) Psalter
Sankt Gallen, SB: 23
- Folkunge Psalter
København, KB: Thott 143 4°
- Fondi Exultet Roll: see Exultet rolls i)
- Fonte Avellana Bible
Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 4216
- Fragmenta Ambrosiana: see Codex Ambrosianus 3)
- Fragmenta Dublinensia (of Isaiah) [Greek]
Dublin, TC: 28 (vol. 2)
- Fragmenta Lipsiensia: see Codex Lipsiensis, Leningrad leaves
- Fragmentum Ilfeldense: see Ovid a)
- Fragmentum Spirensis: see Codex Argenteus Upsaliensis
- Framegaud Gospels
Paris, BN: lat. 17969
- Francis: see also François
- Francis I Hours: see Catherine de'Medici Hours
- Francis II Gospels
Paris, BN: lat. 257
- Franciscan Missal
Paris, BM: 426
- Franciscan Psalter
Oxford, BL: Douce 48
- François de Conzié Pontifical
Chartres, BM: 508 (347)
- François de Dinteville Pontifical
Auxerre, TCat: 21
- François de Faucon Pontifical
Paris, BN: lat. 1228
- François de Guise Hours
Chantilly, MC: 64 (1671)
- François d'Halwin Pontifical
Besançon, BM: 135
- Frederick of Aragon Hours
Paris, BN: lat. 10532
- Freising Gospels
München, SB: Clm 6215
- Frissbók: see Codex Frisianus
- Fulda Lectionary
Aschaffenburg, HB: 2
- Fulgentius
a) Vatican Fulgentius
Vaticano, BAV: Reg. lat. 267
- Fumée, Adam, Pontifical
Paris, BN: lat. 16319
- Gaddiana Missal
Firenze, BLaur: Gadd. 44
- Gagek, King, Gospels [Armenian]
= Gagek (Gagik) of Kars Gospels
= Kars Gospels
Jerusalem, APG: 2556
- Gaibana, Giovanni, Psalter
Oxford, BL: Canon. Liturg. 370
- Galati Gospels [Georgian]
Tbilisi, IR: Q 908

- Gallican Sacramentary
= Missale Gothicum
Vaticano, BAV: Reg. lat. 317
- Galliot de Genouilhac, Jacques, Hours
= Genouilhac Hours
Manchester, JR: Lat. 38
- Ganois (Ganoys, Ganeuss), Wenceslas (Wenzel), Bible
Budapest, OSK: c.l.m.ae 78
- Garland of Howth: see Codex Usserianus alter
- Gaster Bible, Second [Hebrew]
London, BL: Or. 9880
- Gaucelin d'Euse Psalter
= Godfrey de Croyland Psalter
= Guthlac Psalter
= Peterborough Psalter
Bruxelles, BR: 593 (9961-2)
- Gauzelin, St., Gospels
Nancy, TCat: S.N.
- Geb(b)hard(t) Bible: see Admont (Giant) Bible
- Geese Book
New York, PM: M. 905
- Gelasian Sacramentary
Vaticano, BAV: Reg. lat. 316 + Paris, BN: lat. 7193 (fols. 41-56)
2)[fragment]
London, BL: Add. 29276
3)[fragment]
Oxford, BL: Douce f. 1
- Gellone Sacramentary
Paris, BN: lat. 12048
- Gelre Wapenboek (Armorial)
Bruxelles, BR: 7516 (15652-56)
- Genouilhac Hours: see Galliot de Genouilhac, Jacques, Hours
- Georges, Cardinal, d'Armagnac Pontifical
Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 1506
- Gérard de Montaigu Breviary
Paris, BA: 582
- Gero Codex
Darmstadt, LH: 1948
- Gerold Missal
London, BL: Add. 17742
- Gerona Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana f)
- Gertrude Psalter: see Cividale Psalter
- Ghent Portable Psalter
Oxford, BL: Douce 5-6
- Ghislieri Hours: see Bonaparte-Ghislieri Hours
- Giac Hours
= Jeanne du Peschin Hours
= Louis de Giac Hours
Toronto, ROM: Lee 960.9.14
- Gian Galeazzo Visconti Hours: see Visconti, (Gian Galeazzo), Hours
- Giraldi-Guicciardini Hours
Stockholm, KB: B.1960 (olim Beatty 92)
- Gisela von Kerssenbrock Gradual
= Codex Gisla
Osnabrück, GB: S. N.
- Gladbach Abbey Bede: see Bede a)
- Glastonbury Miscellany
Cambridge, TC: 1450 (O.9.38)
- Glastonbury Terrier (1514-17)
London, BL: Egerton 3034
- Glazier Bible: see Denstone Bible
- Glazier Hours
New York, PM: G. 14
- Glenorchy Psalter
London, BL: Egerton 2899
- Glossed Psalter of Robert de Lindsey: see Robert de Lindsey Glossed Psalter (and Hours)
- Goberti, Nicolas, Pontifical
Verdun, BM: 94
- Goda Gospels
London, BL: Royal 1.D.iii
- Godescalc Gospels (Lectionary): see Charlemagne Lectionary
- Godfrey de Croyland Psalter: see Gaucelin d'Euse Psalter
- Golden Book of Saint Albans: see Liber vitae c)
- Golden Gospels: see Codex aureus
- Golden Haggadah [Hebrew]
London, BL: Add. 27210
- Golden Latin Gospels of Henry VIII
= Hamilton Gospels
= Henry VIII Gospels
= Morgan Golden Gospels
= Codex aureus g)
= Codex purpureus c)
New York, PM: M. 23
- Golden Psalter
= Codex aureus g)
Sankt Gallen, SB: 22

- 2) see Charlemagne Psalter
 Golenisheff Chronicle: see Alexandrian
 World Chronicle
 Golf Book
 London, BL: Add. 24098
 Gonzaga Gospels [Greek]
 London, BL: Harley 5790
 Gorleston Psalter: see Braybrooke, Lord,
 Psalter
 Gospel of 966 [Armenian]
 = Translators Gospels
 Baltimore, WAG: W. 537
 Gospel of 1038 [Armenian]
 Yerevan, Mat: 6201
 Gospel of 1287 [Armenian]
 Yerevan, Mat: 197
 Gotha Missal
 Cleveland, CMA: Marlatt 62.287
 Gothic Gospels: see Codex Argenteus
 Upsaliensis
 Göttingen Model Book [German]
 Göttingen, NSUB: Uffenb. 51
 Grammont Breviary
 Maredsous, BA: S.N.
 Grand Master Leo Breviary
 Praha, SK: XVIII F 6
 Grandes Chroniques de France [French]
 Paris, BN: fr. 2813
 2) Paris, BSG: 782
 Grandison, John, Psalter
 London, BL: Add. 21926
 Gray-Fitzpayn Hours
 = Grey-Clifford Hours
 Cambridge, FM: 242
 Greenfield Apocalypse
 = Welles Apocalypse
 London, BL: Royal 15.D.ii
 Gregory I, the Great (*Moralia in Job*)
 a) Bamberg, SB: Msc. Patr. 41 (B.II.16)
 b) Dijon, BM: 168-170 (135)
 c) Firenze, BLaur: 19.1/2
 d) Madrid, BN: 80 (olim Tol. 11, 3 and
 Vitr. 13.2)
 Gregory Nazianzen (*Homilies*) [Greek]
 a) Paris, BN: gr. 510
 Grey-Clifford Hours: see Gray-Fitzpayn
 Hours
 Grimani, Cardinal Domenico, Breviary
 Venezia, BN: Marc. lat. I 99 (2138)
 Grimbald Gospels
 = New Minster Gospels
 London, BL: Add. 34890
 Gros Hours
 Chantilly, MC: 85 (1175)
 Grosbois Psalter: see Lambert le Béghard
 (le Bègue) Psalter 2)
 Guarnacciana Bible
 Volterra, BCG: 6780 (LXI 8, 7) (vol. 1)
 Guennol Hours: see Arenberg-Guennol
 Hours
 Gui, Bernard, Pontifical
 Toulouse, BM: 118 (I.184)
 Guillaume de Bade Hours
 Paris, BN: lat. 10567
 Guillaume de Hohenstein Pontifical
 Verdun, BM: 90
 Guillaume de Thiéville Pontifical
 Paris, BN: lat. 973
 Guines, (Counts of), Psalter
 London, BL: Add. 30045
 Gulbenkian Apocalypse
 Lisboa, MCG: LA 139
 Gumbertus Bible
 Erlangen, UB: 1
 Gundohinus Gospels
 Autun, BM: 3 (S.2)
 Gundulf Bible
 San Marino, HL: HM 62
 Guthlac Psalter: see Gaucelin d'Euse Psal-
 ter
 Guthlac Roll
 London, BL: Harley Roll Y.6
 Guthlac, St., Missal (Sacramentary)
 = Jumièges Missal
 = Robert of Jumièges Missal
 Rouen, BM: 274 (Y.6)
 Guy de Dampierre Hours
 Bruxelles, BR: 592 (10607)
 Gwynn ms.: see Armagh Gospels
 Gysbrecht van Brederode Hours
 Liège, BU: Wittert 13
 Haberdashers' Certificate [Italian]
 Bologna, MC: 85
 Haghbat Gospels [Armenian]
 Yerevan, Mat: 6288
 Hainricus Sacrista Missal

- New York, PM: M. 711 (olim Holkham Hall 36)
- Haiq Gospels [Armenian]
Addis Ababa, NL: A.5
- Halberstadt Bible
Halberstadt, G: C 8932 (olim DB: 3)
- Halinard de Lyon Pontifical
Dijon, BM: 122 (89)
- Hameldon Missal
Manchester, JR: Lat. 119
- Hamersleben Bible
Halberstadt, DB: 1
- Hamilton Bible
Berlin, KK: 78 E 3 (Ham. 85)
- Hamilton Dante: see Dante c)
- Hamilton Gospels: see Golden Latin Gospels of Henry VIII
- Hamilton Psalter [Greek]
= Marginal psalters e)
Berlin, KK: 78 A 9 (Ham. 119)
- 2) [Latin]
Berlin, KK: 78 A 5 (Ham. 549)
- Hanot, Catherine, Hours
Gent, BR: 186
- Hanto (Hatto), Abbot of Reichenau, Gospels
= Codex aureus g)
= Codex purpureus c)
München, SB: Clm 23631 (Cim. 2)
- Harburg Bible
= Pamplona, Second, Bible
Harburg, FOWB: I.2.4° 15
- Harding, Stephen, Bible
Dijon, BM: 12-15 (9 bis)
- Harkness Gospels: see Landevennec Gospels 2)
- Harley Golden Gospels: see Codex aureus b)
- Harley Lyrics [Latin, French, English]
London, BL: Harley 2253
- Harley Psalter
London, BL: Harley 624
- 2) = Ramsey Psalter
London, BL: Harley 2904
- 3) = Utrecht Psalter copy
London, BL: Harley 603
- Harvard Psalter [Greek]
Cambridge (Mass.), HU: gr. 3
- Hasenburg Missal
Wien, ÖNB: 1844
- Hastings Hours
London, BL: Add. 54872
- Hatto Gospels: see Hanto (Hatto), Abbot of Reichenau, Gospels
- Havowçthar Gospels [Armenian]
Venezia, SL: 151/134
- Haye ms. [Scots]
Abbotsford, Sir Walter Scott Collection: S.N.
- Hedwig Codex
= Schlackenwerth Legend of Hedwig
Aachen, PL: XI 3
- Helmingham Chaucer: see Chaucer i)
- Helmingham Hall Bible
= Tollemache Bible
Princeton, SLP: G. 34
- Hendrik van Arnhem Bible
Bruxelles, BR: 46 (106, 107, 204, 205)
- Hengwrt-Peniarth Chaucer: see Chaucer j)
- Hénin-Liétard Gospel Book
Boulogne, BM: 14
- Hennessy Hours
Bruxelles, BR: 754 (II.158)
- Henri: see also Henry
- Henri de Ville-sur-Ilion Pontifical
Paris, BN: lat. 12079
- Henry, Count, Psalter
Troyes, TCat: 1
- Henry, Duke of Saxony, Psalter
= Henry the Lion Psalter
London, BL: Lansdowne 381
- Henry II, Emperor of Germany, Lectionary: see Bamberg Lectionary 2)
- Henry III Gold Gospel Book: see Codex aureus f)
- Henry II Gospels
= Ratisbon Gospels
Vaticano, BAV: Ottob. lat. 74
- 2) München, SB: Clm 4454 (Cim. 59)
- Henry VIII Gospels: see Golden Latin Gospels of Henry VIII
- Henry II Hours
Paris, BN: lat. 1429
- Henry IV Hours
Paris, BN: lat. 1171

- Henry VIII Hours
London, BL: Add. 35254 + Add. 35254 V
- Henry III Lectionary (Pericopes)
Bremen, SB: b.21
- Henry of Blois Psalter [Latin and French]
= Saint Swithin Psalter
= Winchester Psalter
London, BL: Cotton Nero C.iv
- Henry of Chichester Missal
Manchester, JR: Lat. 24
- Henry II, St., Lectionary/Pericopes: see Bamberg Lectionary 2)
- Henry VI Psalter
London, BL: Cotton Domitian A.xvii
- Henry VIII Psalter
London, BL: Yates Thompson 18
2) Tournai, BM: 15
- Henry II, (St.), Missal (Sacramentary)
München, SB: Clm 4456 (Cim. 60)
- Henry the Lion Psalter: see Henry, Duke of Saxony, Psalter
- Herbal of pseudo-Apuleius
Montecassino, AB: 97
- Herbert of Bos(e)ham Psalter
Cambridge, TC: 150 (B.5.4)
- Herdmanston Breviary
Edinburgh, NL: Adv. 18.2.13A
- Hereford Breviary
Hereford, CL: P.9.vii
- Hereford Gospels: see Ethelbert, St., Gospels
- Hereford Troper
London, BL: Cotton Caligula A.xiv (fols. 1-92)
- Het'um (Hethum), King, Lectionary [Armenian]
Yerevan, Mat: 979
- Hildegard, St., Prayerbook
München, SB: Clm 935
- Hincmar Bible
Reims, BM: 1-2 (A.1)
- Hincmar Gospel Book
= Codex purpureus c)
Reims, BM: 11 (C.145)
- Hirsau Bible
= Munich Giant Bible
München, SB: Clm 13001
- Hispanic Society Bible
New York, HSA: B.241
- Hitda von Meschede Gospels
= Meschede Gospels
Darmstadt, LH: 1640
- Hobenwart Gospel Book
München, SB: Clm 7384
- Hofer Missal
Cambridge (Mass.), HU: fMS Typ 120H
- Holford Hours
New York, PM: M. 732
- Holkham Bible Picture Book
London, BL: Add. 47682 (olim Holkham Hall 666)
- Holkham Hall Bible
Holkham Hall (Norfolk), EL: 6
- Holkham Psalter
London, BL: Add. 47674 (olim Holkham Hall 22)
- Holy Sepulchre Cartulary
Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 4947
- Missal
Paris, BN: lat. 12056
- Ritual
Vaticano, BAV: Barb. lat. 659
- Sacramentary
London, BL: Egerton 2902
2) Roma, BA: 477 (D 7. 3)
- Homer [Greek]
- a) Codex Nitriensis
London, BL: Add. 17210
 - b) Ilias Ambrosiana
Milano, BA: S.P. 10 (olim F 205 inf., B 88 sup., and gr. 1019)
 - c) Ilias Marciana
Venezia, BN: Zan. gr. 454 (822)
 - d) Townley Homer
London, BL: Burney 86
- Homilies of the Monk Jacob: see Kokkinibaphos, Jacobus
- Horace
- a) Codex Blandinius Vetustissimus
Gent, Abbaye de Saint-Pierre-au-Mont-Blandin [destroyed in 1566]: S.N.
- Horomos Gospels [Armenian]
Venezia, SL: 961/87

- Hortus deliciarum (of Herrard von Landsberg)
 Strasbourg, BM: S.N. [destroyed in siege of Strasbourg 24/25 August 1870]
- Howard Psalter: see De Lisle Psalter
- Hronský Svätý Beňadik Missal
 Eger, FK: U2.VI.5
- Hugh, St., Bible: see Winchester Bible 2)
- Hugh du Puiset Bible
 = Pudsey (Puiset), (Hugh, Bishop), Bible
 Durham, CL: A.II.1
- Hugh of Stukeley Psalter
 Cambridge, CCC: 53
- Hugo von Hohenlandenberg, Bishop, Missal
 Freiburg i. Br., ED: S.N. + New York, PM: M. 955 (1 fol.)
- Hugues d'Arcy Pontifical
 Auxerre, BM: 53
- Hugues le Grand Pontifical (Sacramentary)
 Paris, BN: lat. 17333
- Humphrey, Duke, Psalter: see Duke Humphrey Psalter
- Humphrey Bohun Psalter: see Bohun mss. e)
- Huntingfield Psalter
 New York, PM: M. 43
- Huth Psalter
 London, BL: Add. 38116
- Hyde Abbey Psalter and Breviary
 Oxford, BL: Gough Liturg. 8
- Il Biadajolo [Italian]
 = Corn Merchant
 = Specchio Umano
 Firenze, BLaur: Temp. 3
- Ilias Ambrosiana: see Homer b)
- Ilias Marciana: see Homer c)
- Inchcolm Antiphonary
 Edinburgh, UL: 211 (IV) (Laing 499)
- Infancy Gospels
 Hereford, CL: O.3.ix
- Infantado Missal
 Madrid, BN: Vitr. 18.5
- Infante Don Alfonso of Castile Hours: see Alfonso of Castile, Infante Don, Hours
- Ingeborg Psalter
 Chantilly, MC: 9 (1695)
- In(n)isfallen, Annals of: see Annals of In(n)isfallen
- Innocent VIII Pontifical
 Torino, BN: E II 14 (olim della Rovere 6)
- Ippolito, Cardinal, d'Este, Missal
 Innsbruck, UB: 43
- Irish Gospels
 Milano, BA: I 61 sup. (fols. 1-89)
 2) Torino, BN: F IV 14 (binding strips) + F IV 16 (binding strips) + F VI 2 (fasc. 8, 3 fols.) + G V 2 (fols. 139, 167-170) + O IV 20
 3) Sankt Gallen, SB: 51
- Irish Psalter
 = Southampton Psalter
 Cambridge, SJC: 59 (C.9)
 2) London, BL: Cotton Vitellius F.xi
- Isabel: see also Isabella, Isabelle
- Isabel, Empress, Psalter
 = Riccardiana Psalter
 Firenze, BR: 323
- Isabel(le) de Valois Prayerbook
 Madrid, BN: Vitr. 24.4
- Isabel of Bavaria Hours
 Paris, BN: lat. 1369
- Isabel of Scotland, Duchess of Brittany, Hours
 = Stuart, Isabel (Isabella), Hours
 Paris, BN: lat. 1403
 2) Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 588
 3) Cambridge, FM: 62
- Isabel the Catholic Breviary
 Madrid, BN: Vitr. 18.8
- Isabella Book
 = Isabella, Queen of Spain, Breviary
 London, BL: Add. 18851
- Isabella of Castile Hours
 's-Gravenhage, KB: 76 F 6
- Isabella, Queen of England, Psalter [French]
 München, SB: Gall. 16
- Isabella, Queen of Spain, Breviary: see Isabella Book
- Isabelle of Brittany Hours
 Lisboa, MCG: LA 237

- Isabelle of France Hours
Cambridge, FM: 300
- Islip, Abbot John, Devotionary
Manchester, JR: Lat. 165
- Itala of Quedlinburg
Berlin, DSB: Theol. lat. fol. 485 + Quedlinburg, SS: S.N. (1 fol. and 2 frags.) + Berlin, SBPK: S.N. (colored impressions)
- Ivan Alexander, Tsar, Gospels: see John (Ivan) Alexander, Tsar (King), Gospels
- Ivan the Terrible Psalter [Slavonic]
Moscow, GBL: M 8662 (Tr.7)
- Ivrea Psalter
= Warmund, (Bishop), Psalter
Ivrea, BC: 30 (LXXXV)
- Ivrea Sacramentary
= Warmund, (Bishop), Sacramentary
Ivrea, BC: 31 (LXXXVI)
- Jacobin Bible: see *Correctorium Jacobi* Bible
- Jacques de Lucis and Jean Burchard Pontifical: see Pellessier, Guillaume, Pontifical
- James, Montague Rhodes, Memorial Psalter
London, BL: Add. 44949
- James IV of Scotland Hours
Wien, ÖNB: 1897
- Jasov ms.
Budapest, ELTK: Lat. 36
- Jean: see also Johann, Johannes, John
- Jean de Cardailhac Pontifical
Lunel, BM: 12
- Jean de Cis (Sy) Bible [French]
Paris, BN: fr. 15397
- Jean de France, Belles heures de: see Berry, Jean, duc de c)
- Jean de Rochechouart, duc de Mortemart, Pontifical
Paris, BA: 205
- Jean de Vaudetar Bible: see Charles V Bible
- Jean Dunois Hours: see Dunois, Jean, Hours
- Jean le Bon Bible Moralisée
Paris, BN: fr. 167
- Jeanne: see also Joan
- Jeanne de Belleville Breviary: see Belleville Breviary
- Jeanne d'Évreux Breviary
Chantilly, MC: 51 (1887)
- Jeanne d'Évreux Hours
= Pucelle Hours
New York, MMA: Cloisters 54.1.2
- Jeanne de Laval Hours: see Laval Hours 2)
- Jeanne de Savoie Hours: see Savoy Hours 2)
- Jeanne du Peschin Hours: see Giac Hours
- Jennart, Jean, Bible
Reims, BM: 39-42 (A.6^{iv})
- Jérôme d'Ochon Pontifical: see Elna Pontifical
- Jerusalem Psalter [Greek]
Jerusalem, KOP: Taphou 51
- Joan (II) (Queen) of Navarre Hours
Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 3145 (olim Yates Thompson 75)
- Joan of Navarre Psalter: see Crawford Psalter
- Joanna of Ghisteltes Hours
London, BL: Egerton 2125
- Joanna I, Queen of Naples, Hours
Wien, ÖNB: 1921
- Joanna the Mad Hours
= Juana, Infanta, Hours
London, BL: Add. 18852
- Joel Ben Simeon Haggadah [Hebrew]
London, BL: Add. 14762
- Johann von Neumarkt Breviary
= Liber Viaticus of Johann von Neumarkt (Johannis Noviforensis)
Praha, NM: XIII A 12
- Johannes de Marchello Missal
's-Gravenhage, KB: 78 D 40
- Johannes von Streda Missal
Praha, KMK: Cim. 6
- Johannes von Troppau Gospels: see Albert III of Austria Gospels
- John XXIII Missal
Oxford, BL: Astor A. 5
- John (Ivan) Alexander, Tsar (King), Gospels [Slavonic]
London, BL: Add. 39627

- John Damascene
 a) *Sacra parallela* [Greek]
 Paris, BN: gr. 923
- John, Duke of Bedford, Psalter and Hours:
 see Bedford Psalter and Hours
- John, Duke of Burgundy, Breviary
 = John the Fearless Breviary
 London, BL: Harley 2897 + Add. 35311
 (Psalter and Hymns/Breviary)
- John, Duke of Burgundy, Hours
 = John the Fearless Hours
 Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 3055
- John of Gaunt Psalter: see Bohun mss. f)
- John, St., Gospels
 Sankt Gallen, SB: 60
- 2) (Vetus latina) = Codex Parisiensis 2)
 Paris, BN: lat. 10439
- 3) = Codex aureus g)
 Paris, BN: lat. 9396
- 4) = Stonyhurst Gospel
 Stonyhurst College: 55 (on loan to London, BL)
- John, (St.), the Divine Apocalypse
 Oxford, BL: Auct. D.4.17
- John the Baptist Roll
 London, BL: Add. 42497
- John the Fearless Breviary: see John, Duke of Burgundy, Breviary
- John the Fearless Hours: see John, Duke of Burgundy, Hours
- Joinville's Life of St. Louis [French]
 Paris, BN: fr. 13568
- Josephus
 a) Cambridge Josephus
 Cambridge, UL: Dd.1.4
- b) Saint Albans Josephus
 London, BL: Royal 13.D.vi-vii
- Joshua Roll (Rotulus) [Greek]
 Vaticano, BAV: Pal. gr. 431
- Juaña, Infanta, Hours: see Joanna the Mad Hours
- Judith of Flanders (of Guelph) Gospels
 New York, PM: M. 708-709 (olim Holkham Hall 15-16)
- Julius II, (Pope), Hours
 Chantilly, MC: 78 (1567)
- Jully Psalter
 Lyon, BM: 539 (459)
- Jumièges, Robert de, Benedictional and Pontifical
 = Robert, Archbishop, Benedictional Rouen, BM: 369 (Y.7)
- Jumièges Missal: see Guthlac, St., Missal (Sacramentary)
- Junius B [Latin and German]
 Oxford, BL: Junius 25
- Junius Psalter: see Codex Vossianus Justinian
- a) Codex Pisanus
 = Pandecta Iustiniani
 Firenze, BLaur: Codices extra ordinem I
- Juvenal
 a) Codex Pithoeanus
 Montpellier, BIM: 125
- Kaetzaert de Zaers Hours: see Aetzaert de Zaers Hours
- Kálmáncsehi, Dominikos, Hours
 Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 3119
- Kalocsa ms. [German]
 Cologny-Genève, BB: Cod. Bodmer 72
- Kantakouzenos, Johannes: see Cantacuzenus, Johannes
- Karahissar Gospels [Greek]
 Leningrad, GPB: gr. 105
- Kars Gospels: see Gagek, King, Gospels
- Kaschau (Košice) (Dominican) ms.
 Budapest, OSK: c.l.m.ae 395
- Katherine Psalter
 New York, PM: M. 97
- Katherine, St., Hours
 Edinburgh, UL: 39 (D.b.I.9)
- Kaufmann Haggadah [Hebrew]
 Budapest, MTA: Kaufmann A 422
- Kaufmann Mishneh Torah [Hebrew]
 Budapest, MTA: Kaufmann A 77
- Keiroussis (Kerasous) Gospels [Greek]
 New York, PM: M. 748 + Princeton, PUAM: Inv. 32.14
- Kennicott Bible I, II [Hebrew]
 Oxford, BL: Kennicott 1, 2
- Keran, Lady, Gospels: see T'oros Roslin Gospels 3)
- Keran, Queen, Gospels [Armenian]
 Jerusalem, APG: 2563

- Keter Aram Zova: see Aleppo Bible
 Khatchatur Gospels [Armenian]
 Baltimore, WAG: W. 543
 Khatchen Gospels [Armenian]
 Jerusalem, APG: 1794
 Khitrovo Gospels [Slavonic]
 Moscow, GBL: M 8657 (Tr.3)
 Khludoff Psalter: see Marginal psalters f)
 Khoutinsky Missal: see Barlaam of Khutyn Missal
 Kiev Psalter [Slavonic]
 = Spiridonius Psalter
 Leningrad, GPB: OLDP F.6
 Kilcormac Missal
 Dublin, TC: 82 (B.3.1)
 Kilian, St., Gospels
 Würzburg, UB: M.p.th.q.la
 King: see under proper name
 King's Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana x)
 Kinloss Psalter
 London, VAM: L. 1693-1902 (Reid 52)
 Knightley Psalter [English]
 Holkham Hall, EL: 24
 Knights of Malta Gospel Book
 London, BL: Add. 18143
 Kokkinibaphos, Jacobus (*Homilies*)
 [Greek]
 = Homilies of the Monk Jacob
 a) Vaticano, BAV: Vat. gr. 1162
 b) Paris, BN: gr. 1208
 Koschka Gospels [Slavonic]
 Moscow, GBL: M 8654 (Tr.4)
 Košice Dominican ms.: see Kaschau ms.
 Kremsmünster Gospels: see Codex Mille-narius
 Krumau Picture Book
 Wien, ÖNB: 370
 Kunegunde Passionale: see Cunegonde, Abbess, Passionary
 Kuskam Monastery Gospels [Ethiopian]
 Paris, BN: éthiop. 32
- Lady: see under proper name
 Lallemand, Jehan, Hours
 Washington, D.C., LC: Rosenwald 11
 Lambert le Béghard (le Bègue) Psalter
 Liège, BU: 431 A (Grandjean 10)
- 2) = Grosbois Psalter
 New York, PM: M. 440
 3) 's-Gravenhage, KB: 76 G 17
 Lambert, St., of Liège (Leodiensis) Lec-tionary
 Bruxelles, BR: 3236 (14650-59) (olim Bollandists 16)
 Lambeth Bible
 London, LPL: 3
 Lambeth Palace Apocalypse: see De Quincey Apocalypse
 Lanalet Pontifical
 = Lann-Aleth Pontifical
 = Saint Germans in Cornwall Pontifical
 = Saint Malo Pontifical
 Rouen, BM: 368 (A.27)
 Landevennec Gospels
 = Leofric Gospels
 Oxford, BL: Auct. D.2.16
 2) = Harkness Gospels
 New York, NYPL: Harkness 115 (olim Phillipps 4558)
 Landgraf (Herman of Thuringia) Psalter
 Stuttgart, WLB: HB II 24
 Langhanns Missal
 Banská Bystrica, SA: 4532
 Lann-Aleth Pontifical: see Lanalet Pon-tifical
 Laon Gospels
 Laon, BM: 63
 Lapworth Missal
 Oxford, CCC: 394
 La Rochefoucauld Hours
 Bruxelles, BR: 750 (15077)
 Las Huelgas Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana r)
 Latin Aesop: see Aesop a)
 Laud Bible
 Oxford, BL: Laud Misc. 752
 Laud Codex [Mexican]: see Codex Laud
 Laud Maḥzor [Hebrew]
 Oxford, BL: Laud Or. 321
 Lauderdale Orosius: see Orosius a)
 Laudomia de'Medici Hours
 London, BL: Yates Thompson 30
 Laval Hours
 = Louis de Laval Hours
 Paris, BN: lat. 920

- 2) = Jeanne de Laval Hours
 Chantilly, MC: 75 (1140)
- Lavra Dioscorides: see Dioscorides c)
- Leabhar, Leabur, Lebor: alphabetized below as if spelled 'Liber'
- Leber Psalter
 Rouen, BM: 3016 (Leber 6)
- Leczinska, Maria, Prayerbook
 Bruxelles, BR: II.3640
- Leechbook, Bald's: see Bald's Leechbook
- Leiden Dioscorides: see Dioscorides d)
- Leiden Servius: see Servius a)
- Leipzig Maḥzor [Hebrew]
 Leipzig, UB: V.1102 (2 vols.)
- Le Mans Gospels
 Paris, BN: lat. 261
- Leningrad Bede: see Bede b)
- Leningrad Bible, First [Hebrew] (929-930 A.D.)
 Leningrad, GPB: Firk. II B 17
- Leningrad Bible, Second [Hebrew] (1008-10 A.D.)
 Leningrad, GPB: Firk. B 19a
- Leningrad Codex Purpureus
 = Codex aureus g)
 = Codex purpureus c)
 Leningrad, GPB: lat. Q.v.I.26
- Leningrad Lectionary [Greek]
 Leningrad, GPB: gr. 21, 21a
- Leningrad Prophets of 916 [Hebrew]
 = Saint Petersburg Prophets
 Leningrad, GPB: Firk. B 3
- Leo and Keran Gospels [Armenian]
 Jerusalem, APG: 2660
- Leo Bible⁶
 2)[Greek]
 = Regina Bible
 = Vatican Greek Bible
 Vaticano, BAV: Reg. gr. 1
- Leofric Collectar and Hymnary
 London, BL: Harley 2961
- Leofric Gospels: see Landevennec Gospels
- Leofric Missal
 Oxford, BL: Bodley 579
- Leofric Psalter
 London, BL: Harley 863
- León Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana m)
- León Bible: see Bible of 920 (in Spain)
- Leonian Sacramentary
 = Verona Sacramentary
 Verona, BC: LXXXV (80)
- Les Préaux Gospels
 London, BL: Add. 11850
- Lesnes Missal
 London, VAM: L. 404-1916 (olim Yates Thompson 7)
- Lewes Breviary-Missal
 Cambridge, FM: 369
- Lewes Psalter
 Cambridge, FM: 13
- Lewis Psalter
 Philadelphia, FL: Lewis 185
- Lewkenor Hours
 London, LPL: 545
- Liber Æthelwoldi episcopi: see Ædelwald the Bishop Prayerbook
 — Albus of Bury St. Edmunds
 London, BL: Harley 1005
 — Ardmachanus: see Armagh Gospels
- Leabhar Breac [Irish]
 = Leabur Mór Duna Daidhri
 = Speckled Book
 Dublin, RIA: 1230 (23 P 16)
- Leabhar Breac Mhic Aodhagáin: see Book of Ballymote
- Leabar C(h)aillín: see Book of Fenagh
- Liber Comicus Toletanus
 Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 2171
 — Commonei
 Oxford, BL: Auct. F.4.32 (c)
 — Durmachensis: see Book of Durrow

⁶ Postulated by W. R. W. Köhler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol. 1.2: *Die Bilder* (Berlin, 1933), pp. 109 ff. as the model for Turonian Bibles to express the ideas of Pope Leo I in controversy with the Manichaeans; the supposed fifth-century source for Carolingian Bibles written in Italy.

- Liber Eliensis**
 Cambridge, UL: EDC 1
 — Feodorum Maior
 Barcelona, ACA: Reg. 1
 — Flavus Fergusiorum [Irish]
 — Leabor Í Chonchobair
 — Leabhar Ui Chonchobhair
 Dublin, RIA: 476 (23 O 48)
 — Floridus
 Gent, BR: 92 (olim Tervliet M 6 and Walwein 83)
Leabur Mór Duna Daidhri: see **Leabhar Breac**
Leabhar Mór (Mhic Fhir Bhisigh) Leacáin:
 see **Book, (Great), of Leca(i)n**
Lebor na Huidre: see **Book of the Dun Cow**
Leabhar na Nua-Chongbála: see **Book of Glendalough**
Leabhar Oiris Leacáin: see **Book, (Great), of Leca(i)n**
Liber Pantheon
 Paris, BN: lat. 4895
 — **Regalis:** see **Coronation Book**
 — **Rubeus:** see **Red Book**
 — **Viaticus of Johann von Neumarkt:**
 see **Johann von Neumarkt Breviary**
 — **Vitae**
 a) **Durham Cathedral**
 London, BL: Cotton Domitian A.vii
 b) **Hyde Abbey**
 = **New Minster**
 London, BL: Stowe 944
 c) **Saint Albans**
 = **Golden Book of Saint Albans**
 London, BL: Cotton Nero D.vii
 d) **Thorney Abbey**
 London, BL: Add. 40000
Leabhar Ua Maine: see **Book of Hy Many**
Lichfield Cathedral Gospels: see **Book of (St.) Chad**
Liège Psalter and Hours
 Paris, BN: lat. 1077
Liessies Gospel Book
 Avesnes, SAH: S.N.
Liéven (Livinus), Sankt (St.), Gospels
 Gent, BE: 13
Limoges Sacramentary
 = **Saint Étienne (at Limoges) Sacramentary**
 Paris, BN: lat. 9438
Lincoln Apocalypse
 Oxford, LC: Lat. 16
Lincoln Psalter: see **Blickling Psalter**
Lindau Gospels: see **Ashburnham Gospels**
Lin(de)s-eye Psalter
 = **Robert de Lin(de)s-eye Psalter**
 London, SA: 59
Lindisfarne Annals
 Münster, WLMK: Msc. I. 243
Lindisfarne Gospels: see **Book of Lindisfarne**
Lisbon Bible [Hebrew]
 London, BL: Or. 2626-2628
 2) = **Cervera Bible**
 Lisboa, BN: Heb. 72
Litlington (Lytlington, Abbot) Missal
 London, WA: 37
Liutold Gospels
 Wien, ÖNB: 1244
Livinus, St., Gospels: see **Liéven, Sankt, Gospels**
Livre de la Chasse: see **Phébus, Gaston**
Livy
 a) **Charles V Livy [French]**
 Paris, BSG: 777
 b) **Codex Agennensis**
 London, BL: Harley 2493
 c) **Codex Mediceus**
 Firenze, BLaur: 63.19
 d) **Codex Puteanus**
 Paris, BN: lat. 5730
 e) **Melbourne Livy [French]**
 Melbourne, NG: Felton 3
Lobbes Bible
 Tournai, BGS: 1
Lobkovski Prologue [Slavonic]
 = **Paterikon of Zachary**
 Moscow, GIM: Khud. 187
Lochner, Stefan, Prayerbook [Dutch]
 Darmstadt, LH: 70
Lockhorst Bible [Flemish]
 London, BL: Add. 38122
Loisel Gospels
 Paris, BN: lat. 17968

- London Bede: see Bede c)
 London Hours of René of Anjou: see
 Anjou Hours
 London Orosius: see Orosius b)
 London Prudentius: see Prudentius a)
 London Psalter
 = Scandinavian Psalter
 London, BL: Add. 17868
 Longland, Bishop John, Benedictional
 London, BL: Add. 21974
 Loos Bible
 Lille, BM: 5
 Lorenzo de' Medici Hours
 München, SB: Clm 23639 (Cim. 42)
 2) = Clement VII Hours
 Firenze, BLaur: Ashb. 1874
 Lorsch Gospels: see Codex aureus d)
 Lorrão Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana g)
 Lothair Gospels
 = Codex aureus g)
 Paris, BN: lat. 266
 Lothair (I) Psalter
 London, BL: Add. 37768
 Lothair Sacramentary
 Padova, BC: D 47
 Lothian Bible
 New York, PM: M. 791
 Lothian Psalter: see Blickling Psalter
 Lotysh, George, Gospels [Slavonic]
 = Simonov Gospels
 Moscow, GBL: Rum. 256/105
 Louis de Giac Hours: see Giac Hours
 Louis de Laval Hours: see Laval Hours
 Louis de Mâle Breviary
 Bruxelles, BR: 512 (9427)
 Louis de Mâle Missal
 Bruxelles, BR: 455 (9217)
 Louis de Savoie Hours
 Paris, BN: lat. 9473
 Louis de Vallolet Pontifical
 Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 1375
 Louis d'Orléans Great Bible
 Paris, BA: 578-579
 Louis XVIII Hours
 Paris, BN: lat. 10539
 Louis le Débonnaire Gospels
 Paris, BN: lat. 9388
 Louis of Anjou Hours
 Cambridge, FM: 39-1950
 Louis XI of France Bible
 Paris, BN: lat. 25
 Louis, St., and Blanche of Castile Psalter:
 see Blanche of Castile Psalter
 Louis, St., Bible
 Paris, BN: lat. 10426
 2) [French]
 Paris, BN: fr. 16719-16722
 Louis, St., Missal
 Assisi, S Fran: Vetr. 16
 Louis, St., Psalter
 New York, PM: M. 72
 2) Paris, BN: lat. 10525
 Louis the German Psalter
 — Louis the Pious Psalter
 — Louis the Stammerer Psalter
 Berlin, SBPK: Theol. lat. fol. 58
 Louterell Psalter: see Luttrell Psalter
 Lovell Lectionary
 = Salisbury Lectionary
 = Siferwas Lectionary
 = Tichmersh, John, Lord Lovell, Lec-
 tionary
 London, BL: Harley 7026
 Loyseau, Étienne, Missal and Pontifical
 Bayeux, TCat: 61
 Lund Gospel Book
 København, KB: Thott 21 4^o
 Lundy, Andrew, Primer
 Edinburgh, NL: Dep. 221 # 5 (Aberdeen,
 BC: 5)
 Luttrell (Louterell) Psalter
 London, BL: Add. 42130
 Luxeuil Lectionary
 Paris, BN: lat. 9427
 Lyons Psalter
 Lyon, BM: 425 (351) + Paris, BN: nouv.
 acq. lat. 1585 (Pss 111:7-139:5)
 Lytlington, Abbot, Missal: see Litlyngton
 Missal
 MacDurnan Gospels: see Book of Mac-
 Durnan
 Maciejowski, (Cardinal), Bible
 = Shah Abbas Old Testament
 New York, PM: M. 638 + Paris, BN:
 nouv. acq. lat. 2294 (2 fols.) + Aachen,
 PL: I 6 (1 fol.)

- MacRegol Gospels: see Codex Rushworthianus
- Macro Plays [English]
Washington, D.C., FSL: V.a.3541
- Madrid Bible
Madrid, BN: 7-8 (olim Est. res. 1-2)
- Madrid Hours (by Master of Mary of Burgundy)
Madrid, BN: Tesoro E.XIV + Berlin, KK: 78 B 13 (Ham. 437) (20 fols.)
- Maeiel Brith Mac Durnan: see Book of MacDurnan
- Mael Brigid Gospels
— Maelbrigh(te) Gospels
= Marelbrid Gospels
London, BL: Harley 1802
- Maeseyck Gospels: see Anglo-Saxon Gospels
- Maestricht Hours
London, BL: Stowe 17
- Magliabecchiana Bible
Firenze, BN: Magl. XL 1
- Magnus Lagaböters Norske Landslov: see Codex Hardenbergensis
- Maidstone Bible
Maidstone, MM: P 5
- Maihingen Gospels
Harburg, FOWB: I.2.4° 2
- Mainerius of Canterbury Bible
Paris, BSG: 8-10
- Mainz Giant Bible
Washington, D.C., LC: Rosenwald 28
- Malkaraume, Jehan, Bible [French]
Paris, BN: fr. 903
- Malmédy Bible
Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 8557
- Malmesbury Prudentius: see Prudentius b)
- Malqé Gospels: see Mlk'e, Queen, Gospels
- Manerius Bible
Paris, BN: lat. 11534-11535
- Manesse, Rüdiger II, ms.: see Codex Manesse
- Manfred Bible
Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 36
- Marcellinus, St., Gospels
Ancona, AC: S.N.
- Marciana Gospels [Greek]
Venezia, BN: Zan. gr. 540 (557)
- Marco di Berlinghiero Bible
Lucca, BCF: 1
- Marcwardus Lectionary
Halberstadt, DB: 132
- Maréchal de Boucicau(l)t Hours: see Boucicau(l)t Hours
- Maréchal de Gié Prayerbook
New York, PM: M. 292
- Marelbrid Gospels: see Mael Brigid Gospels
- Margaret, Lady, Hours: see Beaufort, Lady Margaret, Hours
- Margaret of Cleves Hours
Lisboa, MCG: LA 148
- Margaret of Rodemachern Prayerbook
Weimar, ZB: Qu. 59
- Margaret of York Breviary: see Mary of Burgundy, Master of, Breviary
- Margaret, St., Gospels
Oxford, BL: Lat. liturg. f. 5
- Marginal psalters [Greek]
= Monastic psalters
a) Baltimore Marginal Psalter
Baltimore, WAG: W. 733
b) Barberini Psalter
Vaticano, BAV: Barb. gr. 372 (olim III.91; 217)
c) Bristol Psalter
London, BL: Add. 40731
d) Codex Parisiensis
Paris, BN: gr. 20
e) see Hamilton Psalter [Greek]
f) Khudoff Psalter
Moscow, GIM: Khud. 129-g
g) Pantocrator Psalter
Mount Athos, Pc: 61 + Leningrad, GPB: gr. 265 (4 fols.)
h) see Sinai Psalter 2)
i) Studion Psalter
= Theodore Psalter
London, BL: Add. 19352
j) see Vatican Psalter 2)
- Marguerite de Bar Breviary
= Verdun Breviary
London, BL: Yates Thompson 8 (olim Yates Thompson 31) (vol. 1) + Verdun, BM: 107 (vol. 2)

- Marguerite de Beaujeu Hours
= Saint-Omer Hours
New York, PM: M. 754 + London, BL: Add. 36684
- Marguerite de Bourgogne Psalter
Paris, BSG: 1273
- Marguerite de Clisson Hours
Paris, BN: lat. 10528
- Marguerite de Coëtivy Hours
Chantilly, MC: 74 (1088)
- Marguerite de Foix Hours
London, VAM: L. 2385-1910 (Salting 1222)
- Marguerite d'Orléans Hours
Paris, BN: lat. 1156B
- Maria van Vronensteyn Hours
Bruxelles, BR: II.7619
- Marie: see also Mary
- Marie de Rieux Hours: see Anne de Bretagne Hours 2)
- Marie de Savoie Breviary: see Amédée VIII de Savoie Breviary
- Mariun, Queen, Gospels [Armenian]
Jerusalem, APG: 1973
- Marmion, Simon, Hours
London, VAM: L. 2384-1910 (Salting 1221)
- Marmoutier Gospels (E)
London, BL: Egerton 609
- Marmoutier Sacramentary
= Raganaldus Sacramentary
Autun, BM: 19 bis
- Marshal Oshin Gospels [Armenian]
New York, PM: M. 740
- Martin II of Sicily and Aragon Breviary
= Rey Martin Breviary
Paris, BN: Rothschild 2529
- Marturi Psalter
= San Michele a Marturi Psalter
Firenze, BLaur: 17.3
- Marvels of the East
London, BL: Cotton Tiberius B.v
- Mary de Bohun Hours: see Bohun mss. g)
- Mary of Burgundy Hours
Berlin, KK: 78 B 12 (Ham. 315)
2) see Charles the Rash Hours
- Mary of Burgundy, Master of, Breviary
= Margaret of York Breviary
Cambridge, SJC: 215 (H.13)
- 2) Wien, ÖNB: 1988
3) Oxford, BL: Douce 223
- Mary of Guelders Prayerbook [Dutch]
Berlin, SBPK: Germ. qu. 42
- Mary, Queen, Psalter
London, BL: Royal 2.B.vii
- Mary, Queen of Scots, Hours
Manchester, JR: Lat. 21
- Mathilda, Countess of Tuscany, Gospels
New York, PM: M. 492
- Mathurin Breviary and Missal
Paris, BN: lat. 1022
- Matteo, Abbot of Planisio, Hours
Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 2550
- Matthew, St., Gospel
Boulogne, BM: 12
- Maugier Bible
Paris, BSG: 1180
- Maximilian I Prayerbook
Wien, ÖNB: 1907
- Maximilian Schoolbook
Wien, ÖNB: Ser. n. 2617
- Mayer van den Bergh Breviary: see Antwerp Breviary
- Mazarine Bible: see Châteauroux, Pierre de, Glossed Bible
- Mecklenburg Chronicle
Schwerin, ML: 376
- Medallion Portraits [Greek]
Milano, BA: E 37 sup.
- Melbourne Livy: see Livy e)
- Melec, Juan, Missal
Barcelona, ACA: Sant Cugat 14
- Melissenda, Queen, Psalter
London, BL: Egerton 1139
- Melitene Gospels [Armenian]
Yerevan, Mat: 326G
- Melreth, William, Missal
London, BL: Arundel 109
- Menault de la Salle Hours
Reims, BM: 359
- Menologion of Basil II: see Basil II Menologion
- Me(o)pham Psalter
= Simon Me(o)pham Psalter
London, SC: Arc. L.40.2/L.2
- Merino, Cardinal Esteban, Pontifical
Madrid, BN: 10175

- Meschede Gospels: see Hitda von Meschede Gospels
- Mesrop New Testament [Armenian]
London, BL: Add. 18549
- Metz Pontifical
= Renaud de Bar Pontifical
Cambridge, FM: 298
- Metz Sacramentary: see Coronation Sacramentary
- Michelino da Besozzo Prayerbook: see Bodmer Hours
- Middleton Leaves: see Bible of Ceolfrid Pandects
- Milan Cicero: see Cicero d)
- Milan Hours: see Berry, Jean, duc de f)
- Milan Orosius: see Orosius c)
- Milan Terence: see Terence a)
- Milanese Pontifical (of the Master of the *Vitae imperatorum*)
Cambridge, FM: 28
- Mildenfurt Bible
Jena, UB: El. fol. 12
- Miliata Gospels: see Domka Gospels
- Millar Bible
London, BL: Add. 54325
- Millar Hours
San Marino, HL: HM 19913
- Millstatt Genesis
Klagenfurt, KL: VI.19
- Minnesinger ms.: see Codex Manesse
- Missale Francorum
Vaticano, BAV: Reg. lat. 257
- Gallicanum Vetus
Vaticano, BAV: Pal. lat. 493
- Gothicum: see Gallican Sacramentary
- Mlk'e, Queen, Gospels [Armenian]
= Malqé Gospels
Venezia, SL: 1144/86
- Moissac-Agen Gospel Book: see Codex Colbertinus
- Molé, Claude, Hours
New York, PM: M. 356
- Moling, Book of: see Book of Mulling
- Monastic psalters: see Marginal psalters
- Mondsee Gospels
Baltimore, WAG: W. 8
- Monreale Gospels
Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 42
- Mont Saint Éloi Bible
Boulogne, BM: 4
- Mont Saint Éloi Missal
Arras, BM: 38 (58)
- Mont Saint Michel Missal-Sacramentary
New York, PM: M. 641 + Rouen, BM: suppl. 116 (Mme 15)
- Montalcino Bible
Montalcino, BC: S.N.
- Montecassino Exultet Rolls: see Exultet rolls g)
- Montecassino Psalter
London, BL: Add. 18859
- Montiéramey Breviary
Paris, BN: lat. 796
- Montmorency Hours: see Anne de Montmorency Hours
- Montpellier Bible
London, BL: Harley 4772
- Moore Bede: see Bede d)
- Moralia in Job*: see Gregory I, the Great
- Morgan Armenian Lectionary [Armenian]
New York, PM: M. 803
- Morgan Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana s)
- Morgan Bestiary
= Workshop Bestiary
New York, PM: M. 81
- Morgan Golden Gospels: see Golden Latin Gospels of Henry VIII
- Morgan Sacramentary
New York, PM: M. 737
- Morimondo Bible
Como, SM: (IX-5) and 2 (X-6)
- Morin d'Arfeuille Hours
Chantilly, MC: 79 (1397)
- Morosini Hours
Chantilly, MC: 83 (1385)
- Mortuary rolls
- Amphilissa, Prioress of Lillechurch
Cambridge, SJC: N
 - Lucy, Prioress of St. Cross and St. Mary, Hengham
London, BL: Egerton 2849
 - Sconincx, Elizabeth
Manchester, JR: Lat. 114 (Crawford 131)
 - Thorney, Ralph, Abbot
London, BL: Royal 15.A.x*

- Moshe Ben Asher Prophet Codex: see Cairo Prophets
- Mostyn Gospels
New York, PM: M. 777
- Mount Horeb Gospels [Greek]
Mount Sinai, SCM: gr. 213
- Moutier-Grandval Bible: see Codex Carolinus Grandivallensis
- Mstislav Gospels [Slavonic]
Moscow, GIM: Syn. 1203
- Mugellano, (San Francesco in Agro), Bible
Firenze, BLaur: Mugell. 1
2) Firenze, BLaur: Mugell. 2
- Mughni Gospels [Armenian]
Yerevan, Mat: 7736
- Mulling, St., Gospels: see Book of Mulling
- Munich Giant Bible: see Hirsau Bible
- Muratori Fragment
Milano, BA: S.P. 3 (olim I 101 sup.)
- Mush Homiliary [Armenian]
Yerevan, Mat: 7729
- Naḥum Bible [Hebrew]
Jerusalem, NUL: Heb. 8° 5147
- Naples Dioscorides: see Dioscorides f)
- Naples Virgil: see Virgil g)
- Nekcsei-Lipócz Bible: see Demeter Nekcsei-Lipócz Bible
- Nepos
a) Codex Danielis
= Codex Gifanius
Now lost.
b) Codex Parcensis
Destroyed 1914; collation preserved in printed book (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität: Nach. K. L. Roth. Nr. 3).
- Nequam Book
Soest, SA: S.N.
- Nevers Gospels
London, BL: Add. 11848
- Nevill(e) Hours
Paris, BN: lat. 1158
- New Minster Charter of Edward I
— New Minster Charter of 966
London, BL: Cotton Vespasian A.viii
- New Minster Gospels: see Grimbold Gospels
- New Minster Liber Vitae: see Liber Vitae b)
- New York Bible: see Pamplona Bible 2)
- New York Haggadah, First [Hebrew]
New York, JTS: Acc. 75048
- New York Haggadah, Second [Hebrew]
New York, JTS: Acc. 01802
- Nicander
a) Paris *Theriaca* [Greek]
Paris, BN: suppl. gr. 247
- Niccolò III d'Este Bible: see Barberini Bible
- Nicolas de Livry Pontifical
Paris, BA: 169
- Nicolas de Pellevé Pontifical
Paris, BN: lat. 1434
- Nicolas le Camus Hours
Chantilly, MC: 81 (1057)
- Niedermünster Gospel Book: see Codex Tuota
- Noailles Gospels: see Charles the Bald Gospels
- Norwich Breviary
= Stowe Breviary
London, BL: Stowe 12
- Notger Gospels
Liège, MC: 12/1
- Novem Codices⁷
- Nowell Codex: see Beowulf a)
- Nuneaton Book
Cambridge, FM: McClean 123
- Nuremberg Haggadah I, II [Hebrew]
Jerusalem, SL: 24086, 24087
- Nuremberg Mahzor [Hebrew]
Jerusalem, SL: 24100
- Oath Gospels
Princeton, SLP: Scheide 66

⁷ A nine-volume Bible described by Cassiodorus (*Institutiones*, praef. 8) and no longer extant.

- Odalric Psalter
Reims, BM: 15 (A.20)
- Odalricus Peccator Lectionary
London, BL: Harley 2970
- Odbert (Otbert), Abbot, Gospels: see Saint Bertin Gospels 2)
- Odbert (Otbert), Abbot, Psalter
= Saint Bertin Psalter
Boulogne, BM: 20
- Oderisius, Abbot, Breviary
Paris, BM: 364
- Odon de Montaigu Pontifical
Paris, BN: lat. 962
- O'Gara ms. [Irish]
Dublin, RIA: 2 (23 F 16)
- Olivetana Bible
Napoli, BN: VI AA 21
- Olivier de Coëtivy and Marie de Valois
Hours: see Coëtivy, Olivier de, Hours
- Onezhskaya Psalter [Slavonic]
Moscow, GIM: Muz. 4040
- Order of the Golden Fleece Statutes
London, BL: Harley 6199
- Ormesby Psalter
Oxford, BL: Douce 366
- Orosius
a) Lauderdale Orosius
= Tollemache Orosius
London, BL: Add. 47967 (olim Helmingham Hall 46)
b) London Orosius
London, BL: Cotton Tiberius B.i
c) Milan Orosius
Milano, BA: D 23 sup.
- Oscott Psalter
London, BL: Add. 50000 + Add. 54215
(= Ampleforth Leaf)
- Osma Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana c)
- Ostromir(ov) Gospels [Slavonic]
Leningrad, GPB: Fp I.5
- Ostrov Psalter
Praha, KMK: A 57/1
- Otbert: see Odbert
- Otto Gospel Book: see Aix Gospels
- Otto III Gospels: see Bamberg Lectionary
2) = Trier Gospels
Manchester, JR: Lat. 98
- Otto III Prayerbook
Pommersfelden, GSB: 347 (olim Count Schönborn 2940)
- Otto von Riet(d)enburg Pontifical
Paris, BN: lat. 1231
- Ottobeuren Collectar
London, BL: Yates Thompson 2
- Ovid
a) Fragmentum Ilfeldense (*Fasti*)
Cologne-Genève, BB: Cod. Bodmer 123
- Owl and Nightingale ms. [English]
Oxford, JC: 29
- Oxford Bede: see Bede e)
- Oxford Bible Moralisée: see Bible moralisée b)
- Padua Picture Bible
Rovigo, BAC: Concordiano 212
- Palatine Giant Bible
Vaticano, BAV: Pal. lat. 3-5
- Pa(u)lc(k)ovič Missal
Esztergom, FK: I.20
- Pallavicini, Charles, Pontifical
Paris, BSG: 147
- Pamplona Bible
= Sancho, King, Bible
— Sancho, Rey, el Fuerte de Navarra, Bible
Amiens, BM: 108
2) = New York Bible
New York, NYPL: Spencer 22
- Pamplona, Second, Bible: see Harburg Bible
- Pandecta Iustiniani: see Justinian a)
- Panteleimon Gospels [Slavonic]
= Toshinich Gospels
Leningrad, GPB: Soph. 1
- Panteleimon Lectionary [Greek]
Mount Athos, PL: 2
- Pantheon Bible: see Codex Italicus
- Pantocrator Psalter: see Aristocratic psalters b) and Marginal psalters g)
- Paris Apocalypse [French]
Paris, BN: fr. 403
- Paris Gospels (after Leofric Gospels)
Paris, BN: lat. 14782

- Paris Greek Gospels [Greek]
 Paris, BN: gr. 115
 2) Paris, BN: gr. 64
 3) Paris, BN: gr. 74
- Paris Hours of René of Anjou: see René of Anjou Hours 3)
- Paris Pentateuch [Hebrew]
 Paris, BN: hébr. 36
- Paris Psalter [Latin and English]
 Paris, BN: lat. 8824
 2) [Latin] (copy of Utrecht Psalter)
 Paris, BN: lat. 8846 (olim suppl. lat. 1194)
 3) [Greek]
 Paris, BN: gr. 139
- Paris Terence: see Terence e)
- Paris *Theriaca*: see Nicander a)
- Park Bible
 London, BL: Add. 14788-14790
- Parker Chronicle and Laws [English]
 Cambridge, CCC: 173
- Parma Bible [Hebrew]
 Parma, BP: Parm. 3286-3287
 2) [Latin]
 Parma, BP: Palat. 386
- Parma Gospels [Greek]
 Parma, BP: Palat. 5
- Parma Pentateuch [Hebrew]
 Parma, BP: Parm. 3289
- Paterikon of Zachary: see Lobkovski Prologue
- Paul III, Pope, Psalter
 Paris, BN: lat. 8880
- Paulković Missal: see Palcović Missal
- Payne, Wyndeham, Crucifixion
 London, BL: Add. 58078
- Pedro de Luna Pontifical
 Paris, BN: lat. 968
- Peirsac Watercolors (of Cotton Genesis):
 see Codex Cottonianus Geneseos
- Pellessier, Guillaume, Pontifical
 = Jacques de Luciis and Jean Burchard
 Pontifical
 Carpentras, BM: 95
 2) Paris, BN: lat. 979
- Pembroke Gospels
 Cambridge, PC: 120
- Pentateuch, Hebrew-Persian [Hebrew and Persian]
 Vaticano, BAV: Vat. pers. 61
- Persius
 a) Codex Pithoeanus
 Montpellier, BIM: 125
- Perugia Atlantic (Giant) Bible
 Perugia, BCA: L 59
- Petau, Alexandre, Hours
 Gent, BR: 234
- Peter II, Duke of Brittany, Hours
 Paris, BN: lat. 1159
- Peterborough Psalter
 Cambridge, FM: 12
 2) see Gaucelin d'Euse Psalter
- Peterhausen Sacramentary
 Heidelberg, UB: Sal. IXb
- Peterson, Claes, Dutch Bible: see Dutch Bible of 1431
- Petrarch's Virgil: see Virgil h)
- Petronius
 a) Codex Traguriensis
 Paris, BN: lat. 7989
- Petrus Clericus Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana c)
- Peutinger Table
 Wien, ÖNB: 324
- Phébus, Gaston
 a) Livre de la Chasse [French]
 Paris, BN: fr. 616
- Philip: see also Philippe
- Philip the Bold Hours
 Cambridge, FM: 3-1954
 2) Bruxelles, BR: 821 (11035-7)
- Philip the Fair Bible
 Paris, BN: lat. 248
- Philip the Fair Breviary
 Paris, BN: lat. 1023
- Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, Breviary
 Bruxelles, BR: 516 (9511, 9026)
- Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, Hours
 's-Gravenhage, KB: 76 F 2
 2) = Bonaparte, Joseph, Hours
 Paris, BN: lat. 10538
- Philippa, Queen, Psalter
 London, BL: Harley 2899

- Philippe de Béthune Hours
Chantilly, MC: 70 (1457)
- Philippe de Clèves Hours
Bruxelles, BR: IV.40
- Philippe de Lévis Breviary/Pontifical
Poitiers, BM: 822
- Philippe de Rosenberg Pontifical
Paris, BN: lat. 9483
- Philippe du Bec Pontifical
Vannes, BM: 2
- Phocas Lectionary [Greek]
= Skevophylakian Lectionary
Mount Athos, Sk: S.N.
- Picardy Psalter
Paris, BN: lat. 10435
- Pierre de Châteauroux Glossed Bible: see
Châteauroux, Pierre de, Glossed Bible
- Pierre de Saint Martial Pontifical
Paris, BSG: 143
- Pierre de Trégny Pontifical
Paris, BSG: 148
- Pinon, Laurent, Pontifical
Paris, BN: lat. 1222
- Pisa Bible: see Calci (Atlantic/Giant) Bible
- Plautus
a) Ambrosian Plautus
Milano, BA: S.P. 9 (olim G 82 sup.)
- Playfair Hours
London, VAM: L. 475-1918
- Pliny the Younger
a) Codex Bellovacensis
Firenze, BLaur: Ashb. 98
- Pluteus Bible
Firenze, BLaur: 15.13
- Pogodin Paterikon [Slavonic]
Leningrad, GPB: Pogod. 59
- Poitou Psalter
Paris, BN: lat. 1075
- Polirone Psalter
Mantova, BC: C III 20
- Poncher, Étienne, Pontifical
Paris, BN: lat. 956
2) Paris, BN: lat. 957
- Pottenberg Missal
Budapest, OSK: c.1.m.ae 222
- Poussay Gospels
Paris, BN: lat. 10514
- Prague Missal
Zittau, SCW: A.VII
- Prato (Giant) Bible
= Roncioniana (Giant) Bible
Prato, BR: Q VIII 1
- Prestesaille, Macé, Hours
Paris, BN: lat. 1179
- Prudentius
a) London Prudentius
London, BL: Cotton Cleopatra C.viii
b) Malmesbury Prudentius
Cambridge, CCC: 23
c) Saint Albans Prudentius
London, BL: Cotton Titus D.xvi
- Prüm Gospels
Berlin, SBPK: Theol. lat. fol. 733
- Prüm Lectionary
Manchester, JR: Lat. 7
- Psaulme, Nicolas, Pontifical
Verdun, BM: 91
- Pucelle Hours: see Jeanne d'Évreux Hours
- Pudsey Bible: see Hugh du Puiset Bible
- Purple Codices/mss.: see Codex purpureus
- Quedlinburg Gospels
= Wernigerode Gospels
New York, PM: M. 755
- Quedlinburg Itala: see Itala of Quedlinburg
- Queen: see under proper names
- Queen of Sweden Hours
Madrid, BN: Res. 191 (olim Tol. 34.55)
- Rab(b)ula Gospels [Syriac]
Firenze, BLaur: 1.56
- Radoslav Gospels [Slavonic]
Leningrad, GPB: F.1.591
- Radul Gospels [Romanian]
London, BL: Harley 6311B
- Raganaldus Sacramentary: see Marmoutier Sacramentary
- Raguenel, Jeanne, Hours
Cambridge, FM: 60
- Ramsay Psalter
Edinburgh, NL: Adv. 18.8.8
- Ramsey Benedictinal
Paris, BN: lat. 987

- Ramsey Psalter: see Harley Psalter 2)
 Ramshofen Gospels
 Oxford, BL: Canon. Bibl. Lat. 60
 Ranworth Antiphoner
 Ranworth (Norwich), RC: S.N.
 Raoul de Presles Bible [French]
 Paris, BN: fr. 20065
 Ratisbon Gospels: see Henry II Gospels
 Ratisbon ms. [Irish]
 Glasgow, UL: Gen. 21
 Reconstructed Carmelite Missal: see Carmelite Missal, Reconstructed
 Red Book (Liber Rubeus) of Bath
 Warminster, LBA: 55
 — Darleye (Darbye)
 Cambridge, CCC: 422
 — Eye
 Cambridge, CCC: 197B (fols. 1-36) (olim pp. 245-316) + London, BL: Cotton Otho C.v
 — Hengest
 Oxford, JC: 111
 — Ossory
 Kilkenny, EP: S.N.
 — Thorney Abbey
 Cambridge, UL: Add. 3020-3021
 Redon Bible: see Bordeaux Bible
 Regensburg Golden Gospels: see Codex aureus e)
 Regensburg Pentateuch [Hebrew]
 Jerusalem, IM: 180/52
 Regina Bible: see Leo Bible 2)
 Reichenau Gospels
 Berlin, KK: 78 A 2
 2) Baltimore, WAG: W. 7
 3) Vaticano, BAV: Barb. lat. 711
 Reid, Chancellor, Psalter
 Edinburgh, UL: 56 (D.b.III.8)
 Reims Gospel Book
 = Saint Remi Gospels
 = Codex aureus g)
 New York, PM: M. 728
 Reims Pontifical
 Rouen, BM: 370 (A.34)
 Reinald IV of Guelders Breviary: see Egmond Breviary
 Renalt: see Reynalt
 Renaud de Bar Missal
 = Verdun Missal
 Verdun, BM: 98
 Renaud de Bar Pontifical: see Metz Pontifical
 René II de Lorraine Breviary
 Paris, BA: 601
 2) Paris, BN: lat. 10491
 René of Anjou Hours
 Paris, BN: lat. 17352
 2) London Hours: see Anjou Hours
 3) Paris Hours
 Paris, BN: lat. 1156A
 Renée de Bourbon Ritual and Ceremonial [French]
 Chantilly, MC: 48 (1605)
 Reuchlin Bible [Hebrew]
 Karlsruhe, BLB: Reuchlin 1
 Reun Model Book
 Wien, ÖNB: 507
 Reynalt von Homoet Hours
 = Sophia von Bylant Hours
 Köln, WRM: 1961/32
 Rheinau Psalter
 Zürich, ZB: Rh. 167
 Rica Bible: see Bible moralisée c)
 Riccardiana Psalter: see Isabel, Empress, Psalter
 Ricemarch Psalter
 Dublin, TC: 50 (A.4.20)
 Richard II Great Bible
 London, BL: Royal 1.E.ix
 Richard III Hours
 London, LPL: 474
 Richard of Canterbury Psalter
 New York, PM: G. 53
 Rico de Cisneros Missal
 Madrid, BN: 1540-1546 (olim Vitr. 19.8, 1.15, Res. 3a, 7 and Toledo, BC: 52.16.34-1; 52.77.34-2; 52.16-22)
 Riddagshausen Gospels
 = Sankt Ägidien Gospels
 Braunschweig, HAUM: MA 55
 Ripoll Bible: see Farfa Bible
 Robert, Archbishop, Benedictional: see Jumièges, Robert de, Benedictional and Pontifical

- Robert de Bello Bible
London, BL: Burney 3
- Robert de Billyng Bible: see Billyng,
Robert de, Bible
- Robert de Lindseye Glossed Psalter (and
Hours)
Cambridge, SJC: 81 (D.6)
- Robert de Lin(de)sseye Psalter: see
Lin(de)sseye Psalter
- Robert de Lisle Psalter: see De Lisle
Psalter
- Robert de Molesme Psalter
Dijon, BM: 30 (12)
- Robert of Jumièges Missal: see Guthlac,
St., Missal (Sacramentary)
- Robinet d'Étampes Hours: see Berry,
Jean, duc de f)
- Rochester Bible
London, BL: Royal 1.C.vii + Baltimore,
WAG: W. 18 (N. T. portion)
- Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament
[Greek]
Chicago, UC: 965 (BS 1903 A2R6
1394408)
- Roda Bible: see Codex Rodensis
- Rodradus Sacramentary
Paris, BN: lat. 12050
- Rogers Album
London, BL: Add. 21412
- Rohan Hours
— Grandes heures de Rohan
Paris, BN: lat. 9471
- Rolin, Cardinal Jean, d'Autun, Missal
Lyon, BM: 517 (436 bis)
2) Autun, BM: 131 (S.108A)
- Rolinkhusen Gospels
Manchester, JR: Lat. 172
- Rolle, Richard, Psalter
Oxford, BL: Bodley 953
- Rollin Hours
Madrid, BN: Res. 149
- Roncesvalles Beatus: see Beatus of Lié-
bana u)
- Roncioniana (Giant) Bible: see Prato
(Giant) Bible
- Rorigon Bible: see Codex Rorigonis
- Rosas Bible: see Codex Rodensis
- Roselli, Cardinal Niccolò, Missal
Torino, BN: D I 21
- Roslin Gospels: see T'oros Roslin Gospels
- Roslyn Missal
Edinburgh, NL: Adv. 18.5.19 (olim
A.6.12)
- Roslyn Testament
Oxford, BL: Fairfax 11
- Rossano Gospels: see Codex Rossanensis
- Rossiana Bible
Vaticano, BAV: Ross. 255
- Rothschild Hours
Wien, ÖNB: Ser. n. 2844
- Rothschild Miscellany [Hebrew]
Jerusalem, IM: 180/51
- Rothschild Siddur [Hebrew]
New York, JTS: Acc. 03225
- Rovere, Cardinal Domenico della, Ponti-
fical: see Della Rovere, Cardinal Dome-
nico, Pontifical
- Royal Psalter: see Blanche of Castile
Psalter
- Rushworth Gospels: see Codex Rushwor-
thianus
- Ruskin Bible
Edinburgh, NL: Adv. 1.1.1
- Ruskin Hours
Aachen, BL: IX 3 (olim Ruskin 34 and
Beatty 64)
- Russian Psalter of 1397 [Greek]
Leningrad, GPB: 1252 F vi
- Ruzhin, Rabbi of, Siddur [Hebrew]
Jerusalem, IM: 180/53
- Rylands Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana p)
- Rylands Spanish Haggadah [Hebrew]
Manchester, JR: Heb. 6
- Sacra parallela: see John Damascene a)
- Saga ms. [Icelandic]
København, KB: Gl. kg1. Saml. 2845 4°
- Saint Albans Josephus: see Josephus b)
- Albans Mass Book
Oxford, BL: Rawl. liturg. c. 1
- Albans Prudentius: see Prudentius
c)
- Albans Psalter: see Albani Psalter

Saint Amand Gospels

- Valenciennes, BM: 69 (62)
- André au Bois Bible
- Boulogne, BM: 2
- Andronicus Monastery Gospels [Slavonic]
- Moscow, GIM: Eparch. 436
- Anthony of Rome Missal [Slavonic]
- Moscow, GIM: Syn. 605
- Anthony on the River Siya Gospels [Slavonic]
- = Siisky Gospels
- Leningrad, BAN: Arkh. Kom. 189
- Augustine of Canterbury Psalter
- = Vespasian Psalter
- London, BL: Cotton Vespasian A.i
- Bavo Missal (Sacramentary)
- London, BL: Add. 16949
- Bénigne Bible
- Dijon, BM: 2 (2)
- Bertin Bible
- 's-Gravenhage, KB: 76 F 5
- 2) = Troyes Bible
- Paris, BN: lat. 16743-16746
- Bertin Gospels
- = Boulogne Gospels
- Boulogne, BM: 11
- 2) = Odbert (Otbert), Abbot, Gospels
- New York, PM: M. 333
- Bertin Psalter: see Odbert (Otbert), Abbot, Psalter
- Corneille Bible
- Paris, BN: lat. 16748-16749
- Corneille Missal
- Paris, BN: lat. 16824
- 2) Paris, BN: lat. 17318
- 3) Paris, BN: lat. 17319
- Demetrius Gospels [Greek]
- London, BL: Add. 11838
- Denis Missal
- London, VAM: L. 1346-1891
- 2) Paris, BN: lat. 9436
- 3) Paris, BN: lat. 1107
- 4) Paris, BM: 414
- Denis Sacramentary
- Paris, BN: lat. 2290
- Éloi Scroll
- Paris, MC: D 7075

Saint Étienne (at Limoges) Sacramentary:
see Limoges Sacramentary

- Frambourg de Senlis Gospels
- Paris, BSG: 1190
- Gation of Tours Gospels
- Paris, BN: nouv. acq. lat. 1587
- Géréon Sacramentary
- Paris, BN: lat. 817
- Germain Bible: see Codex Sangermanensis I
- Germain Psalter
- = Codex aureus g)
- = Codex purpureus c)
- Paris, BN: lat. 11947
- Germain des Prés Gospels
- Leningrad, GPB: lat. F.v.I.8
- Germain des Prés Martyrology
- Paris, BN: lat. 12833
- Germans in Cornwall Pontifical: see Lanalet Pontifical
- Hubert Old Testament
- Bruxelles, BR: 36 (II.1639) + Namur, MA: Ville 4
- Jean des Vignes Bible
- Soissons, BM: 63 (55)
- Laurent à Liège Gospels
- Bruxelles, BR: 463 (18383)
- Livinus Gospels: see Liévin, Sankt, Gospels
- Loup Pontifical
- Troyes, TCat: 4
- Magloire Missal
- Paris, BA: 623
- Malo Pontifical: see Lanalet Pontifical
- Martial Lectionary
- Paris, BN: lat. 5301
- Martial of Limoges First Bible
- Paris, BN: lat. 5
- Martial of Limoges Second Bible
- Paris, BN: lat. 8
- Martin des Champs Bible
- Paris, BM: 38-39
- Martin des Champs Gospels: see Charlemagne Gospels 2)
- Maur des Fossés Bible: see Codex Rorionis

- Saint Maur Glossed Bible
 Paris, BN: lat. 11543-11547
 — Maur Lectionary
 Paris, BN: lat. 12066, 12068
 — Maur Missal
 Paris, BN: lat. 12054 and lat. 13247
 — Médard (de Soissons) Gospel Book
 = Soissons Codex Aureus
 = Codex aureus g)
 Paris, BN: lat. 8850
 — Neots, Annals of: see Annals of Saint Neots
 — Nicaise Missal
 Reims, BM: 230 (C.138)
 — Omer Hours: see Marguerite de Beaujeu Hours
 — Omer Psalter
 London, BL: Yates Thompson 14 (olim Add. 39810)
 — Ouen Psalter
 Rouen, BM: 24 (A.41)
 — Peter Antiphony
 Wien, ÖNB: Ser. n. 2700
 — Peter Gospels
 New York, PM: M. 781 (olim Salzburg, SP: a.X.6)
 — Peter of Roda Bible: see Codex Rodensis
 — Petersburg Prophets: see Leningrad Prophets of 916
 — Petroc Gospels: see Bodmin Gospels
 — Pierre de Vierzon Pontifical
 Paris, BA: 227
 — Pol Hours [Latin and French]
 London, BL: Egerton 2045
 — Quentin Rotulus
 Bruxelles, BR: 3366 (II.3189)
 — Remi Gospels: see Reims Gospel Book
 — Riquier Gospel Book: see Abbeville Golden Gospels
 — Sab(b)a (Monastery) Gospels [Greek]
 London, BL: Add. 39591 (olim Parham, Library Zouche 72)
 — Sauveur of Redon Bible: see Bordeaux Bible
 — Saviour Gospel of 1475 [Armenian]
 Jerusalem, APG: 1943
- Saint Sever Apocalypse: see Beatus of Liébana t)
 — Swithin Psalter: see Henry of Blois Psalter
 — Thierry Gospels
 Reims, BM: 7 (A.26)
 — Thierry Sacramentary
 Reims, BM: 213 (E.320)
 2) Reims, BM: 214 (F.418)
 — Trond Lectionary
 New York, PM: M. 883
 — Ursanne Gospel Book
 Porrentruy, BEC: 2
 — Vaast d'Arras Bible: see Arras Bible
 — Vaast d'Arras Lectionary
 Arras, BM: 1045 (233)
 — Vaast d'Arras Missal
 Arras, BM: 49 (94)
 — Victor Bible
 Paris, BN: lat. 14234-14237
 2) Paris, BN: lat. 14397
 — Victor Gradual
 Paris, BN: lat. 14452
 — Victor in Xanten Gospels
 = Xanten Gospels
 Bruxelles, BR: 462 (18723)
 — Vitus Gospel Book
 Praha, KMK: Cim. 3
 — Yrieix Gradual
 Paris, BN: lat. 903
- Sainte Chapelle Gospels
 Paris, BN: lat. 8851
 — Chapelle Lectionary
 Paris, BN: lat. 8892
 2) Paris, BN: lat. 9455
 — Chapelle Missal
 Bruxelles, BR: 443 (9125)
 — Croix of Poitiers Gospels
 Poitiers, BM: 17 (65)
- Saints Martin and Elphidius Gospels: see Cologne Gospels
 Salaberga, Abbess, Psalter
 Berlin, DSB: Hamilton 553
 Salernskoe Gospels [Greek]
 Leningrad, GPB: gr. 71
 Salisbury Breviary: see Bedford Breviary
 Salisbury Lectionary: see Lovell Lectionary

Salisbury Psalter

Salisbury, CL: 150

Saluces Hours: see Amédée de Saluces Hours

Salvin Hours: see Beatty, Chester, Hours

Salzburg Missal: see Bernhard von Rohr Missal

Samaritan Pentateuch

London, BL: Cotton Claudius B.viii

San Andrés de Arroyo Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana v)

San Callisto Bible: see Charles the Fat Bible

— Daniele del Friuli Bible

San Daniele del Friuli, BCG: Guarner. 1, 2

— Facundo Missal

Madrid, BN: Vitr. 20.8

— Francesco in Agro Mugellano Bible: see Mugellano, (San Francesco in Agro), Bible

— Isidoro Bible: see Bible of 960 (in Spain)

— Isidoro de León Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana m)

— Isidoro de León Breviary

León, CSI: 36

— Isidoro de León Processional

León, CSI: 66

— Luis Bible: see Bible moralisée c)

— Michele a Marturi Psalter: see Marturi Psalter

— Millán Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana l)

— Millán de la Cogolla Bible

Madrid, AH: Aemil. 20

— Millán de la Cogolla Missal

Madrid, AH: Aemil. 18

— Paolo a Ripa d'Arno Psalter

Firenze, BLaur: Acq. e doni 181

— Paolo (fuori le Mura) (Giant) Bible: see Charles the Fat Bible

— Pedro de Cardeña Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana o)

— Romolo Bible

Firenze, BLaur: Aedil. 124

— Salvador de Tábara (Távora) Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana k)

San Salvatore a Settimo Lectionary

= Sessorian Lectionary

Roma, BN: Sessor. 6

— Vincenzo al Volturno Gospels: see Codex Beneventanus

Sancho, King, Bible: see Pamplona Bible

Sancta Maria ad Martyres Bible: see Codex Italicus

Sancta Maria in Vineis Bible

Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 10404

Sankt Ägidien Gospels: see Riddagshausen Gospels

— Gangolph Missal: see Dietrich von Erbach, (Archbishop of Mainz), Missal

— Kastor in Koblenz Bible: see Koblenz Bible

— Katherinenthal Gradual

Zürich, SL: LM 26117

Santa Cecilia (in Trastevere) Bible

Vaticano, BAV: Barb. lat. 587

— Cecilia Gospel Book

Firenze, BLaur: 17.27

— Croce Breviary

London, BL: Add. 29735

— Felicità di Firenze Missal

Firenze, BLaur: Conv. soppr. 233

— Maria de Carracedo Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana c)

— Maria de Ripoll Bible: see Farfa Bible

— Maria degli Angeli Homiliary

Firenze, BLaur: Conv. soppr. 631

— Maria del Fiore Bible

Firenze, BLaur: Aedil. 125, 126

— Maria Rotonda Bible: see Codex Italicus

Santo Domingo de Silos Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana i)

Sarajevo Haggadah [Hebrew]

Sarajevo, ZM: S.N.

Sargis Picak Bible [Armenian]

Venezia, SL: 1508/1

Sassoon Spanish Haggadah [Hebrew]

Jerusalem, IM: 181/41 (olim Sassoon 514)

Savoy Hours

Torino, BN: E V 49 [destroyed by fire 1904]

- 2) = Jeanne de Savoie Hours
Paris, MJA: 254
- Sawalo Bible
Valenciennes, BM: 1-5 (1)
- Scandinavian Psalter: see London Psalter
- Scarðsbók [Icelandic]
København, AI: AM 350 2º
- Schäftlarn Gospels
München, SB: Clm 17011
- Schatzkammer Gospels: see Charlemagne Gospels
- Schedae Vaticanae: see Virgil f)
- Schlackenwerth Legend of Hedwig: see Hedwig Codex
- Schloss Pommersfelden Bible: see Coblenz Bible
- Schocken Bible [Hebrew]
Jerusalem, SL: 14840
- Schocken Italian Mahzor [Hebrew]
Jerusalem, SL: 13873
- Scone Antiphoner
Edinburgh, NL: Adv. 5.1.15
- Scylitzes, John
a) *Chronicle* [Greek]
Madrid, BN: Vit. 26.2 (olim Gr. 5.3.N.2)
- Second Cincinnati Haggadah: see Cincinnati Haggadah, Second
- Second Constantine Gospel: see Constantine Gospel, Second
- Second Gaster Bible: see Gaster Bible, Second
- Second Leningrad Bible: see Leningrad Bible, Second
- Second New York Haggadah: see New York Haggadah, Second
- Second Nuremberg Haggadah: see Nuremberg Haggadah
- Second Prince Vasak Gospels: see Vasak, Prince, Gospels 2)
- Second Vatican Octateuch: see Vatican Octateuch 2)
- Second Winchester Bible: see Winchester Bible 2)
- Sedlec Antiphonary
Praha, SK: XIII A 6
- Séguier Hours
Chantilly, MC: 82 (1400)
- Seitenstetten Gospels
New York, PM: M. 808
- Seitenstetten Missal
New York, PM: M. 855
- Selden Apocalypse
Oxford, BL: Selden Supra 38
- Selden Roll [Mexican]
Oxford, BL: Arch. Selden. A. 72 (3)
- Semeko, Provost, Missal
Halberstadt, DB: 114
- Seneca
a) Codex Etruscus
= Codex Laurentianus
Firenze, BLaur: 37.13
- Sens Breviary
Baltimore, WAG: W. 108
- Sens Pontifical
Bruxelles, BR: 391 (9215)
- Serbian Psalter [Slavonic]
München, SB: Slav. 4
- Serres Gospels [Slavonic]
London, BL: Add. 39626
- Serristori Hours
London, VAM: L. 1722-1921
- Servius
a) Leiden Servius
Leiden, BR: B.P.L. 52
- Sessorian Bible
Roma, BN: Sessor. 3
- Sessorian Lectionary: see San Salvatore a Settimo Lectionary
- Sforza Hours: see Charles the Rash, (Duke of Burgundy), Hours 2)
2) = Sforza, Bona, (of Savoy), Hours
London, BL: Add. 34294 + Add. 45722 (1 miniature page)
3) = Sforza, Bona, Hours
Oxford, BL: Douce 40
- Sforza, Bianca Maria, Missal
Milano, BA: A 257 inf.
- Sforza, Bona, Hours: see Sforza Hours 2), 3)
- Sforza, Maximilian, School Book
Milano, BT: 2167
- Shaftesbury Psalter
London, BL: Lansdowne 383
- Shah Abbas Old Testament: see Maciejowski, (Cardinal), Bible

- Sheldon Missal
New York, PM: M. 47
- Shelford, Elizabeth, Hours
Cambridge, FM: 2-1957
- Sherborne Abbey Chartulary
London, BL: Add. 46487
- Sherborne Missal
Alnwick, DN: 450
- Sherborne Pontifical: see Dunstan, St., Pontifical
- Shirley ms. [English]
San Marino, HL: EL 26 A 13
- Shukhr Khandara Gospels [Armenian]
Jerusalem, APG: 1924
- Sibylla, Herzogin, von Cleve, Hours [Dutch]
München, SB: Cgm 84 (Cim. D. 4; Cim. 170)
- Sidney Psalter
Cambridge, TC: 988 (R.17.2)
- Siegburg Lectionary
London, BL: Harley 2889
- Siferwas Lectionary: see Lovell Lectionary
- Siisky Gospels: see Saint Anthony on the River Siya Gospels
- Silos Apocalypse: see Beatus of Liébana i) and also z), aa)
- Silos Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana i)
- Silver Shrine Gospels: see Dom(h)nach Aírgid ms.
- Simeon ms. [English]
London, BL: Add. 22283
- Simon de Montacute Psalter
Cambridge, SJC: D.30
- Simon Me(o)pham Psalter: see Me(o)pham Psalter
- Simonov Gospels: see Lotysh, George, Gospels
- Sinai Bible: see Codex Sinaiticus
- Sinai Psalter [Glagolitic]
Mount Sinai, SCM: slav. 38
2) [Greek]
= Marginal psalters h)
Mount Sinai, SCM: gr. 48 + Leningrad, GPB: gr. 267 (3 fols.)
- Sinope ms.: see Codex Sinopensis
- Sister to the Golden Haggadah [Hebrew]
London, BL: Or. 2884
- Skevophylakian Lectionary: see Phocas Lectionary
- Skylitzes Chronicle: see Scylitzes, John a)
- Smbat, Constable, Gospels [Armenian]
Yerevan, Mat: 7644
- Smithfield Decretals
London, BL: Royal 10.E.iv
- Smith-Lesouëf Hours
Paris, BN: Smith-Lesouëf 42
- Smyrna Octateuch [Greek]
Smyrna, ES: A.1 [destroyed]
- Soane Hours
London, SJS: 4
- Sobieski Hours
Windsor, RL: S.N.
- Soissons Codex Aureus: see Saint Médard (de Soissons) Gospel Book
- Solovetski Missal [Slavonic]
Leningrad, GPB: Solov. 1017/1126
- Song ms.
Stuttgart, WLB: HB XIII 1
- Sophia von Bylant Hours: see Reynalt von Homoet Hours
- Sortes Sangallenses
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- Southampton Psalter: see Irish Psalter
- Souigny Bible
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- Spasskoye Gospels [Slavonic]
= Transfiguration of the Saviour Cathedral Gospels
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- Specchio Umano: see Il Biadajolo
- Speckled Book: see Leabhar Breac
- Speckled Book of Mac Egan: see Book of Ballymote
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- Spiridonius Psalter: see Kiev Psalter
- Stafford Gower [English]
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- Stavelot Bible
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- Stavelot Collectar
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- Stavelot Gospels
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- Stavronikita Gospels [Greek]
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- Stephen of Derby Psalter
Oxford, BL: Rawl. G. 185
- Stockholm Book [Icelandic]
Stockholm, KB: Perg. 4° 15
- Stonyhurst Gospel: see John, St., Gospels 4)
- Stowe Breviary: see Norwich Breviary
- Stowe Missal
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- Strozzi Hours
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- Stuart de Rothesay Hours
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- Stuart, Isabel (Isabella), Hours: see Isabel of Scotland, Duchess of Brittany, Hours
- Stuart, Mary, Hours
Leningrad, GPB: lat. Q.v.I.112
- Studion Psalter: see Marginal psalters i)
- Stuttgart Passionale
Stuttgart, WLB: Bibl. fol. 56-58
- Stuttgart Psalter
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- Syriac Gospels: see Rab(b)ula Gospels 2)[Syriac]
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Iesi, BBB: lat. 8
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- c) Codex Mediceus II (*Annales, Historiae*)
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- Talbot Hours
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- 2) Edinburgh, NL: Dep. 221 #1 (Aberdeen, BC: 1)
- 3) see Beauchamp, Margaret, Hours
- T'argmantchats Gospels [Armenian]
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- Targum Palestine [Aramaic]
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- Taverner Bible
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b) Bodleian Terence
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g) Vatican Terence
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- Textus Roffensis
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- Theodora, St., Gospels [Greek]
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- Theodore Gospels [Armenian]
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- 2) = Fédorovski Gospels [Slavonic]
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- Theodore Psalter: see Marginal psalters i)
- Theodoretus ms.: see Codex Taurinensis
- Theodosiopolis Gospels [Armenian]
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- a) Codex Aniciensis
Paris, BN: lat. 4¹⁻²
- b) Codex Hubertianus
London, BL: Add. 24142
- c) Codex Mesmianus
= Codex Theodulfus
Paris, BN: lat. 9380
- Thorkelin Transcripts: see Beowulf b)
- Thornton ms. [English and Latin]
Lincoln, CL: 91 (olim A.5.2 and A.1.17)
- Thoros: see T'oros
- Thott Psalter
København, KB: Thott 108 8°
- Tiberius Psalter: see Cotton Psalter
- Tichmersh, John, Lord Lovell, Lectionary: see Lovell Lectionary
- Tickhill Psalter
New York, NYPL: Spencer 26
- Tiptoft Missal
New York, PM: M. 107
- Todi Bible
Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 10405
- Toggenburg Bible
Berlin, KK: 78 E 1
- Toledo Missal
London, BL: Add. 38037
- Tollemache Bible: see Helmingham Hall Bible
- Tollemache Orosius: see Orosius a)
- Tomič Psalter [Slavonic]
Moscow, GIM: Syn. 2752
- T'oros of Taron Gospels [Armenian]
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- T'oros Roslin Gospels [Armenian]
Baltimore, WAG: W. 539
- 2) Yerevan, Mat: 10675
- 3) = Keran, Lady, Gospels
Jerusalem, APG: 1956
- T'oros Roslin Ritual [Armenian]
Jerusalem, APG: 2027
- Toshinich Gospels: see Panteleimon Gospels
- Toulouse Breviary
Cambridge, FM: 2-1958
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- Townley Homer: see Homer d)
- Townley Plays [English]
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San Marino, HL: HM 1
- Transfiguration of the Saviour Cathedral Gospels: see Spasskoye Gospels
- Translators Gospels: see Gospel of 966
- Trapezundskoe Gospels [Greek]
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- Trebizond Gospels [Armenian]
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- 2) Baltimore, WAG: W. 531
- Tribet, Claude, Hours
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- Trier Apocalypse
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- Trier Gospels: see Otto III Gospels 2)
- Trinity College Apocalypse
Cambridge, TC: 950 (R.16.2)
- Trinity Gospels
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- Tripartite Mahzor [Hebrew]
Budapest, MTA: Kaufmann A 384 (vol. 1) + London, BL: Add. 22413 (vol. 2) + Oxford, BL: Mich. 619 (vol. 3)
- Tripartitum Psalterium Eadwini: see Canterbury Psalter
- Triumphs of Emperor Charles V
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- Turin Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana bb)
- Turin Gospel Leaves
Torino, BN: F VI 1
- Turin Hours: see Berry, Jean, duc de f)
- Tyche Initial
Jerusalem, APG: 1949 (fol. 390)

⁸ The Visigoth Theodulf (788-821 A.D.), abbot of Fleury and bishop of Orléans, attempted to purify the text of the Bible. He used *sigla* in the margins to identify the source of his readings, and some scribes incorporated these marginal notes into the text.

- Ubalдинus Bible
 Vaticano, BAV: Urb. lat. 548
- Ulfila Gospels: see Codex Argenteus Upsaliensis
- Urbino Bible: see Federigo da Montefeltro Bible
- Urgel Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana y)
- Uspensky Gospels [Greek]
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- Uspensky Psalter [Greek]
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- Uta Codex: see Codex Tuota
- Utrecht Pontifical
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- Utrecht Psalter
 Utrecht, BR: 32 (Script. Eccl. 484 olim 280) (olim London, BL: Cotton Claudius C.vii) (fols. 1-93)
 2) Cambridge copy
 Cambridge, TC: 987 (R.17.1)
 3) Paris copy
 Paris, BN: lat. 8846 (olim suppl. lat. 1194)
 4) London copy
 London, BL: Harley 603
- Utrecht Psalter Fragment
 Utrecht, BR: 32 (Script. Eccl. 484 olim 280a) (fols. 94-105)
- Val-Duchesse Breviary
 London, BL: Harley 2449
- Valaam Monastery Gospels [Slavonic]
 = Zachée Gospels
 Leningrad, BAN: 24.4.26
- Valcavado Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana cc)
- Valerianus Gospels: see Codex Monacensis
- Vallicelliana Bible
 Roma, BV: A 2
- Vallicelliana Psalter
 Roma, BV: E 24
- Van Soudenbalch, Evert, Bible: see Evert van Soudenbalch Bible
- Vanderbilt Bible
 New Haven, YU: 433
- Varlaam of Khutyn (Khoutinski) Missal: see Barlaam of Khutyn Missal
- Vasak, Prince, Gospels [Armenian]
 Washington, D.C., FG: 32.18
 2) (Second)
 Jerusalem, APG: 2568
- Vatican Beatus: see Beatus of Liébana dd)
- Vatican Book of Kings: see Book of Kings
- Vatican Cosmas: see Cosmas Indicleustes a)
- Vatican Fulgentius: see Fulgentius a)
- Vatican II Gospels
 Vaticano, BAV: Urb. lat. 10
- Vatican Greek Bible: see Leo Bible 2)
- Vatican Job [Greek]
 Vaticano, BAV: Vat. gr. 749
- Vatican Menologion: see Basil II Menologion
- Vatican Octateuch [Greek]
 Vaticano, BAV: Vat. gr. 747
 2) (Second)
 Vaticano, BAV: Vat. gr. 746
- Vatican Prophets
 Vaticano, BAV: Arch. S. Pietro C 92
 2) [Greek]: see Book of Prophets
- Vatican Psalter [Greek]
 Vaticano, BAV: Pal. gr. 381
 2) = Marginal psalter j)
- Vatopedi Octateuch [Greek]
 Mount Athos, Bat: 602 (olim 515)
- Vatopedi Psalter: see Aristocratic psalters e), f)
- Vaux Psalter: see Bardolf-Vaux Psalter
- Velislav Bible
 Praha, SK: XXIII C 124
- Vercelli Book of Old English Poetry [English]
 Vercelli, BC: CXVII
- Verdun Breviary: see Marguerite de Bar Breviary
- Verdun Missal: see Renaud de Bar Missal
- Vergilius Romanus: see Virgil d)
- Vernon ms. [English]
 Oxford, BL: Eng. poet. a. 1
- Verona Gospels: see Codex Veronensis
- Verona Psalter
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- Verona Sacramentary: see Leonian Sacramentary
- Vespasian Psalter: see Saint Augustine of Canterbury Psalter
- Vich Missal (fragments)
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London, BL: Add. 39625
- Vienna Bible: see Evert van Soudenbalch Bible
- Vienna Genesis: see Codex purpureus b)
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- Vilabertrán Missal
Paris, BN: lat. 1103
- Villard de Honnecourt Album
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- Villiers de l'Isle Adam, Charles, Pontifical
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- Virgil
- a) Codex Augusteus
Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 3256 (4 fols.) + Berlin, SBPK: Lat. fol. 416 (3 fols.)
 - b) Codex Mediceus
Firenze, BLaur: 39.1 + Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 3225 (fol. LXXVI)
 - c) Codex Palatinus
Vaticano, BAV: Pal. lat. 1631
 - d) Codex Romanus
= Vergilius Romanus
Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 3867
 - e) Codex Sangallensis
Sankt Gallen, SB: 1394 (pp. 7-49)
 - f) Codex Vaticanus
= Schedae Vaticanae
= Vatican Virgil
Vaticano, BAV: Vat. lat. 3225 (fols. I-LXXV)
 - g) Naples Virgil
Napoli, BN: Vindob. lat. 6 (olim Wien, ÖNB: 58)
 - h) Petrarch's Virgil
Milano, BA: S.P. 10, 27 (olim A 49 inf.; sometimes wrongly cited as 'olim A 79 inf.')
- Visconti, (Gian Galeazzo), Hours
Firenze, BN: Banco rari 397 + Landau Finaly 22
- Visconti, Roberto, Missal
Milano, BA: C 170 inf.
- Vivian Bible: see Charles the Bald Bible
- Volterra Bible [Hebrew]
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- Vulgate Gospels (Σ)
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- Wakefield Plays: see Townley Plays
- Waldkirch-Psalter
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- Walling Missal
Sankt Florian, SB: CSF III.221A
- Walsingham Bible
Dublin, CBL: 22
- Walters Menologion [Greek]
Baltimore, WAG: W. 521
- Warmund, (Bishop), Psalter: see Ivrea Psalter
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- Warwick Hours
New York, PM: M. 893
- Washington Bible
Washington, D.C., LC: Med. and Ren. 71
- Washington Giant Bible (fragment)
Washington, D.C., NGA: Acq. B-17, 714
- Washington Haggadah [Hebrew]
Washington, D.C., LC: Heb. 1
- Washington ms. [Greek]
Washington, D.C., FG: Gr. II
- Weingarten Gospels
Stuttgart, WLB: HB II 40
- Welles Apocalypse: see Greenfield Apocalypse
- Weltenburg Gospel Book
Wien, ÖNB: 1234
- Wenceslas (Wenzel) Bible
Wien, ÖNB: 2759-2764
- Wernigerode Gospels: see Quedlinburg Gospels

- Westminster Psalter
London, BL: Royal 2.A.xxii
- Wharnccliffe Hours
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- Whitby Missal
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- William: see also Guillaume
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- William of Devon Bible: see Devon Bible
- Willibrord, St., Gospels: see Codex Epternacensis
- Winchcombe Psalter
Cambridge, UL: Ff.1.23
- Winchcombe Sacramentary
Orléans, BM: 127 (105)
- Winchester Bible
Winchester, CL: S.N. + New York, PM:
M. 619 (single related leaf)
2) = Second Winchester Bible
= Hugh, St., Bible
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- Winchester Malory [English]
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- Winchester Psalter: see Henry of Blois
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- Windmill Psalter
New York, PM: M. 102
- Windsor Carol Book
London, BL: Egerton 3307
- Windsor Psalter
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- Wingfield Hours
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- Wollaton Antiphonal
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- Wolsey, Thomas, Gospel Book
Oxford, MC: CCXXIII
- Workshop Bestiary: see Morgan Bestiary
- Worms Bible
London, BL: Harley 2803-2804
- Worms Missal
Paris, BA: 610
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Jerusalem, NUL: Heb. 4° 781/1-2
- Wratisław, King, Gospels: see Codex
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- Würzburg Psalter
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- Wycliffe Bible [English]
London, BL: Egerton 617-618
2) Oxford, BL: Bodley 959
3) = Cider Bible
Hereford, CL: O.7.i
- Wynne Chaucer: see Chaucer j)
- Xanten Gospels: see Saint Victor in
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- Xarberd Gospels [Armenian]
Venezia, SL: 938/88
- Yahuda Haggadah [Hebrew]
Jerusalem, IM: 180/50
- Yellow Book of Leca(i)n [Irish]
Dublin, TC: 1318 (H.2.16)
- Yemenite Pentateuch [Hebrew]
London, BL: Or. 2348
- Yolande d'Anjou Hours
Paris, BN: lat. 9472
- Yolande de Soissons Hours
New York, PM: M. 729
- Yolande of Lalaing Hours
Oxford, BL: Douce 93
- York Gospels
York, ML: Add. 1
- York Missal
Oxford, UC: 78b
- York Psalter
Glasgow, UL: Hunter. Mus. 229 (U.3.2)
- Zachée Gospels: see Valaam Monastery
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- Zir Gānēlā Gospels [Ethiopic]
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- Zography Gospels: see Codex Zogra-
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| ABBOTSFORD, Sir Walter Scott Collection | | ATHENS, Ethnikē Bibliothēkē (EB) | |
| S.N. | 246b | 44 | 231a |
| ABERDEEN, Blairs College (BC): see EDIN- | | —, Mouseion Benakē (MBen) | |
| BURGH, National Library of Scotland: Dep. | | Vitr. 34 #6 | 220b |
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| —, University Library (UL) | | frag. 21 (K. <i>IIp.</i> 225) | 232b |
| 23 | 217a | AUTUN, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM) | |
| 25 | 227a | 3 (S.2) | 245b |
| ABERYSTWYTH, National Library of Wales | | 4 (S.3) | 243a |
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| 155337 C | 239b | 129 (S.151) | 220a |
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| Peniarth 392D (Hengwrt 154) | 229b | AUXERRE, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM) | |
| ADDIS ABABA, National Library of Ethiopia | | 53 | 248a |
| (NL) | | —, Trésor de la Cathédrale (TCat) | |
| A.5 | 246a | 21 | 243b |
| ADMONT, Stiftsbibliothek (SB) | | AVESNES, Société Archéologique et Historique | |
| 1 | 217b | (SAH) | |
| AIX-EN-PROVENCE, Bibliothèque Méjanes (BM) | | S.N. | 253a |
| 13 | 221a | AVEZZANO, Curia Vescovile (CV) | |
| ALBA JULIA, Biblioteca Batthyaneum (BB) | | S.N. | 242a |
| II-1 | 231b | AVIGNON, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM) | |
| II-134 | 218b | 136 | 230b |
| ALBI, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM) | | BALTIMORE, Walters Art Gallery (WAG) | |
| 29 | 218b | W. 7 | 262a |
| ALNWICK (Northumberland), Alnwick Castle, | | 8 | 257a |
| Duke of Northumberland Collection (DN) | | 18 | 263a |
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| AMIENS, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM) | | 45 | 242b |
| 18 | 238b | 75 | 221a |
| 108 | 259b | 106 | 226b |
| ANCONA, Archivio Capitolare (AC) | | 108 | 267b |
| S.N. | 255a | 151 | 223b |
| ANTWERPEN, Mayer van den Bergh Museum | | 152 | 238a |
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| 946 | 220a | | |

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539	270a	5 (Ham. 549)	246a
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Patr. 41 (B.II.16)	245a	3 (Ham. 85)	246a
BAMBURGH CASTLE, Library of the Trustees of Lord Crewe's Charity: see DURHAM, Uni- versity Library		BERN, Burgerbibliothek (BB)	
BANGOR, Cathedral		318	232b
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BANSKÁ BYSTRICA, Štátny okresný archív (SA)		69	228b
4532	251b	115-117	228b
BARCELONA, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (ACA)		135	243b
frag. 209	222a	138	223a
Reg. 1	253a	157	220a
Sant Cugat 14	256b	BOLOGNA, Biblioteca Universitaria (BU)	
—, Biblioteca de Catalunya (BC)		4093	233a
621	272a	—, Museo Civico (MC)	
1850	238a	85	245b
BARI, Archivio del Duomo (AD)		86	240b
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BAYEUX, Trésor de la Cathédrale (TCat)		Cor. 111	226b
61	254b	BORDEAUX, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM)	
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1	232a	BOSTON, Boston Public Library (BPL)	
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Hamilton 553	265b	BOULOGNE, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM)	
Phillipps 1676	233b	2	264a
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—, Humboldt-Universität, Theologisches Institut (HU)		12	256b
Inv. 3807	220b	14	246b
—, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kultur- besitz (SBPK)		20	259a
Germ. qu. 42	256b	92	226b
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Lat. fol. 337	269a	924.4.1	220a
416	272a	BRAUNSCHWEIG, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Mu- seum (HAUM)	
Orient. qu. 528	239a	MA 55	262b
Theol. lat. fol. 58	254b	BREMEN, Staatsbibliothek (SB)	
260	230b	b.21	247a
561	222a	BRESCIA, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana (BQ)	
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—, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kultur- besitz, Kupferstichkabinett (KK)		BRESSANONE, Biblioteca del Seminario Vesco- vile Maggiore (BSVM)	
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		BRUXELLES, Bibliothèque Royale (BR)	
		36 (II.1639)	264b

41 (II.2524)	225b	CALCI, Biblioteca dell'Archivio della Certosa (BAC)	
46 (106, 107, 204, 205)	246b	1	227b
108 (9018-19, 9020-23)	241a	4	227b
391 (9215)	267b	CAMBRAI, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM)	
392 (13913)	271a	386 (364)	227b
443 (9125)	265b	CAMBRIDGE, Christ's College (CC)	
449 (9008)	238b	8	219a
455 (9217)	254a	—, Corpus Christi College (CCC)	
461 (9428)	241a	2	227a
462 (18723)	265b	3, 4	240b
463 (18383)	264b	22	227b
466 (9222)	238a	23	261b
512 (9427)	254a	53	248a
516 (9511, 9026)	260b	61	230a
564 (1813)	268b	144	238b
590 (9188-9)	273a	173	260a
592 (10607)	245b	197B	262a
593 (9961-2)	244a	272	217b
719 (11060-61)	224a	286	221b
750 (15077)	251b	422	262a
754 (II.158)	246b	—, Emmanuel College (EC)	
821 (11035-7)	260b	I.1.5-7	223b
3236 (14650-59)	251b	—, Fitzwilliam Museum (FM)	
3366 (II.3189)	265a	12	260b
7516 (15652-56)	244a	13	252b
II.3640	252a	28	257a
II.7619	256a	34	243a
IV.40	261a	48	228a
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Könyvtár (Eötvös Lóránd University Li-		62	248b
brary) (ELTK)		153	269a
Germ. 2	224b	159	230b
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—, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (National		298	257a
Museum Library) (OSK)		300	249a
c.l.m.ae 1	232b	329	219b
32	227a	330	226b
78	244a	369	252b
222	261a	1-1960	241b
395	250b	2-1954	224b
MNY 1	235b	2-1957	268a
—, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia (Hun-		2-1958	270b
garian Academy of Sciences) (MTA)		3-1954	260b
Kaufmann A 77	250b	38-1950	225a
A 384	270b	39-1950	254a
A 422	250b	40-1950	269b
BURGO DE OSMÁ, Biblioteca de la Catedral (BC)		41-1950	223a
1	222a	McClean 51	230b
CAIRO, Karaite Synagogue (KS)		123	258b
S.N.	227a	—, Magdalene College (MC)	
		5 (F.4.5)	239a
		Pepys 2981 (19)	241a

—, Pembroke College (PC)		CHANTILLY, Musée Condé (MC)	
120	260a	9 (1695)	248b
302	242a	11 (1421)	241b
—, St. John's College (SJC)		48 (1605)	262b
59 (C.9)	248b	51 (1887)	249b
81 (D.6)	263a	64 (1671)	243b
215 (H.13)	256a	65 (1284)	224a
264	223a	69 (1456)	224a
D.30	268a	70 (1457)	261a
N	257b	71 (S.N.)	230a
—, Trinity College (TC)		74 (1088)	256a
150 (B.5.4)	247a	75 (1140)	252a
215 (B.10.4)	270b	76 (1362)	217b
269-270 (B.11.31-B.11.32)	220a	78 (1567)	250a
412 (B.17.1)	231a	79 (1397)	257b
770 (R.7.28)	219b	81 (1057)	258b
950 (R.16.2)	270b	82 (1400)	267a
987 (R.17.1)	227b, 271a	83 (1385)	257b
988 (R.17.2)	268a	85 (1175)	245b
1450 (O.9.38)	244b	87 (1557)	223a
—, University Library (UL)		1476 (1943)	220a
Dd.1.4	250a	CHARTRES, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM)	
Ff.1.6	243a	508 (347)	243b
Ff.1.23	273a	CHATSWORTH (Derbyshire), Duke of Devon-	
Ff.6.1	221b	shire Collection	
Ii.6.32	225b	S.N.	226a
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Mm.2.5	229b	184 (BX 2160 A.1.14 (747355))	223b
Nn.2.41	232a	965 (BS 1903 A2R6 1394408)	263a
Add. 1879.2	225a	2400 (PR 1865 1400)	229b
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EDC 1	253a	S.N.	233a
CAMBRIDGE (Mass.), Harvard University,		S.N.	236b
Houghton Library (HU)		CINCINNATI, Hebrew Union College, Jewish	
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120H	247b	444	230b
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CANTERBURY, Cathedral Library (CL)		zionale (MAN)	
Add. 16	227b	Sacri 1, 2 (I, II)	220b
CAPETOWN, Public Library (PL)		6 (CXXXVI)	230b
Grey 4 c 5	273a	7 (CXXXVII)	241b
CAPUA, Biblioteca Arcivescovile (BA)		S.N. (CXXXVIII)	233b
S.N.	242a	CLEVELAND, Cleveland Museum of Art (CMA)	
CARPENTRAS, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM)		Hanna 63.256	242b
95	260a	Marlatt 50.154	220b
CAVA DEI TIRRENI, Biblioteca del Monumento		62.287	245a
Nazionale dell'Abbazia della SS. Trinità		64.40	229a
(BAT)		COLOGNY-GENÈVE, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana	
1	233a	(BB)	
4	234b	Cod. Bodmer 72	250b
CHAMBÉRY, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM)		123	259b
4	219b		

- Como, Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore (SM) 1339 (H.2.18) 225b
 (IX-5) 257b 1709 (N.4.18) 235b
 2 (X-6) 257b
- DUNEDIN, University of Otago Library (UO) 2 270b
- DARMSTADT, Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek (LH) 70 253b
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- DIJON, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM) 2 (2) 264a
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- DOUAI, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM) 90 219b
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- DUBLIN, Chester Beatty Library (CBL) 22 272b
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 56 (A.4.6) 237b
 57 (A.4.5) 225b
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 59 (A.4.23) 225b
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- DURHAM, Cathedral Library (CL) A.II.1 248a
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- , University Library (UL) Deposit Bamburgh Castle, Sharp Collection, Select 6 224b
- EDINBURGH, National Library of Scotland (NL) Adv. 1.1.1 263b
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- , University Library (UL) 27 (Laing 26) 217a
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 64 (D.b.I.7) 241a
 211 (IV) (Laing 499) 248a
 218 (Laing Div. ii I) 221b
- EGER, Főegyházmegyei Könyvtár (Archdiocesan Library) (FK) U2.VI.5 248a
- ELY, Cathedral: see CAMBRIDGE, University Library: EDC
- ÉPERNAY, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM) 1 (1) 241a
- ERLANGEN, Universitätsbibliothek (UB) 1 245b
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- EL ESCORIAL, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo (BSL) d.I.1 231a
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T.I.6	225b	FRANKFURT AM MAIN, Robert von Hirsch Col- lection	
Vitr. 17	231b	S.N.	222b-223a
ESZTERGOM, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár (Ar- chiepiscopal Library) (FK)		FREIBURG I. Br., Erzbischöfliches Diözesan- archiv (ED)	
I.20	259b	S.N.	248a
ÉVREUX, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM)		FULDA, Landesbibliothek (LB)	
78	269b	Bonifat. 1	234a
100	219a	2	236a
EXETER, Cathedral Library (CL)		3	225b
186	269a		
3501	242a		
FIRENZE, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (BLaur)		GAETA, Archivio del Duomo (AD)	
1.56	261b	Exultet Roll 1, 2, 3	242a
6.23	243a	GENÈVE, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana: see COLO- GNY-GENÈVE	
9.28	239a	GENT, Abbaye de Saint-Pierre-au-Mont-Blan- din	
15.13	261a	S.N.	247b
15.17	238b	—, Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit (BR)	
17.3	256a	74	222a
17.27	266b	92	253a
19.1/2	245a	186	246a
29.1	233b	234	260b
37.13	267b	—, Bibliothèque de l'Évêché (BE)	
39.1	272a	13	253a
63.19	253b	GERONA, Archivo Capítular y Biblioteca Capi- tular (AC)	
68.1	269a	7	222a
68.2	269b	S.N.	222b
Acq. e doni 181	266a	GIessen, Universitätsbibliothek (UB)	
Aedil. 124	266a	653	227a
125	266b	GLASGOW, University Library (UL)	
126	266b	Gen. 21	262a
Amiat. 1	231a	85	242b
Ashb. 93	221a	Hunter. Mus. 197 (U.1.1)	229b
98	261a	229 (U.3.2)	273b
1874	254a	GNIEZNO, Biblioteka Kapitulna (BC)	
Codices extra ordinem 1	250b	1	218b
Conv. soppr. 233	266b	GÖTTINGEN, Niedersächsische Staats- und Uni- versitätsbibliothek (NSUB)	
292	227b	Uffenb. 51	245a
630	238b	GÖTTWEIG, Stiftsbibliothek (SB)	
631	266b	1 (9)	234a
Faesul. 4	242b	's-GRAVENHAGE, Koninklijke Bibliotheek (KB)	
Gadd. 44	243b	74 G 39	228a
Mugell. 1	258a	76 F 1	241b
2	258a	F 2	260b
Tempi 3	248a	F 5	264a
—, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (BN)		F 6	248b
Banco rari 397	272a	F 13	242b
Landau Finaly 22	272a	G 17	251b
Magl. XIII 3	234b	78 D 40	249b
XL 1	255a	135 F 10	236a
—, Biblioteca Riccardiana (BR)			
309	243a		
323	248b		

—, Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenia- num (RMW)		ISTANBUL, Topkapi Sarayi Müzesi (TSM)	
10 B 23	228b	3703	240a
GRAZ, Universitätsbibliothek (UB)		IVREA, Biblioteca Capitolare (BC)	
211	231a	30 (LXXXV)	249a
GROTTAFERRATA, Biblioteca della Badia Greca (BG)		31 (LXXXVI)	249a
<i>Γ.β. VI</i>	233a	JENA, Universitätsbibliothek (UB)	
<i>E.β. VII</i>	233a	El. fol. 12	257a
HALBERSTADT, Dombibliothek (DB)		JERUSALEM, Armenian Patriarchate Gulben- kian Library (APG)	
1	246a	251	238a
3	246a	1794	251a
114	267b	1796	269b
132	255b	1924	268a
—, Gleimhaus (G)		1925	242a
C 8932	246a	1943	265a
HAMBURG, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (SUB)		1949	270b
Heb. 155	240b	1956	270a
HANNOVER, Kestner-Museum (KM)		1973	256a
WM XXI ^a 36	233b	2027	270a
HARBURG, Fürstlich Oettingen-Wallerstein's- che Bibliothek (FOWB) ⁹		2360	270a
I.2.4° 2	255a	2556	243b
I.2.4° 15	246a	2563	250b
HEIDELBERG, Universitätsbibliothek (UB)		2568	271b
Pal. germ. 848	234b	2660	252a
gr. 23	220a	—, Beth Hasefarim Haleumi Whauniver- sitai (Jewish National and University Li- brary) (NUL)	
Sal. IXb	260b	Heb. 4° 781/1-2	273b
HEREFORD, Cathedral Library (CL)		4° 790	239b
O.3.ix	248a	8° 5147	258a
O.7.i	273b	—, Bezalel National Art Museum (Israel Museum) (IM)	
P.9.vii	247a	180/50	273b
HILDESHEIM, Beverin'sche Bibliothek (BB)		51	263b
61	224a	52	262a
—, Sankt Godehardskirche (SG)		53	263b
S.N.	218b	57	224b
HOLKHAM HALL (Norfolk), Library of the Earl of Leicester (EL)		58	242a
6	247b	94	239b
24	251a	181/41	266b
JESI, Biblioteca Baldeschi-Balleani (BBB)		—, Katholikon Orthodoxon Patriarcheion (KOP)	
lat. 8	269a	Taphou 51	249b
INNSBRUCK, Universitätsbibliothek (UB)		—, Schocken Library (SL)	
43	248b	13873	267a
		14840	267a
		24086	258b

⁹ This library was purchased in March 1980 by the Bavarian government for the University of Augsburg. At present the mss. are at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich and will be transferred to Augsburg when suitable housing is available.

24087	258b	KRAKÓW, Biblioteka Jagiellońska (BJ)	
24100	258b	16	223b
—, Yad Ishak Ben Zvi (BZ)		2057	239a
1	219a	—, Biblioteka Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowice Oddział Zbiory Czartoryskich (BM)	
KARLSRUHE, Badische Landesbibliothek (BLB)		Czart. 1212	230b
Reuchlin 1	262b	1801	239a
KASSEL, Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt		KREMSMÜNSTER, Stiftsbibliothek (SB)	
Kassel und Landesbibliothek (MB)		Cim. 1	235a
Theol. fol. 60	217a	Perg. 351-354	218a
KILKENNY, Episcopal Palace (EP)			
S.N.	262a	LAON, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM)	
KLAGENFURT, Kärntner Landesarchiv (KL)		63	251b
VI.19	257a	LEIDEN, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit (BR)	
KØBENHAVN, Det Kongelige Biblioteket (KB) ¹⁰		B.P.L. 52	267b
Gl. kgl. Saml. 10 2°	238b	118	230a
1005 2° *	233b	224	218a
1154 2°	234a	Or. 289	240a
1157 2° *	236a	Voss. gr. Q. 8	233a
1325 4°	239b	lat. Q. 38	269b
1606 4°	230a	O. 15	218a
2296 4°	234a	LEIPZIG, Universitätsbibliothek (UB)	
2365 4° *	236a	gr. 1	237a
2367 4° *	236a	gr. 2	234b
2845 4° *	263b	V.1102	252a
Ny. kgl. Saml. 512 4°	223b	LENINGRAD, Biblioteka Akademii nauk SSSR (BAN)	
513 4°	223b	24.4.26	271a
Thott 21 4°	254b	Arkh. Kom. 189	264a
143 4°	243a	—, Gosudarstvennaia ordena Trudovogo Krasnogo Znameni Publichnaia biblioteka imeni M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina (GPB)	
547 4°	225a	1252 F vi	263b
108 8°	270a	Arab. iv.2.2	234b
—, Det Arnamagnæanske Institut, Køben- havns Universitet (AI)		F.I.591	261b
AM 45 2°	234a	Firk. B 3	252a
132 2° *	235a	19a	252a
242 2°	238a	F v 20	236b
350 2° *	267a	II B 17	252a
557 4°	221a	Fp I.5	259a
KÖLN, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dom- bibliothek (EDDB)		I.7	240b
XII	234a	Glag. 1	238a
—, Schnütgen-Museum (SM)		gr. 3	233a
M 694	218b	5	235b
—, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum (WRM)		21, 21a	252a
1961/32	262b		

¹⁰ The asterisk placed after some entries for this library and for Det Arnamagnæanske Institut below indicates that the manuscript is among those transferred to date to Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi.

34	235b	—, Museu Calouste-Gulbenkian (MCG)
53	269b	LA 139 245b
54	234b	148 255b
62	225a	237 248b
69	270b	LIVERPOOL, City of Liverpool Public Museum
71	265b	(LPM)
105	250b	M 12014 233b
216	271a	LONDON, British and Foreign Bible Society
219	271a	(BFBS)
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14452	265b	PARIS, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève (BSG)	
14782	259b	8-10	255a
15467	237a	143	261a
16319	243b	147	259b
16719-16722	238b	148	261a
16743-16746	264a	777	253b
16748-16749	264a	782	245a
16824	264a	1180	256b
17225	233a	1181	221b
17227	217b	1190	264b
17294	223b	1273	256a
17318	264a	2689	241b
17319	264a	—, École des Beaux-Arts (EBA)	
17333	248a	S.N.	217b
17352	262b	—, Marquis de Vasselot Collection	
17436	234a	S.N.	222b

—, Musée Carnavalet (MC)		XIV A 13	237b
D 7075	264a	XIV A 17	239a
—, Musée du Louvre (ML)		XVIII F 6	245a
MI 1093 (50, 50a)	230a	XXIII C 124	271b
RF 1679	230a	PRATO, Biblioteca Roncioniana (BR)	
2022-24	224a	Q VIII 1	261b
—, Musée Jacquemart-André (MJA)		PRINCETON, William H. Scheide Library,	
254	267a	Princeton University Library (SLPU)	
255	226b	G. 34	246b
—, Musée Marmottan (MM)		39	239a
Wildenstein 153	230a	Princeton 100	229b
PARMA, Biblioteca Palatina (BP)		Scheide 66	258b
Palat. 5	260a	71	224b
386	260a	S.N.	218a
Parm. 3286-3287	260a	—, Princeton University Art Museum	
3289	260a	(PUAM)	
PATMOS, Monē H. Iōannou tou Theologou		Inv. 32.14	250b
(MHI)			
67	232b	QUEDLINBURG, Stiftskirche, Schatzkammer (SS)	
PERUGIA, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta (BCA)		S.N.	249a
L 59	260b		
PHILADELPHIA, Free Library (FL)		RANWORTH (Norwich), Ranworth Church	
Lewis 185	252b	(RC)	
PISA, Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo (MNSM)		S.N.	262a
Exultet Roll 1, 2, 3	242a	REIMS, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM)	
POITIERS, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM)		1-2 (A.1)	247a
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822	261a	11 (C.145)	247a
POMMERSFELDEN, Gräfllich Schönborn'sche Bibliothek (GSB)		15 (A.20)	259a
333-334	230b	39-42 (A.6 ^{iv})	249b
347	259b	213 (E.320)	265b
PORRENTUAY, Bibliothèque de l'École Cantonale (BEC)		214 (F.418)	265b
2	265b	230 (C.138)	265a
PRAHA, Knihovna metropolitní kapituli (KMK)		359	256b
(kept in the Archives of Prague Castle)		REYKJAVÍK, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi (University of Iceland) ¹¹	
Cim. 1	233b	ROCHESTER, Cathedral Library (CL)	
3	265b	A.3.5	269b
6	249b	ROMA, Biblioteca Angelica (BAn)	
A 57/1	259a	477 (D 7. 3)	247b
—, Národní Muzeum (NM)		1272 (T I. 9) - 1274 (T I. 11)	219b
XIII A 12	249b	—, Biblioteca Casanatense (BCas)	
—, Státní knihovna ČSR (Universitní knihovna) (SK)		724 (B I 13) iii	242a
XIII A 6	267a	—, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana (BCor)	
		Cors. 369 (40 E 6)	223a

¹¹ The transfer of Icelandic mss. from Denmark to Iceland was begun in 1973 and is to be continued until approximately 1996. These codices are described in catalogues of the holdings of their former libraries. For the items which have already been transferred, see the entries with an asterisk that are listed under KØBENHAVN.

—, Biblioteca della Basilica di S. Paolo fuori le Mura (BSP)	19913	257a
S.N.	25773	240a
229a	EL 26 A 13	268a
—, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II (BN)	17	268b
Sessor. 2	C 9	229b
3	SANKT FLORIAN, Stiftsbibliothek (SB)	
6	CSF III.221A	272b
—, Biblioteca Universitaria Alessandrina (BAI)	SANKT GALLEN, Stiftsbibliothek (SB)	
1	20	273a
—, Biblioteca Vallicelliana (BV)	22	244b
A 2	23	243a
B 6	48	236b
E 16	51	248b
E 24	53	242a
ROSSANO, Biblioteca Arcivescovile (BA)	60	250a
S.N.	908	268b
ROUEN, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM)	1394	236b, 272a
24 (A.41)	1395	272b
274 (Y.6)	—, Vadianische Bibliothek (VB)	
368 (A.27)	70	236b
369 (Y.7)	S.N.	272b
370 (A.34)	SANKT PAUL IM LAVANTTAL, Stiftsbibliothek (SB)	
3016 (Leber 6)	1.1 (25.3.19; XXV.a.1)	232b
suppl. 116 (Mme 15)	S.N. (25.4.21a, 25.d.86a or XXV.d.65)	272b
ROVIGO, Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Concordi (BAC)	SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA, Biblioteca Universitaria (BU)	
Concordiano 212	Res. 1	242b
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PR 2065 A.15 and R.4	S.N.	266b
SALAMANCA, Biblioteca Universitaria (BU)	SAREZZANO, Biblioteca Parrocchiale (BP)	
2632	S.N.	237a
SALERNO, Museo del Duomo (MD)	SCHAFFHAUSEN, Staatsarchiv (SA)	
S.N.	Gen. 1	240b
SALISBURY, Cathedral Library (CL)	SCHWERIN, Mecklenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv (ML)	
150	376	256b
SALZBURG, Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Peter (SP)	SEO DE URGEL, Archivo de la Catedral (AC)	
a.X.6	S.N.	223a
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Guarner. 1	Accession R.3548	240a
2	SILOS, Archivo de Santo Domingo de Silos (ASD)	
3	frag. 1-3	223a
SAN MARINO, Henry E. Huntington Library (HL)	4	223a
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2	SOEST, Stadtarchiv (SA)	
62	S.N.	258a
144	SOFIYA, Narodna Biblioteka Vassil Kolarov (NB)	
1081	1117 (307)	240b
1173		

- SOISSONS, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM)
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- SPEYER, Domkapitel (D)
S.N. 231a
- STOCKHOLM, Kungliga Biblioteket (KB)
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Perg. 4° 15 269a
- , Riksarkivet (R)
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- STUTTART, Württembergische Landesbibliothek (WLB)
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56-58 269a
Brev. 125 272b
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- TOLEDO, Biblioteca del Cabildo (BC)
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- TORINO, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria (BN)
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B I 2 (Pas. gr. IX) 237a
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E V 49 266b
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- , Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire (BGS)
1 253b
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217 220a
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M. Naz. n. 1589 235b
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- VANNES, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM)
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548	271a	Vat. slav. 3	221a
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755	226a	zaro (SL)	
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1209	237b	325/129	269b
1613	222a	887/116	218a
1658	233a	938/88	273b
1927	271b	961/87	247b

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—, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (BN)		WIEN, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	
Marc. gr. I 8 (1397)	235a	(ÖNB)	
Marc. lat. I 99 (2138)	245a	4	230a
Zan. gr. 1 (320)	232a	16	232a
17 (421)	220b	58	272a
454 (822)	247b	324	260b
481 (863)	220a	338	228b
540 (557)	255a	370	251a
VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare (BC)		502	237b
CXVII	271b	507	262b
S.N.	233b	515	219b
VERDUN, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM)		958	225a
90	245b	1179	224a
91	261b	1182	218b
94	244b	1185	235b
98	262b	1224	239a
107	255b	1234	272b
VERONA, Biblioteca Capitolare (BC)		1235	235a
I (1)	271b	1244	253b
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6780 (LXI 8, 7)	245b	1859	229a
		1861	228b
		1897	249a
		1907	256b
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3	220b	2771-2772	242a
—, Folger Shakespeare Library (FSL)		Gr. 1	240b
V.a.3541	255a	2	232a, 236a
—, Freer Gallery of Art (FG)		Med. gr. 1	240a
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28	255a	und Geistliche Schatzkammer (KM)	
—, The National Gallery of Art (NGA)		S.N.	228b
Acq. B-17, 714	272b	WINCHESTER, Cathedral Library (CL)	
		S.N.	273a

—, Warden and Fellows' College Library	6201	245a
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WINDSOR, The Royal Library, Windsor Castle	7729	258a
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WOLFENBÜTTEL, Herzog-August-Bibliothek	230/1519	221b
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WROCLAW (BRESLAU), Biblioteka Uniwersytecka	2	225a
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979	247a	
2374	242a	
2743	269b	
—, Staatsarchiv (SA)	LM 26117	266b
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Addenda.

The J. Paul Getty Museum (Malibu, California) purchased in March 1983 the entire manuscript collection of Peter Ludwig (see p. 274 above under AACHEN for items cited in this article). The manuscripts have now been transferred to the Getty Museum, and they will retain the shelf marks given in A. von Euw and J. M. Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, 3 vols. at present (Cologne, 1979-83) and cited in this article.

The Charioteer Papyrus (see p. 228 above) is presently kept at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

THE OXFORD GRAMMAR MASTERS REVISITED

David Thomson

WHO were the Oxford masters of grammar of the late Middle Ages and what did they teach? The late R. W. Hunt provided us with the foundation of an answer to these questions in his article 'Oxford Grammar Masters in the Middle Ages' in the festschrift presented to Daniel Callus in 1964.¹ Hunt summarised the life and work of four teachers of grammar at Oxford, Richard of Hambury, Adam Shidyrd, John of Cornwall and John Leylond, and pointed to a simplification and debasement in Leylond's work when compared with that of his predecessors. Hunt then turned to the two main groups of surviving statutes on grammar teaching at Oxford in the Middle Ages (dated by their editor Strickland Gibson to 'before 1350' and 'before 1380' respectively, although these dates have now been revised²) and suggested that the main difference between them was that in the first group it was assumed that the grammar masters were masters of arts, while in the second it was assumed that they mostly were not. He saw this change as the cause of the debasement in the teaching already noted. Hunt went on to suggest that the degree of master of grammar was invented at some time between the two groups of statutes (the statute creating it, however, having been lost) in an attempt to regulate the new less qualified masters.

Although Hunt's article has great value as an exposition of the works of these masters, it does not, I believe, provide a correct interpretation of the university statutes, and it is the purpose of the present contribution to indicate an alternative reading which assumes that the M. Gram. degree was in existence by the time the first group of statutes was compiled, and which sees the phrase *magistri regentes in gramatica* (which Hunt took to refer in the first set of

¹ *Oxford Studies Presented to Daniel Callus* (Oxford Historical Society, N. S. 16; Oxford, 1964), pp. 163-93.

² H. G. Pollard, 'The Oldest Statute Book of the University', *Bodleian Library Record* 8 (1968) 69-92, redates the earlier group of statutes to 'before 1313', and suggests that entries after this date are contemporary with the hands which enter them; this would give a date of s. xv med. for the later group in my estimation.

statutes to masters of arts teaching grammar) as part of a consistent picture given by the statutes of a grammar 'faculty' with its own regent masters, supervised by specially deputed masters of arts whose role was akin to that of the 'masters of glomery' at Cambridge.³ After presenting this alternative reading, I shall go on to show how, without substantial statutory emendation, this 'faculty' system reflected developments in the teaching of elementary grammar by becoming less a means of regulating the grammar teachers at Oxford and more a means of qualification for teachers elsewhere. It will be apparent that I take a more sympathetic view than did Hunt of the teaching of Leyland and fifteenth-century developments in elementary grammar teaching in general: I see the simplification and fragmentation apparent in the treatises of this period as a positive move to provide more appropriate and practical material for the classroom than the learned *summae* of the earlier masters. I conclude the article by returning to the statutes and taking a fresh look at what the sort of grammar teaching they prescribe must have been like, in the light of other surviving material.

Our first step in determining the status of the masters of grammar referred to in the statutes must be to set apart those passages which refer not to the actual teachers of grammar but to the two masters of arts whose duty it was to superintend them. These supervisors are once called *magistri gramatice*⁴ and once *magistri gramaticales*,⁵ in both cases outside the main body of grammar statutes, but their usual name is *magistri scholarum grammaticalium*, which the statutes expand on a number of occasions to make it quite clear that it is M. A.s who are being referred to, as for example:

magistri arcium qui visitant scholas gramaticales;⁶

magistri arcium pro gramatica deputati;⁷

magistri arcium superintendentes;⁸

magistri in artibus ad regulandas scholas gramaticales specialiter deputati.⁹

Such expansions of *magister* are rare in the statutes, and imply a need to keep these masters of arts differentiated from masters of another kind, the M. Gram.s.

³ N. I. Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London, 1973), p. 146.

⁴ S. Gibson, ed., *Statuta antiqua universitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxford, 1931), p. 300: a late statute of 1492 when the supervisors were *sine labore*.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 157: a decree of 1357 concerning the manner of electing the supervisors.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 121.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 173.

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 121.

⁹ *ibid.*, p. 173.

The remaining references to grammar masters in the statutes employ a uniform terminology of *magister gramatice* or *magistri gramaticales*, who are also referred to as *magistri regentes in gramatica*.¹⁰ Reference is also made twice to *incepturi* or *inceptores in gramatica*,¹¹ and once to grammar as a faculty (*regenti siue regentibus illius facultatis*).¹² This body of *magistri* is carefully distinguished from the artists. The fees, for instance, collected by the superintendents 'inter superintendentes magistros arcium et magistros gramatice diuidi solent',¹³ and it was at one point customary for the depositions of 'quatuor magistri gramaticales uel quatuor baccalarii arcium uel quattuor magistri arcium' to be obtained by a man wishing to incept in grammar.¹⁴ The distinction is made persistently, and clearly a regent master in grammar was not necessarily a member of the faculty of arts, or a master of arts. Indeed, masters of arts who wished to hold a grammar school were subject to special restrictions: 'nullus regens in artibus optineat scholas gramaticales simul ultra triennium.'¹⁵ A university letter of 1435 supports the picture presented by the statutes, and makes it clear that at this date there was no B. Gram. degree: 'In quarum grammatica, gradu, ex more ... Universitatis, sub unico existente, utpote magistratu'.¹⁶ (The earliest reference to an Oxford B. Gram. that I have noted is Byrchynshaw's supplication of 1512.¹⁷)

The terminology used in the statutes is also found in the grace books and register of Congregation, with the addition of one *magister in gramatica* (John Bulkeley in 1451),¹⁸ and a number of references to *licenciati in gramatica*. Since *licenciando* is applied in 1452 to John Major who immediately afterwards 'admissus est ad incipiendum in gramatica',¹⁹ the term presumably refers to those granted permission to supplicate for the M. Gram. degree,²⁰ although it possibly became used particularly in the cases of those who used the degree as a teaching qualification to secure a job outside Oxford, as James Garnon did in

¹⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 20, 169, 172.

¹¹ *ibid.*, pp. 172, 170.

¹² *ibid.*, p. 172.

¹³ *ibid.*, p. 121.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 170: an addition of 1477 dropping this requirement.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 23. Hunt took this provision to be a reflection of competition between masters of arts to keep grammar schools.

¹⁶ H. Anstey, ed., *Epistolae academicae Oxon.*, 2 vols. (Oxford Historical Society 35-36; Oxford, 1898), 1.130.

¹⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, University Archives Register G, fol. 139r.

¹⁸ W. A. Pantin and W. T. Mitchell, eds., *The Register of Congregation, 1448-1463* (Oxford Historical Society, N. S. 22; Oxford, 1972), p. 86.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 127-28. Major was later rector of St. Mary Steps, Exeter, 1454-65.

²⁰ The statute *Quod ipsis tenentur* (Gibson, *Stat. ant.*, p. 21) also refers to when the grammar masters 'licenciantur a domino Cancellario'.

1449.²¹ The whole concept of grammar as a faculty with regent masters reflects, however, not this later use of the degree, but the earlier system whereby the degree was conferred on established teachers of grammar at Oxford, presumably as a means of organising their teaching and particularly their relationships with the University, at a time when Oxford was the most important centre of grammar teaching in the country.

The M. Gram. degree gave considerable status to its holder both in terms of advantages at Oxford over the *alii quam magistri* who held no master's degree, and outside Oxford as a proof of competence, but it was not of course ranked with the other masters' degrees. The library statute of 1412, for instance, decreed that M. Gram.s should wear a B. A. gown in the University Library,²² and J. M. Fletcher provides evidence to suggest that a number of B. A.s did in fact move over to grammar teaching without progressing to the M. A.²³

How did this arrangement of the grammar masters into a junior faculty survive the changing conditions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries? In the fourteenth century, it seems that there were generally few masters in grammar. The 1322 statutes, for instance, refer to *magistri gramatice* 'siue vnus fuerit siue plures',²⁴ and the computer print-out, which is now available in the Bodleian Library, of grammarians who are mentioned in Emden's *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* has 3, 4, 6, 2 and 6 entries for the five 20-year periods of the fourteenth century. (Naturally in counts of this sort, men with long careers appear in more than one period, so the numbers are not to be totalled.) After the sudden decline of 1360-80, the numbers steadily increase, and sharply so in 1440-60, before again declining, and the corresponding figures for the fifteenth century are 8, 8, 22, 11, and 14. We are, however, no longer able to interpret the steady growth in grammar masters from c. 1380 onwards as the result of the introduction of a new qualification, as Hunt did. As was the case with the statutes generally in the fifteenth century,²⁵ the old regulations seem to have been simply reinterpreted or by-passed, rather than replaced, as the changing situation demanded, to allow for new styles of teaching and the increasing number of teachers seeking the Oxford degree as a guarantee of competence. I would suggest that this growth be linked with the change in 'lore' made by John of Cornwall who introduced English as the

²¹ Pantin and Mitchell, *Register*, p. 2. Garnon took up the post of High Master of St. Paul's School, London, in the same year.

²² Gibson, *Stat. ant.*, p. 218.

²³ J. M. Fletcher, *The Teaching and Study of Arts at Oxford c. 1400 - c. 1520* (D. Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1961), p. 45.

²⁴ Gibson, *Stat. ant.*, p. 121.

²⁵ Fletcher, *Teaching and Study of Arts*, p. 6.

language of instruction to the Oxford schools *c.* 1346,²⁶ but more particularly with its development in the career of John Leylond, who must have been teaching before *c.* 1401 when William Forster recorded his work in Cambridge, University Library ms. Hh.1.5, and who died in 1428. Instead of writing a compendious grammatical *summa* on the lines of his predecessors, Leylond produced a range of short treatises in both English and Latin, at various levels of study.²⁷ This more pragmatic approach (with which we can compare Thomas Sampson's work in 'business studies'²⁸) earned Leylond a substantial reputation which must have been instrumental in the revival of Oxford's position as the country's major centre of grammar teaching.

Not all those who followed Leylond in writing English treatises, of course, came to Oxford like John Boryngton, a master from Exeter, to take the M. Gram., and a number of the teachers at the larger foundations such as Eton and Winchester were probably M. A.s rather than M. Gram.s. As the teaching of grammar in the new style spread into the provinces, so the variation in the qualifications of the teachers must have increased, but the continual stream of grammar school masters such as Richard Piere (Headmaster of Salisbury grammar school, 1404), James Garnon (High Master of St. Paul's School, London, 1449) and Richard Sparkeford (teaching in London 1456-72),²⁹ through to Holt, Lily, Stanbridge and Whittington of the later grammarians, who are known to have studied their grammar at Oxford or sought its qualifications, makes it reasonable to take the M. Gram. as the yardstick of a successful grammar teacher of the late Middle Ages. On this basis we must conclude that in general even the most successful teachers, despite achieving some status through the degree, did not reach beyond the needs of practical grammar teaching which is what that degree increasingly reflected, and many if not most teachers can hardly have achieved this level. Certainly, their works are more effectively orientated towards the practical acquisition of the Latin

²⁶ See below. Cornwall's *Speculum grammaticale* survives in Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Auct. F. 3. 9.

²⁷ For Leylond's career and works and an introduction to the Middle English grammars see my *A Descriptive Catalogue of Middle English Grammatical Texts* (New York-London, 1979).

²⁸ H. G. Richardson, *An Oxford Teacher of the Fifteenth Century* (Manchester, 1939; rpt. with corrections from the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 23 [October 1939] 436-57); idem, 'Business Training in Medieval Oxford', *American Historical Review* 46 (1941) 259-80; idem, 'Letters of the Oxford Dictatores' in *Formularies Which Bear on the History of Oxford c. 1204-1420*, ed. H. E. Salter, W. A. Pantin, and H. G. Richardson, 2 vols. (Oxford Historical Society, N. S. 5; Oxford, 1942), 2.329-450; I. D. O. Arnold, 'Thomas Sampson and the *Orthographia Gallica*', *Medium aevum* 6 (1937) 193-209.

²⁹ For these and other Oxford graduates referred to in this article see A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A. D. 1500*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1957-59); and for Boryngton see also Thomson, *Catalogue*, pp. 146-47.

language than those of their predecessors, but the copies which survive, admittedly often at the hands of their pupils, are full of error and poorly organised.

Despite this, their instruction achieved considerable popularity in the face of the increasing demand for literacy in the later Middle Ages.³⁰ Fletcher suggests that 'as the most important academic centre in England, Oxford attracted throughout the Middle Ages many scholars whose interest in the university was marginal. Amongst these were the young men who believed they could obtain within the city the best grammatical education then available. Some of these, but not all, would probably wish to proceed further to the university should their abilities prove sufficient.'³¹ Those who did not have such aspirations fall into the same category as the students of French, law and business studies, with whom indeed the grammarians are linked in a statute of 1432.³²

This revival of Oxford's fortunes was not, however, a secure one. Even with the increasing interest in elementary education and the popularity of Leyland and his successors Cobbow and Bulkeley,³³ the mid-fifteenth century was clearly not a comfortable period for either schools or university. The petitions of William Byngham in 1439 and the London rectors in 1447 speak strongly of the lack of qualified grammar masters,³⁴ and this at a time when an increasing number of school foundations were being made.³⁵ The university's letter to the king in 1442³⁶ asking him to rescind his order that the grammarians might cease making their payments to the M. A. is evidence of a dispute which has been interpreted as the result of a falling-off in the number of pupils at Oxford.³⁷ The university's letter to the bishop of Lincoln in 1466 which complains that grammar 'regno e nostro abierit'³⁸ reinforces the assertion of William Byngham that no masters of grammar 'mowen be hade in your Universitees ouer those that nedes most ben occupied still there'.³⁹ The drop in the numbers of grammarians listed on p. 301 above from 22 to 11 between the third and

³⁰ M. B. Parkes, 'The Literacy of the Laity' in *The Mediaeval World. Literature and Western Civilisation*, ed. D. Daiches and A. K. Thorlby (London, 1973), pp. 555-77.

³¹ Fletcher, *Teaching and Study of Arts*, p. 44.

³² Gibson, *Stat. ant.*, p. 240.

³³ A. B. Emden, 'Oxford Academical Halls in the Later Middle Ages' in *Medieval Learning and Literature. Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), pp. 364-65.

³⁴ A. F. Leach, *Educational Charters and Documents. 598-1909* (Cambridge, 1911), pp. 402-403 and 418-20.

³⁵ Orme, *English Schools*, p. 194.

³⁶ Anstey, *Epistolae*, pp. 210-11.

³⁷ Richardson, 'Letters', 343.

³⁸ Anstey, *Epistolae*, p. 381.

³⁹ Leach, *Educational Charters*, pp. 402-403.

fourth 20-year periods of the century also reflects this decline. By 1470 most of the grammar halls had closed,⁴⁰ and in 1492 the supervisors of the grammar schools are described in a statute as 'sine laboribus'.⁴¹ This sudden demise must clearly be partly attributed to the wider difficulties of the university in the fifteenth century over finance and the failure of graduates to obtain promotion to benefices,⁴² but more positive reasons can be found in the spread of grammar teaching after Leylond's manner into other parts of the country, which the manuscripts of the Middle English treatises demonstrate, and in the growth of institutionalised school foundations which offered a more secure base than the freelance work of the Oxford grammar master and grammar hall. The foundation of Magdalen College School in 1479 which effectively sealed the fate of the grammar halls shows, however, that given institutional re-organisation the tradition of grammar teaching at Oxford was able to continue to flourish and to form the basis of an education whose ideals were far removed from those of the grammarians who first developed it.

If we turn now to the instruction offered by the masters of grammar, we find that the university statutes regulating the grammar schools at Oxford in the fourteenth century imposed practical requirements on those who taught in them, and particularly on those who took the M. Gram. degree. It seems unlikely that these requirements were a dead letter in the fourteenth century, and they deserve careful examination.

The earlier group of statutes, dated 'before 1313' by Pollard,⁴³ and found on pp. 20-23 of Gibson's edition, is our basic document; the later group substantially repeats their provisions, with a few significant alterations which we shall note in due course. The first statute which concerns us here, and, despite its brevity, one of the most important, deals with the qualifications expected of the masters of grammar. To obtain the Chancellor's licence, they had to be examined 'de modo versificandi et dictandi et de auctoribus et partibus'.⁴⁴

It is interesting that versification and letter-writing should head the requirements. The 1309 statutes of St. Albans' school similarly require that a candidate for the baccalaureate 'prouerbium accipiat, et de eodem versus, litteras, rithmum componant',⁴⁵ and the 1393 statutes of Bredgar College make

⁴⁰ A. B. Emden, *An Oxford Hall in Medieval Times. Being the Early History of St. Edmund Hall* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 173-75 and 'Oxford Academical Halls', 364-65.

⁴¹ Gibson, *Stat. ant.*, p. 300.

⁴² A. B. Emden in H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1936), 3.xx-xxi; Anstey, *Epistolae*, passim.

⁴³ Pollard, 'The Oldest Statute Book', 69-92.

⁴⁴ Gibson, *Stat. ant.*, p. 20.

⁴⁵ Leach, *Educational Charters*, p. 244; Thomson, *Catalogue*, p. 157.

the ability to 'compose twenty-four verses on one subject in a single day' the final qualification for its scholars to take part in the chapel liturgy. Nicholas Picot in 1312 directs that his sons should be put to school until they could compose letters and versify properly, and in the following century William Paston III 'stays on' at Eton to master versification.⁴⁶ The suggestion is that the composition of Latin was regarded as the summit of the grammar school course, with grammatical knowledge and the ability to read Latin authors as subsidiary goals.

A second statute gives details of how the masters should teach the earlier stages of this subject:

Item, tenentur singulis quindenis versus dare, et literas compositas verbis decentibus non ampulosis aut sexquipedalibus, et clausulis succintis, decoris, metaphoris manifestis, et, quantum possint, sententia refertis, quos versus et quas literas debent recipientes in proximo die feriato vel ante in parcameno scribere, et deinde sequenti die, cum ad scholas venerint, magistro suo corde tenus reddere et scripturam suam offerre.⁴⁷

This system of fortnightly copying and examination helps to explain the references to parchment and paper in the accounts for the grammar boys at Merton in 1309-10, 1347 and 1347-48,⁴⁸ and also reminds us that the instruction given was not completely oral.

The condemnation of *verba ampulosa aut sexquipedalia* reflects a rhetorical commonplace which goes back to Horace (*Ars poetica* 97), but the introduction of such strictures into the text of the statutes is nevertheless interesting. Hunt noted a tendency towards 'highflown language' in the work of Richard of Hambury,⁴⁹ and this can be associated (although the end products are rather different) with the exuberant fourteenth-century precursors to the *florida verborum venustas* quoted by Jacob,⁵⁰ and with the interest in elaborate and unusual style and metre shown by Leylond's early pupils in the circle of John Seward.⁵¹

The collocation of literature and grammar 'de autoribus et partibus' was a natural one, going back to classical practice. The growing importance of logic had, however, effectively cut out the study of the literary authors from the

⁴⁶ Orme, *English Schools*, pp. 100-101.

⁴⁷ Gibson, *Stat. ant.*, pp. 21-22.

⁴⁸ Leach, *Educational Charters*, pp. 222, 298-302.

⁴⁹ Hunt, 'Oxford Grammar Masters', 173.

⁵⁰ E. F. Jacob, 'Florida verborum venustas. Some Early Examples of Euphuism in England', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 17 (1933) 264-90.

⁵¹ V. H. Galbraith, 'John Seward and His Circle. Some London Scholars of the Early Fifteenth Century', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 1 (1941) 85-104; and cf. also Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Digby 100.

university arts course long before the period of these statutes,⁵² and this was especially true at Oxford. Even the apparent statutory attempt in 1431 to encourage the reading of Virgil and Ovid was probably intended to please Humphrey of Gloucester rather than to bear any academic fruit, and it seems to have been ignored.⁵³ The study of the authors carried on, however, as part of the grammar school course. The books bequeathed by Ravenstone in 1358 to St. Paul's School in London,⁵⁴ which were intended for the use of the pupils, meant that that school had a particularly wide range of reading material. Grammatical texts included the *Absoluta* of Petrus Hispanus, the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei, the *Graecismus* of Eberhard of Béthune, the *Synonyma* and *Equivoca*, and works by Priscian, Huguccio, Bede, John of Garland (*Compendium*, *Accentarius*), and Alexander of Hales (*Exoticon*). Alongside these, however, there is an impressive range of literary texts, with classical authors represented by Horace, Juvenal, Lucan, Ovid, Persius, Statius and Virgil (*Georgics*), and a selection of later writers: Avianus, pseudo-Cato, Claudianus (*De raptu Proserpinae*), Maximian, Theodolus and the *De disciplina* attributed to Boethius but not by him. It is surprising, however, that we should also find works on logic by Aristotle. The inclusion of such material makes it clear that we must be careful not to equate this list of books with the content of the school's curriculum, but there is nevertheless a marked interest in classical authors when compared with the content of fifteenth-century school manuscripts or with the library of such a magnificent foundation as Winchester College, which has only a single literary author (Virgil) in the list of books printed by Gunner, which is again fifteenth century,⁵⁵ and it seems that these authors were used in grammar schools in the fourteenth century but had fallen out of use by the fifteenth. At Oxford a Horace was bought for the grammar boys at Merton in 1347-48,⁵⁶ and a later fourteenth-century Oxford statute prohibits Ovid's *De arte amandi* along with Pamphilius, showing them to be current, while allowing 'poesias honestas'.⁵⁷ Bishop Grandisson's instructions to the archdeacons of Exeter diocese also suggest that the study of the authors was still alive in the early fourteenth century, if as always open to ecclesiastical censure:

⁵² L. J. Paetow, *The Arts Course at Medieval Universities with Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric* (University Studies 3.7; Champaign, Ill., 1910).

⁵³ Fletcher, *Teaching and Study of Arts*, pp. 5, 47-48.

⁵⁴ E. Rickert, 'Chaucer at School', *Modern Philology* 39 (1932) 257-74.

⁵⁵ W. H. Gunner, 'Catalogue of Books Belonging to the College of St. Mary, Winchester, in the Reign of Henry VI', *Archaeological Journal* 15 (1958) 59-74.

⁵⁶ Leach, *Educational Charters*, p. 300.

⁵⁷ Gibson, *Stat. ant.*, p. 173.

Cotidie experimur apud puerorum et illiteratorum Magistros sive Instructores nostre Diocesis, ipsos in Gramatica informantes, modum et ordinem docendi preposteris et minus utiles, immo supersticiosos, Gentilium magis quam Christianorum more, observari ... ad alios libros magistrales et poeticos aut metricos ad(d)iscendos transire faciunt premature....

Grandisson does not ban the study of such authors, however, but orders that the schoolmasters

quatinus pueros, quos recipiunt in Gramadicalibus (*sic*) imbuendos, non tantum legere aut discere litteraliter, ut hactenus, ut, aliis omnibus omissis, construere et intelligere faciant Oracionem Dominicam cum Salutacione Angelica, Symbolum, et Matutinas, ac Horas de Beata Virgine, et dicciones ibi declinare ac respondere de partibus earundem, antequam eosdem ad alios libros transire permittant.⁵⁸

As such texts as the 'Liber Florinus' or 'Prouerbia' in Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Auct. F. 3. 9 show, the reading of the authors was closely linked with the need to compose 'clausulis succintis, decoris, metaphoris manifestis et ... sententia refertis'. The strong preference for verse authors in the reading texts can also be linked with the teaching of versification, although this is rarely as explicit as in the treatment of the 'versus de Sancta Katarina' in Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Digby 100 where the verse form is written by the side of each couplet (fols. 11v-12v).

The specification of knowledge 'de partibus' is last on the list, although it must have occupied a great part of the grammar school course. 'De partibus' literally refers to the parts of speech, but such writers as John of Cornwall, in his *Speculum grammaticale*, subsumed all their teaching into a treatment of these, and we should read the phrase as also including the teaching of syntax and the other branches of grammatical study.

The teaching of grammar (in the narrower sense) in the mid-fourteenth century is marked by two to some extent contradictory features. On the one hand features of the arts course are reproduced at a more elementary level. Money is spent at Merton in 1347-48 'in diversis paribus tabellarum albarum pro gramaticis pro argumentis reportandis',⁵⁹ and the final requirement for the baccalaureate at St. Albans was that the candidate 'publice in scolis conferat',⁶⁰ which suggests that disputations were held in the last stages of the grammar school course as they were later.⁶¹ The treatises of the fourteenth-century Oxford grammar masters include simplified *quaestiones*, frequent citations of

⁵⁸ Leach, *Educational Charters*, pp. 314-16.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p. 300.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 244.

⁶¹ C. L. Kingsford, ed., *A Survey of London by John Stow Reprinted from the Text of 1603*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1908), 1.74-75.

Priscian and some modistic terms.⁶² Their structure as *summae* including both elementary and advanced material within a single theoretical classification also reflects their tendency to use a fairly sophisticated approach. The statutes of Warwick school go so far as to allow the master, 'si in eadem expertus fuerit',⁶³ to teach dialectic, which by this time was certainly a university subject in most cases; and at least in the early part of the century a number of M. A.s became schoolmasters.⁶⁴

On the other hand, however, the instruction offered is also characterised by the use of methods and techniques more suited to an elementary course. Mnemonic verses, *latinitates* and *vulgaria*, notes and rules covering small areas of grammar are all found in the work of these same masters. In the surviving treatises these features are often supplementary to the main text, appearing at the end of sections (Cornwall) or in a separate work (Richard of Hambury), but in actual instruction the balance may have been different.

Perhaps the most important technique introduced was the use of English as the language of instruction. The group of statutes dated 'before 1313' decree that schoolmasters 'diligenter debent attendere quod scolares sui regulam obseruent, vel in Latinis vel in Romanis, provt exigunt status diuersi'.⁶⁵ This refers to the use of French (for the younger pupils) and Latin as the languages of the schoolroom. The former is well attested for this period by various Oxford and Cambridge college statutes,⁶⁶ by Higden's comment that 'pueri in scholis contra morem caeterarum nationum a primo Normannorum adventu, derelicto proprio vulgari, construere Gallice compelluntur',⁶⁷ and by Thomas of Hanney's use of French examples in his *Memoriale iuniorum*.⁶⁸ Similarly, glosses in grammatical treatises copied between 1300 and c. 1340 are in French and Latin only, although no treatises written in French or Latin for Englishmen survive to my knowledge from this period. In the 1340s, as is well known, John of Cornwall introduced the use of English as a language of grammatical instruction at Oxford,⁶⁹ and Trevisa's comments in his translation of Higden on

⁶² Hunt, 'Oxford Grammar Masters', 172-73, 177-79.

⁶³ Leach, *Educational Charters*, p. 274.

⁶⁴ Orme, *English Schools*, p. 151.

⁶⁵ Gibson, *Stat. ant.*, p. 21.

⁶⁶ M. D. Legge, 'The French Language and the English Cloister' in *Medieval Studies Presented to Rose Graham*, ed. V. Ruffer and A. J. Taylor (Oxford, 1950), pp. 152-55.

⁶⁷ C. Babington, ed., *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden...*, 9 vols. (RS 41; London, 1865-86), 2.158.

⁶⁸ For Hanney see Hunt, 'Oxford Grammar Masters'; Thomson, *Catalogue*, pp. 37-38 and (in more detail) *A Study of the Middle English Treatises on Grammar* (D. Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1977), pp. 48-50.

⁶⁹ W. H. Stevenson, 'The Introduction of English as the Vehicle of Instruction in English Schools' in *An English Miscellany Presented to Dr. Furnivall in Honour of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (Oxford, 1901), pp. 421-29; Hunt, 'Oxford Grammar Masters', 175.

this⁷⁰ are supported by the dates of Cornwall's career and of the colophon to his *Speculum grammaticale*, which is the earliest treatise known to me to use English in its instruction. Confirmation of the introduction of English is also given by the reluctant recognition of its use in the statutes of Peterhouse, Cambridge in 1344 (which are based on those of Merton to which John of Cornwall was attached): 'Latino fruuntur eloquio, nisi forsitan aliquoties, et ex causa justa et rationabili, Gallico, sed perraro Anglico fruuntur.'⁷¹ This change in method clearly gained ground quickly, and by the time of the second group of Oxford grammar statutes ('pre-1380') the university found it necessary to decree that the grammar teachers

tenentur etiam construere, necnon construendo significaciones dictionum docere in Anglico et vicissim in Gallico, ne illa lingua Gallica penitus sit ommissa.⁷²

These changes were of most importance at the elementary end of the grammar school course. The younger students seem to have been regarded as a separate group whose work was largely the learning of the parts of speech. The instruction of this group is clearly the concern of Bishop Grandisson in the extracts quoted above, and of the university in the statute just cited, but the teaching of these 'iuniores' (sometimes referred to as 'Donatists') is dealt with more fully in a statute of the earlier group:

Item, debent magistri circa iuniores principaliter attendere quando querunt eorum partes, vt, primo quesito et responso sub qua parte oracionis contineatur diccio de qua queritur, statim queratur parti illi quot accidunt, et tunc per ordinem de accidentibus interogetur, vt sic adiscant per seipsos partes suas repetere.⁷³

The method advocated here corresponds to that, for instance, of the common treatise '*Dominus, que pars?*' where one example of each part of speech is taken in turn, identified as to its part of speech, the *accidentes* (such as case and number) of which are then established and described in turn, usually following Donatus. The extract of classroom dialogue in John of Cornwall⁷⁴ reflects a similar approach. This movement towards positive and pragmatic instruction is in fact laid down by the university in one of the longest statutes concerning grammar, 'vtilitati eorundem scolarium et precipue iuniorum',⁷⁵ and it is this movement which underlies the development of the treatises on grammar in

⁷⁰ Babington, *Polychronicon* 2.158.

⁷¹ Legge, 'French Language', 155.

⁷² Gibson, *Stat. ant.*, p. 171.

⁷³ *ibid.*, p. 22.

⁷⁴ Thomson, *Catalogue*, p. 40.

⁷⁵ Gibson, *Stat. ant.*, p. 23.

Middle English associated with John Leylond and the move towards what we may now see, in a more positive way than Hunt, as a curricular approach to the teaching of Latin in the fifteenth century.⁷⁶

Maltby, South Yorkshire.

⁷⁶ This article has dealt with the instruction given by the grammar masters in the fourteenth century. For the fifteenth century see Thomson, *Catalogue*, pp. 23-29, and, with reservations as noted there, Br. Bonaventure (J. N. T. Miner), 'The Teaching of Latin in Late Medieval England', *Mediaeval Studies* 23 (1961) 1-20.

PATRISTIC 'PRESBYTERIANISM' IN THE EARLY MEDIEVAL THEOLOGY OF SACRED ORDERS *

Roger E. Reynolds

SINCE the sixteenth century one of the most contentious areas in ecclesiastical polity has been the relationship between the highest of the churches' officers, the bishops and presbyters. Among the points in dispute have been the divine, biblical, and historical origins of these officers, and when and by whom they were instituted; their functions and to what extent they are restricted to one or the other order; the obligations, such as chastity or liturgical service, accompanying each office; the sacramental validity of ordinations made outside established ecclesiastical bodies; and the propriety of various forms of ordination ritual. In the disputes over these matters the controversialists have focused their attention largely on biblical and patristic data and the positions of theologians, canonists, and liturgical expositors from the middle of the twelfth century and beyond. With a few notable exceptions,¹ however, most modern

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¹ See, e.g., the recent work of the Catholic University of America theologian, David N. Power, *Ministers of Christ and His Church: The Theology of the Priesthood* (London, 1969), chaps. 3-6, pp. 52-126, and especially the articles by Artur Landgraf, 'Die Lehre der Frühscholastik vom Episkopat als Ordo', *Scholastik* 26 (1951) 496-519 and Joseph Lecuyer, 'Aux origines de la théologie thomiste de l'Épiscopat', *Gregorianum* 35 (1954) 56-89. A number of excellent studies on the canonistic theory of the relationship between bishops and presbyters have come from scholars who have taught or have done doctoral research at the Catholic University of America, including Ladislav Örsy, 'Bishops, Presbyters, and Priesthood in Gratian's "Decretum"', *Gregorianum* 44 (1963) 788-826, 'Irregular Ordinations in Gratian's *Decretum*', *Heythrop Journal* 4 (1963) 163-73, 'Sacred Ordinations in Gratian's *Decretum*: The Conferring of the Order of Episcopate and of the Order of Presbyterate', *ibid.* 3 (1962) 152-62; Donald Edward Heintschel, *The Medieval Concept of an Ecclesiastical Office: An Analytical Study of the Concept of an Ecclesiastical Office in the Major Sources and Printed Commentaries from 1140-1300* (Catholic University of America Canon Law Studies 363; Washington, D.C., 1956); and Robert P. Stenger, 'The Episcopacy as an Ordo according to the Medieval Canonists', *Mediaeval Studies* 29 (1967) 67-112. For the vast modern literature on the subject see Emmanuel Doronzo, *De ordine*, 3 vols. (Milwaukee, 1957-62) and the *International Bibliography of Liturgy* (Mont-César), class 55.01.02-03.

historians who have wrestled with these issues in the theology of sacred orders have not devoted more than a few pages to the period between patristic antiquity and the high Middle Ages. It is the purpose of this article to trace the survival and development of one strand of patristic thought in this middle period and to suggest how what will be called here 'patristic presbyterianism' came to be established in the high and late Middle Ages as a major theological position in discussions of the sacred or ecclesiastical orders.

I

To trace this survival, let us begin not in late patristic antiquity, but at the point where many scholars have started, that is, with the *Sentences* written in the middle of the twelfth century by the Parisian master, Peter Lombard. In 4 *Sent.* 24,² Peter discusses the hierarchy of the Church. He begins by saying that because there are seven gifts of the Holy Spirit there are seven orders or grades, those from the lowest doorkeeper through presbyter. Thereafter, Peter treats each of the grades, explaining their Old and New Testament precedents and their privileges, duties, and obligations. The highest of the seven ecclesiastical orders, says Peter, is the presbyter-*sacerdos*, whose primary duties are eucharistic. In dealing with the origins of the *ordo presbyterorum* the Lombard traces it back to the sons of Aaron in the Old Testament and to the seventy-two disciples in the New, and he clearly distinguishes between the order of the presbyter and office of bishop. But he also quotes Isidore of Seville to the effect that, according to ancient authorities, bishops and presbyters were originally the same. Before describing the bishop as an office or dignity, he lays out a statement cardinal in all later discussion of the relationship of the presbyterate and episcopacy: '... canones duos tantum sacros ordines appellari censent, diaconatus scilicet et presbyteratus, quia hos solos primitiva Ecclesia legitur habuisse, et de his solis praeceptum Apostoli habemus.'³

Almost four hundred years after Peter Lombard penned these lines, his description of the presbyter was seized upon by another author schooled in Paris, John Calvin. In book 4 of his *Institutes* Calvin clearly displays his knowledge of the Lombard's *Sentences* in his discussion of the ecclesiastical ministers, but he uses it to confound what he calls the 'silly pettifoggers, the Sorbonnists, and the canonists.'⁴ Although he seems to approve of a juris-

² The *Sentences* have recently been reedited: *Magistri Petri Lombardi Parisiensis episcopi Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, ed. PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 2 vols., 3rd edition (Grottaferrata, 1971-81), especially 4 *Sent.* 24 (2.393-408).

³ 4 *Sent.* 24.12.1 (ibid. 2.405).

⁴ See Roger E. Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ from Their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 7; Berlin-New York, 1978), p. 2.

dictional and disciplinary episcopate,⁵ Calvin says that in the primitive Church this office was introduced only by human agreement to meet the exigencies of the times. To prove his point he cites the same text used by Peter Lombard, but he clearly identifies one of those ancient authorities, Jerome in his *Commentary on Titus*, whom he quotes as saying:

Bishop and presbyter are one and the same. And before, by the devil's prompting, dissensions arose in religion ... churches were governed by the common counsel of presbyters. Afterward, to remove seeds of dissensions, all oversight was committed to one person. Just as the presbyters, therefore, know that they are, according to the custom of the Church, subject to him who presides, so the bishops recognize that they are superior to the presbyters more according to the custom of the Church than by the Lord's actual arrangement....⁶

On the basis of several classical New Testament passages Calvin continues to argue that originally the terms 'bishop' and 'presbyter' were simply names for the same office. The Church was ruled from its beginning by a senate chosen from godly, grave, and holy men whom Calvin calls elders, and the care of the poor was entrusted to deacons.⁷

The ideas Calvin borrowed from selected patristic citations and Peter Lombard's *Sentences* became, of course, the keystone in the ecclesiastical polity of Calvin's successors in the Reformed and Presbyterian traditions. Thus, in a somewhat anachronistic fashion it is perhaps appropriate to use the shorthand title 'presbyterianism' to describe a number of similar theories of late patristic antiquity that *tended* to equate the episcopacy and presbyterate in the primitive Church or which said that the most primitive officers of the Church were these governing presbyters and eleemosynary deacons. These theories have often been tagged by scholars as the 'doctrine of the parity of ministers' or even 'Hieronymian presbyterianism' because St. Jerome is said to have propounded its purest strain.⁸ But if one goes back to late patristic commentaries and tracts in which this presbyterianism is present, he finds that St. Jerome was only one of at least six authors whose writings were either in Latin or translated into Latin who presented such ideas.

In the fourth century not only Jerome but also the enigmatic Jewish-Christian figure known in the Middle Ages as Ambrose or Augustine and now

⁵ This is the judgement of John T. McNeill, on which see *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, 2 vols. (The Library of Christian Classics 20-21; London-Philadelphia, 1960), 2.1072 n. 12.

⁶ *Institutes* 4.4.2 (ibid., p. 1069).

⁷ *Institutes* 4.3.8 f. (ibid., pp. 1060 f.).

⁸ See, e.g., T. G. Jalland, 'The Doctrine of the Parity of Ministers' in Kenneth E. Kirk, ed., *The Apostolic Ministry: Essays on the History and the Doctrine of Episcopacy* (London, 1946), pp. 305-49; and Power, *Ministers of Christ*, p. 78.

known as Ambrosiaster wrote biblical commentaries and polemical tracts in which the first presbyterian theology was propounded. Both authors first wrote their biblical commentaries on the classical loci of ecclesiastical polity in the New Testament epistles, and later each developed his ideas in a polemical tract. These later tracts were directed to the same problem. The Roman deacons, attached as they were to the Roman bishop, had become exceedingly powerful and proud, and this tended to reduce the importance of the presbyters. Hence, the tracts of both Jerome and Ambrosiaster attempted to dampen this power and quell the pride by emphasizing the equality of the bishop and presbyter and their common superiority to the deacon.⁹

Ambrosiaster first dealt in two of his New Testament commentaries with the relationship of the bishop and presbyter. On 1 Timothy 3:8-10, he said curtly that the bishop and presbyter have the same *sacerdotium* and that the bishop is the first among presbyters. Each bishop is a presbyter, but not every presbyter a bishop.¹⁰ Then, in an extended commentary on Ephesians 4:11 ff., in which various ministries in the Church are enumerated by the Pauline author, Ambrosiaster began by equating the Pauline apostles with bishops, prophets with *explanatores scripturarum*, evangelists with deacons, pastors with lectors, and teachers with exorcists. Realizing, however, that the text in Ephesians did not mention presbyters, Ambrosiaster was forced to concoct an explanation for their absence. At first, he says, all ecclesiastical functions were performed in the Church by a variety of persons. As the Church grew, the offices were established and functions delineated. Originally the bishops and presbyters were called by the same title. When presbyters were found to be unworthy officers, it was decided by the Church to make a distinction between the bishop and presbyter. Their *ordo* remained the same, but the *meritum* of the bishop was greater.¹¹ Hence, the norms of the apostolic Church have been changed,

⁹ For literature on this question see Roger E. Reynolds, 'An Early Medieval Tract on the Diaconate', *Harvard Theological Review* 72 (1979) 97 nn. 1 f.

¹⁰ 'post episcopum tamen diaconis (diaconatus) ordinationem subiecit. quare, nisi quia episcopi et presbyteri una ordinatio est? uterque enim sacerdos est, sed episcopus primus est, ut omnis episcopus presbyter sit, non tamen omnis presbyter episcopus' (*Commentary on 1 Timothy* 3.10.1 [CSEL 81/3.267]).

¹¹ 'apostoli episcopi sunt; profetae vero explanatores sunt scripturarum. ... evangelistae diacones (diaconi) sunt. ... pastores possunt esse lectores. ... magistri vero exorcistae sunt. ... nam in episcopo omnes ordines sunt, qui et (quia) primus sacerdos est, hoc est princeps sacerdotum, et profeta et evangelista et cetera ad implenda officia ecclesiae in ministerio fidelium. tamen postquam omnibus locis ecclesiae sunt constitutae et officia ordinata, aliter composita res est quam coeperat. primum enim omnes docebant et omnes baptizabant, quibuscumque diebus vel temporibus fuisset occasio. ... adhuc enim praeter septem diacones (diaconos) nullus fuerat ordinatus. ut ergo cresceret plebs et multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum est et evangelizare et baptizare et scripturas in ecclesia explanare. at ubi autem omnia loca circumplexa est ecclesia, conventicula constituta sunt et rectores et cetera officia ecclesiis sunt ordinata, ut

according to Ambrosiaster. Circumstances, especially schism, have forced a reconstitution of the highest ecclesiastical orders.

Ambrosiaster in his polemical tract, *De iactantia Romanorum levitarum*, later attempted to stem the pride of the admittedly prestigious Roman deacons. He did it by equating the bishop and presbyter in their sacerdotal role. In a somewhat diffuse argument Ambrosiaster states that both the Pauline epistle to Timothy and the organization of the Church at Alexandria, where the presbyters simply installed one of their number as bishop, prove that the presbyter was originally one with the bishop.¹²

Ambrosiaster's contemporary, Jerome, was much more blunt in his equation of the presbyterate and episcopate in his *Commentary on Titus*. Here he propounded the views that we have already read in the works of Peter Lombard and John Calvin.¹³ Later, using his own *Commentary on Titus* and

nullus de clero auderet, qui ordinatus non esset, praesumere officium, quod sciret non sibi creditum vel concessum. et coepit alio ordine et providentia ecclesia gubernari (gubernari ecclesia), quia, si omnes eadem possent, inrationabile esset et vulgaris res et vilissima videretur. hinc ergo est, unde nunc neque diaconi in populo praedicant neque ceteri vel laici baptizant neque quocumque die credentes tinguntur nisi aegri. ideo non per omnia conveniunt scripta apostoli ordinationi. quae nunc in ecclesia est, quia haec inter ipsa primordia sunt scripta. nam et Timotheum presbyterum a se creatum episcopum vocat, quia primi presbyteri episcopi appellabantur, ut recedente eo sequens ei succederet. denique apud Aegyptum presbyteri consignat, si praesens non sit episcopus. sed quia coeperunt sequentes presbyteri indigni inveniri ad primatos tenendos, inmutata est ratio prospiciente consilio, ut non ordo, sed meritum crearet episcopum multorum sacerdotum iudicio constitutum ne indignus temere usurparet et esset multis scandalum' (*Commentary on Ephesians* 4.11.1-5 [CSEL 81/3.98-100]).

¹² 'Presbyterum autem intellegi episcopum probat Paulus apostolus, cum quando Timotheum, quem ordinavit presbyterum, instruit qualem debeat creare episcopum. quid est enim episcopus, nisi primus presbiter, hoc est summus sacerdos? denique non aliter quam compresbiteros hos uocat et consacerdotes; numquid et ministros condiaconos suos dicit episcopus? non utique, quia multo inferiores sunt et turpe est iudici dicere primiscrinium. nam in Alexandria et per totam Aegyptum, si desit episcopus, consignat presbiter' (*De iactantia Romanorum levitarum* 5 [CSEL 50.196]).

¹³ 'Idem est ergo presbyter qui et episcopus, et antequam diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent, et diceretur in populis: *Ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cephae*, communi presbyterorum concilio Ecclesiae gubernabantur. Postquam vero unusquisque eos quos baptizaverat suos putabat esse, non Christi, in toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur caeteris, ad quem omnis Ecclesiae cura pertineret, et schismatum semina tollerentur. Putet aliquis non Scripturarum, sed nostram esse sententiam, episcopum et presbyterum unum esse, et aliud aetatis, aliud esse nomen officii: relegat Apostoli ad Philippenses verba dicentis: *Paulus et Timotheus servi Jesu Christi, omnibus sanctis in Christo Jesu, qui sunt Philippis, cum episcopis et diaconis gratia vobis et pax* et reliqua. Philippa una est urbs Macedoniae, et certe in una civitate plures, ut nuncupantur, episcopi esse non poterant. Sed quia eosdem episcopos illo tempore quos et presbyteros appellabant: propterea indifferenter de episcopis quasi de presbyteris est locutus. ... Haec propterea, ut ostenderemus apud veteres eosdem fuisse presbyteros quos et episcopos: paulatim vero ut dissensionum plantaria evellerentur ad unum omnem sollicitudinem esse delatam. Sicut ergo presbyteri sciunt se ex

Ambrosiaster's *De iactantia*, Jerome also entered the lists against the pretensions of the Roman deacons in his *Epistula ad Evangelum* (c. 398). Again he equated the bishop and presbyter and stated that they only may consecrate the Eucharist. The example of the apostolic churches and the primitive collegial rule of presbyters at Alexandria demonstrate the equality of the presbyter and bishop. Further, Jerome repeated the argument that only as schism arose was the bishop differentiated and placed above the presbyters.¹⁴

If the commentaries and polemical tracts of Ambrosiaster and Jerome are read carefully, it is quite possible to show that their presbyterianism was by no means consistent. And if the total corpus of their works is taken into account, it is very clear that neither Ambrosiaster nor Jerome was a thoroughgoing presbyterian.¹⁵ Whether or not they had intended to say so, both men were interpreted by later writers as having stated that originally there was no distinction in the early Church between bishops and presbyters and that only as the Church grew and schisms threatened was the episcopacy created. It was this position alone that was quickly used by Latin authors and channeled into other late patristic and early medieval writings as 'Hieronymian' or 'Ambrosian'.

But there is another pair of early fifth-century figures who also propounded forms of presbyterianism and whose works passed into the early Middle Ages under the names of Jerome and Ambrose. These are Pelagius, the Irish monk who travelled in the East, and Theodore of Mopsuestia, the easterner whose

Ecclesiae consuetudine ei qui sibi praepositus fuerit, esse subjectos; ita episcopi noverint se magis consuetudine, quam dispositionis Dominicae veritate, presbyteris esse maiores, et in commune debere Ecclesiam regere, imitantes Moysen, qui cum haberet in potestate solum praeesse populo Israel, septuaginta elegit, cum quibus populum iudicaret (*Commentary on Titus* 1:7 [PL 26.597 f.]).

¹⁴ 'Legimus in Esaia: fatuus fatua loquetur. audio quendam in tantam erupisse uacordiam, ut diacones presbyteris, id est episcopis, anteferet. nam cum apostolus perspicue doceat eosdem esse presbyteros, quos episcopos, quid patitur mensarum et uiduarum minister, ut super eos se tumidus efferat, ad quorum preces Christi corpus sanguisque conficitur? ... ac ne quis contentiose in una ecclesia plures episcopos fuisse contendat, audi et aliud testimonium, in quo manifestissime conprobatur eundem esse episcopum atque presbyterum. ... quod autem postea unus electus est, qui ceteris praeponeretur, in scismatis remedium factum est, ne unusquisque ad se trahens Christi ecclesiam rumperet. nam et Alexandriae a Marco euangelista usque ad Heraclum et Dionysium episcopos presbyteri semper unum de se electum et in excelsiori gradu conlocatum episcopum nominabant, quomodo si exercitus imperatorem faciat aut diaconi eligant de se, quem industrium nouerint, et archidiaconum uocent. quid enim facit excepta ordinatione episcopus, quod presbyter non facit? nec altera Romanae urbis ecclesia, altera totius orbis aestimanda est. ... ceterum omnes apostolorum successores sunt' (*Epistula ad Evangelum* 1 [CSEL 56.308-11]).

¹⁵ It has long been recognized that Jerome is not completely consistent in his presbyterianism. See Jalland, 'Doctrine of Parity', 325. With an ingenious argument, Yvon Bodin, *Saint Jérôme et l'Église* (Paris, 1966), pp. 196-204, has recently collected much of this contradictory Hieronymian material and constructed what would probably have been Jerome's position.

works were tainted with 'Pelagianism'. Both wrote commentaries on the epistles of Paul, in which not only presbyterian but also what we may call 'episcopalist' strains are to be found. Scholarship has not yet determined whether Pelagius used Theodore or vice versa, but in several passages on the original relationship of the presbyter and bishop, Pelagius and Theodore are remarkably similar.

In his *Commentary on 1 Timothy*, Pelagius was clearly in the debt of Jerome and Ambrosiaster. For the scriptural text of 1 Timothy 3, Pelagius used Jerome's Vulgate text, but for his commentary and its structure, Ambrosiaster was the model.¹⁶ According to Pelagius, the presbyter is the same as the bishop, but with the important qualification, 'paene'.¹⁷ In addition, in his commentary on Philippians 1:1 ff., Pelagius says that under the name 'episcopus' one is also to understand 'presbyter'.¹⁸

Theodore of Mopsuestia in commentaries later translated into Latin discussed three of the classical biblical presbyterian loci, namely, Titus 1:7, Philippians 1:1 ff., and 1 Timothy 3:8-10. In the first two commentaries his views are moderately consonant with Jerome, Ambrosiaster, and Pelagius.¹⁹ In apostolic

¹⁶ Jerome seems not to have commented on Philippians 1:1 and 1 Timothy 3:8-10, two of the classical biblical loci dealing with orders. See Alexander Souter, *The Earliest Latin Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul. A Study* (Oxford, 1927), p. 98.

¹⁷ 'Similiter "inreprehensibiles" ut episcopi eligantur. quaeritur cur de praesbyteris nullam fecerit mentionem, sed etiam ipsos in episcoporum nomine comprehendit, quia secundus, immo paene unus est gradus, sicut ad Philippenses episcopis et diaconis scribit, cum una ciuitas plures episcopos habere non possit, et in Actibus [Apostolorum] praesbyteros ecclesiae iturus Hierosolymis congregauit, quibus inter cetera ait: "uidete gregem in quo uos spiritus sanctus episcopos ordinauit"' (*Exposition on 1 Timothy 3:8*; ed. Alexander Souter, *Pelagius's Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of Saint Paul* [Texts and Studies 9.2; Cambridge, 1926], p. 486).

¹⁸ 'Hic episcopus praesbiteros intellegimus: non enim in una ciuitate plures episcopi esse potuissent, sed hoc etiam in Apostolorum Actibus inuenitur' (*Exposition on Philippians 1:1* [ibid., p. 388]).

¹⁹ 'Duo hoc in loco ostendit quae a nobis iam dicta sunt in prima epistola Timothei, quoniam illos qui nunc nominantur presbyteri non presbyteros solum sed et episcopos tunc dicebant. nam dum dicit: *ut constituas per ciuitatem presbyteros*, et de presbyteris disputans adiecit: *oportet enim episcopum inreprehensibilem esse sicut Dei dispensatorem*. et quod dixerat per ciuitatem presbyteros debere constitui, qui ecclesiarum possent implere dispensationem. prouincias etenim integras in idipsum committebant illis quibus ordinandi potestatem praebebant, qui ciuitates peragrantes, sicut nunc episcopi regiones suas, eos qui in ministerio ecclesiae minus esse uidebantur ordinabant, et docebant quae eos facere conueniebat; ordinantes, simulque et instituentes singulos sicut expedire existimabant. tunc uero isti ipsi qui ordinationi praeerant "apostoli" dicebantur, contemplatione quidem reuerentiae; quo quidem nomine se uocari graue existimantes, praelegerunt ut secundum consuetudinem quae ad praesens habetur "episcoporum" sibi uocabula uindicarent, eo quod "apostolorum" nomine se uocari sui meriti maius esse censebant. si autem non hoc ita se haberet, non utique dixerit: *ut constituas per ciuitatem presbyteros*, sed dixerit: *ut constituas per ciuitatem episcopum*, qui ordinatus cuncta quae illo minus habebantur poterit adimplere. deinde ipsum episcopum designans qualis esse debeat dicit...' (*Commentary on Titus 1:7*; ed. H. B. Swete, *Theodori episcopi Mopsuesteni In epistulas b.*

times both presbyters and bishops went under the same name. But Theodore's *Commentary on 1 Timothy* is quite different from those of his presbyterian predecessors. Here Theodore states that he will not hide behind the terminological equation of presbyter and bishop, but will clearly explain the constitution of the primitive Church.

According to Theodore the churches of individual cities were originally ruled by presbyters, who were called by the alternative title 'episcopi'. They were the successors of the Jewish 'presbyters'. Those officers whom the Church now calls 'episcopi' were in the primitive Church called 'apostoli', and they ruled over whole provinces. When the apostles died and their successors were unable to match them in miracles and good works, the title 'apostolus' fell into disuse and the term 'episcopus', which was sometimes used by the presbyters, was applied to the successors of the apostles. At first, says Theodore, there were only two or three bishops for each province, but eventually cities and even smaller units obtained bishops.²⁰

Pauli commentarii. The Latin Version with the Greek Fragments, 2 vols. [Cambridge, 1880-82], 2.239).

'Notandum uero est et illud quoniam episcopos dixit illos qui nunc presbyteri dicuntur, sic illos nominans; nec enim ordinis erat, multos in una ciuitate esse illos, qui nunc episcopi nuncupantur, siquidem nec per singulas ciuitates erant antiquis temporibus qui functionem hanc adimplebant. sed *episcopis* dicens statim memoratus est et diacones. non utique relictis presbyteris diacones dixisset inferiores eorum. sed ista quis melius recognoscet ex illis quae ad Titum scripta sunt, in quibus dicit: *ut constituas per ciuitates presbyteros, sicut ego tibi praecepi*; et adiciens quales, *oportet*, (inquit) *episcopum inreprehensibilem esse*, "presbyteros" episcopos euidenter nominans. hoc uero in loco intendendum est, quoniam dixit *coepiscopis*, non sicut quidam intellexerunt, *coepiscopis* dixit, sicut et nos et "conpresbyteris" scribere consueuimus. non enim ad suam personam redigens dixit *coepiscopis*, ut intellegi possit "coepiscopis nostris," sed ad illud quod dixit *omnibus sanctis in Christo Jesu*; ut intellegi possit quoniam "omnibus qui sunt Philippis sanctis cum illis [qui illic] sunt coepiscopis et diaconibus;" non absolute designans horum nomina, sed quia humilitatis exhortatio illis magis apta esse uidebatur, qui et ceteros instruere poterant, et ante alios seipsos formam ceteris praebere in his quae conueniebant uel agi debebant' (*Commentary on 1 Philippians* 1:2; ed. Swete, 1.199-201).

²⁰ 'Opinabatur quiquis usum diuinarum non habet scripturarum beatum Paulum presbyteros praetermisisse. sed non ita se res habet; illa enim quae de episcopo in anterioribus dixit, etiam et de illis dicit qui nunc nominantur presbyteri, eo quod antiquis temporibus utrisque his nominibus uocabantur presbyteri. et hoc notauimus [in epistolam ad] Philippenses scribentes: in ea epistola scribens apostolus *coepiscopis et cumdiaconibus* dixit. euidens quia non erat possibile ut multi essent episcopi in una ciuitate. melius autem quis cognoscere poterit illud ex illis quae ad Titum scripsit apostolus; dixit etenim: *ut constituas per singulas ciuitates presbyteros sicut ego tibi praecepi*, et dicens quales debeant ordinari adicit, *oportet enim episcopum inreprehensibilem esse sicut Dei dispensatorem*. cum conueniret utique illi ut "presbyterum" eum diceret; sed euidenter eundem et "episcopum" et "presbyterum" nominauit. quae autem sit causa non est iustum eam silentio praeterire ob illam immutationem nominum quae ad praesens esse uidetur, et qua ex causa discreta sunt nunc nomina, et neque episcopus dici potest "presbyter" neque "presbyter" umquam "episcopi" nuncupationem poterit sibi uindicare, usquedum presbyter esse

Theodore's vision of the constitution of the primitive Church did not stop with these observations on the relationship between the presbyterate and episcopacy. In his commentary on the slightly later passage in 1 Timothy 3:14 f., he laid out a view that was to have enormous consequences when used and recast in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In this section of his commentary Theodore remarks that the apostle Paul, in speaking of the officers of the early Church, did not mention such lower grades as subdeacon and lector. Theodore then notes that it was only as the Church grew that these

sistit. antiquis etenim temporibus quando pietati [pauci] studebant, presbyteri omni in loco ordinabantur, hoc quidem nomen contemplatione honoris accipientes, sicut et apud Iudaeos presbyteri dicebantur qui populo praeerant. uocabantur autem et "episcopi" ab illo opere quod et implere uidebantur, eo quod considerare omnia quae ad cultum pertinent pietatis fuerant constituti, ita ut uniuersorum dispensationem haberent commissam. nam et perfectam dispensationem et auctoritatem ecclesiastici ministerii ipsi tunc commissam habebant, et omnia regebantur pro eorum arbitrio. hoc autem poterit quis et a Luca discere manifestius, qui in Actibus apostolorum inter cetera dicit misisse Paulum Ephesi et euocasse presbyteros ad se. cuius etiam et exhortationem ad eos factam exponit, quam hisdem aduenientibus fecisse uidetur; in quibus Paulus ita disserit: *adrendite uobis et omni gregi, in quo uos Spiritus sanctus posuit episcopos ad regendam ecclesiam Dei*. euidens est quia quos ipse nominauit "presbyteros," hos a Paulo *episcopos* arcessitos denuntiavit; ii uero qui ordinationis nunc habent potestatem, qui nunc nominantur "episcopi," non unius ecclesiae creabantur episcopi sed prouincias integras eo in tempore regebant, apostolorum nomine nuncupati. sic uniuersae Asiae Timotheum praeposuit beatus Paulus et Cretae Titum. ... nam et uniuersae ciuitates tunc presbyteros (ut dixi) habebant, qui suas ecclesias singuli gubernabant; ita ut essent tunc per singulas prouincias singuli qui nunc "episcopi" nominantur, qui tunc "apostoli" dicebantur, quod nunc uero per singulas ciuitates aut possessiones qui ordinationem episcopatus susceperunt. et tunc quidem hoc modo ecclesiae regebantur. quoniam uero pietas incrementum sumpsisse uidetur, repletae autem sunt non modo ciuitates credentium, sed regiones. beatis uero apostolis decedentibus, illi qui post illos ordinati sunt ut praeessent ecclesiis illis primis exaequari non poterant neque miraculorum testimonium par illis habere, sed et in multis aliis infirmiores illorum esse uidebantur, graue existimauerunt apostolorum sibi uindicare nuncupationem. diuiserunt ergo ipsa nomina, et hisdem (id est, presbyteris) presbyterii nomen reliquerunt; alii uero episcopi sunt nuncupati, ii qui et ordinationis praediti sunt potestate, ita ut plenissime idem praepositos se ecclesiarum esse cognoscerent. facti sunt uero et ampliores episcopi, causa sic depostulante; postea uero et illis adiecti sunt alii liberalitate eorum qui ordinationes faciebant. in primis enim per singulas prouincias duo aut (ut multum) tres fiebant episcopi; quod etiam et in partibus occiduus non ante multi temporis spatium in plurimis prouinciis custodire uidebantur, in aliquibus uero et usque ad praesens id inueniet quis custoditum. tempore uero promouente non solum per ciuitates ordinati sunt, sed et per singula loca in quibus nec adeo necessitas flagitabat ut ad hanc functionem explendam ordinarentur. et haec quidem ad manifestationem sensus apostolicae scripturae a nobis sunt dicta, ut et illa quae dudum fuerat uel consuetudo uel demutationis causa in apertum consisteret. intendendum uero est de cetero illis quae de diaconibus dicit, cum euidens sit illud, quoniam illa quae de episcopis dicta sunt, de illis qui nunc presbyteri nuncupantur uoluit significari. quae uel maxime conueniunt ad praesens ut cum omni diligentia obseruentur ab illis qui nunc episcopi nuncupantur, tanto intentius quanto et maiorem functionem commissam habere uidentur. ... dicens illa quae tunc de episcopis dixerat qui nunc nominantur "presbyteri," adicit: *diaconos similiter...* (Commentary on 1 Timothy 3:8; ed. Swete, 2.117-26).

ministers were created to assist the presbyters and deacons, and he emphasizes that it was they alone who were the sole ministers of the altar.²¹

Perhaps before the death of Jerome, yet another tract was written with presbyterian tendencies. This is the first Latin patristic tract devoted entirely to a study of the seven ecclesiastical orders and is appropriately entitled in later manuscripts *De vii ordinibus ecclesiae*.²² The tract, which was attributed to Jerome, seems to have been written in southern Gaul or northern Spain between the fifth and early seventh century and is a reproach to a bishop or archbishop for his intimidation or even suppression of the ecclesiastical grades below him, including the presbyter. The pseudo-Hieronymian author argues that all the grades from the lowest gravedigger to presbyter are absolutely essential to the bishop, even though each grade finds its power in the bishop. To emphasize the dignity of the presbyter, the author states that in many duties, especially the confection of the body and blood of Christ, the bishop and presbyter are alike and that both are called *sacerdotes*.²³ While in its entirety the *De vii ordinibus ecclesiae* is no more presbyterian than is the whole of the Ambrosian or genuinely Hieronymian corpus, it was nonetheless this section on the presbyter emphasizing the equality of presbyter and bishop that, as we shall

²¹ 'illud uero dictis nostris adici dignum est, quoniam non conuenit demirari si neque subdiaconum neque lectorum memoriam apostolus fecisse uidetur. illis etenim gradibus functionum qui in ecclesiis necessarium habentur, isti postea magis sunt adiecti propter utilitatem ministerii, quod propter multitudinem credentium per alteros postea impleri debere necessitas flagitauit. unde nec ordinationem ante altare adsequuntur, eo quod nec mysteriis ministrare statuunt, sed alii quidem eorum lectionum officium implent; alii uero intra diaconicum illa praeparant quae ad diaconum pertinent ministeria, necnon sollicitudinem implent luminariorum. nam mysterii ministerium presbyteri implent et diaconi soli...' (*Commentary on 1 Timothy 3:14 f.*; ed. Swete, 2.132-34).

²² On this tract and its title see Roger E. Reynolds, 'The "Isidorian" *Epistula ad Leudefredum*: An Early Medieval Epitome of the Clerical Duties', *Mediaeval Studies* 41 (1979) 273 f. n. 121 and "'At Sixes and Sevens" – and Eights and Nines: The Sacred Mathematics of Sacred Orders in the Early Middle Ages', *Speculum* 54 (1979) 671, and literature therein. The late Rev. Christopher Lawson had partially prepared a new edition of this important tract before his untimely death, and his wife has generously forwarded that edition to me for completion.

²³ 'Sextus seniorum ordo est, qui sacerdotibus datur, qui presbyteri dicuntur, quia praesunt Ecclesiae Dei et Christi sacramenta conficiunt. Hi namque in benedictione cum episcopis consortes mysteriorum sunt ac nulla in conficiendo corpore Christi et sanguine inter eos et episcopos credenda distantia est, quia et Eucharistiam iam pridem per presbyteros benedictam, si necessitas exegerit, episcopus accipere debet et se Christo ac plenitudini eius communicare cognoscat. ... Ab initio, ut legimus, negotiorum iudices esse mandati sunt presbyteri, sacerdotum interesse concilio, quoniam et ipsi presbyteri, ut legimus, episcopi nominantur secundum quod scriptum est ad Titum: HUIUS REI GRATIA.... Vides ergo presbyterum episcopum dici et apostoli Pauli hanc esse sententiam. Et alibi ad Timotheum de ecclesiae ordinatione humanus sermo est: Si quis EPISCOPATUM.... Vides ergo hic presbyteri non fieri mentionem sed hunc esse loco episcopi vocatum' (ed. Athanasius W. Kalff, *Pseudo-Hieronymi De septem ordinibus ecclesiae* [Würzburg, 1935], pp. 45-54).

see, was used most often in the Middle Ages, thereby establishing the 'Hieronymian' character of the whole tract.

The presbyterian tendencies in the *De vii ordinibus ecclesiae* were transferred by the late sixth century to the works of the last and perhaps most important late patristic theologian of sacred orders, Isidore of Seville. Sometime between 598 and 619, Isidore wrote his *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, and in the chapter on the presbyter he depended heavily on the pseudo-Hieronymian text.²⁴ Before treating the presbyter Isidore had dealt with the Old and New Testament origins and the office of the bishop whom he calls a *sacerdos*. Then, after a cursory treatment of the office of chorbishop, Isidore turned to the presbyter, whose origins he traced back to the Old Testament. On the basis of the *De vii ordinibus ecclesiae*, he equated the presbyter and bishop in the confection of the Eucharist, teaching, and preaching, and then said that, according to St. Paul, presbyters were called by the name of bishop.²⁵ As Power has recently stressed, Isidore could make this claim because he also saw the presbyters as truly *sacerdotes* with the bishops.²⁶ Hence, although in Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis* there are clear presbyterian tendencies, they are not of the purest strain which said that originally not two groups but one group of leaders was called by the interchangeable terms of presbyter and bishop.

Later in his life Isidore put his final touches to his *Etymologiae*, and since they are based heavily on his earlier *De ecclesiasticis officiis*,²⁷ one might expect this theory to have been used there. However, in his brief treatment of the presbyterate in the *Etymologiae* Isidore comes much closer to the purer strain of Hieronymian presbyterianism when he concludes with the words already cited in the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard: '... apud veteres idem episcopi et presbyteri fuerunt....'²⁸

²⁴ See A. C. Lawson, *The Sources of the De ecclesiasticis officiis of St. Isidore of Seville* (Bodleian Library, Oxford Ref. D 27 II, 1937; A. C. Lawson ms. Eng. th. c. 56), especially pp. 78-105. The new critical edition of the *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, which was virtually complete at the Rev. Lawson's death, is scheduled to be published by my colleague, Professor J. N. Hillgarth.

²⁵ 'Presbyteri autem interpretantur seniores, quia seniores aetate Graeci *presbyteros* vocant. His enim, sicut episcopis, dispensatio mysteriorum Dei commissa est. Praesunt enim Ecclesiae Christi et in confectione divini corporis et sanguinis consortes cum episcopis sunt, similiter et in doctrina populorum et in officio praedicandi. Ac sola propter auctoritatem summo sacerdoti clericorum ordinatio et consecratio servata est, ne a multis Ecclesiae disciplina vindicata concordiam solveret, scandala generaret. Nam Paulus apostolus eosdem presbyteros, ut vere sacerdotes, sub nomine episcoporum ita asseverat, loquens ad Titum, "Huius rei..." Qua sententia ostendit presbyteros etiam sub episcoporum nomine taxari' (*De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.7 [PL 83.787]).

²⁶ Power, *Ministers of Christ*, p. 84 n. 95.

²⁷ See Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, p. 34 n. 39.

²⁸ 7.12.20 (*Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum siue Originum libri XX*, ed. W. M. Lindsay [Oxford, 1911]).

To say that Isidore's theology of orders was presbyterian is partially correct, but this takes into account only part of his thought. In fact, there are tendencies toward the other – the episcopal strain as we have called it – when he clearly distinguishes between the presbyters and bishops back even into both the Old and New Testaments and says that the first bishops might have been Aaron, Peter, or any of the twelve apostles.²⁹

Both of these tendencies in Isidore, the presbyterian and episcopal, were channeled into the great majority of early medieval tracts and commentaries on orders, and much of the seeming inconsistency of early medieval authors who wrote on orders lay in their wholesale incorporation of the Isidorian corpus without harmonization of both presbyterian and episcopal strains. But individual sections of the patristic presbyterian texts lived on in the early Middle Ages apart from Isidore – those of Jerome, Ambrosiaster, Pelagius, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and pseudo-Jerome – and it will be chiefly these sections and extracts that will occupy us because they contain the more original and purer strains.

II

If one examines the hundreds of early medieval texts on sacred orders in both printed and manuscript form, a remarkable pattern in the use of the patristic presbyterian texts emerges.

Among the types of texts dealing with sacred orders are biblical commentaries, florilegal tracts on orders, liturgical expositions, and canonical texts, especially the canonical collections from the fifth century to Gratian's twelfth-century *Decretum*. In all these genres of literature throughout the early Middle Ages the patristic presbyterian texts were used along with others that traced the origins of the episcopate back to the Old and New Testament and even to Christ himself. When the survival and use of these texts are traced over the course of the fifth to the twelfth century, it is clear that the presbyterian texts especially enjoyed a dramatic rise in popularity from the middle of the eleventh century to the middle of the twelfth. Simply in terms of the numerous citations, it is clear that there was an astonishing revival of patristic presbyterianism from the time of Gregory VII to Peter Lombard. To demonstrate the intensity of the revival and the reasons for it, it is necessary to deal with the survival of patristic presbyterian texts from the eighth to the mid-eleventh century.

In literature of all types from the eighth to the eleventh century the presbyterian view was carried mainly through the use of the patristic texts deriving

²⁹ *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.5 (PL 83.781 f.).

from biblical commentaries. As one might expect, the numerous Carolingian commentaries on the Pauline epistles were the chief vehicles for the presbyterian view of the relationship between presbyter and bishop. In no less than six of the major commentaries of that period, including those of Alcuin,³⁰ Claudius of Turin,³¹ Rabanus Maurus,³² Sedulius Scottus,³³ Haymo of Auxerre,³⁴ and Atto of Vercelli,³⁵ the texts of Jerome, Pelagius, Ambrosiaster, and Theodore of Mopsuestia all play a major role. If one carefully compares the patristic commentaries with these Carolingian commentaries, it turns out that for Titus 1, Jerome's text was especially popular, and for Ephesians 4:11 f., Philippians 1:1 f., and 1 Timothy 3:8-10, the remainder of the patristic presbyterian texts dominated.

If one then turns to the liturgical expositions of the period before the eleventh century, there are also traces of the patristic presbyterian commentaries.

³⁰ 'Idem est ergo presbyter, qui et episcopus ... semina tollerentur' (*Exposition on Titus*; PL 100.1013 [cf. Jerome on Titus, above, n. 13]). 'Olim vero omnis presbyter episcopus recte dicebatur ... honorificent episcopos suos' (*Exposition on Titus*; PL 100.1013 [cf. Ambrosiaster on 1 Timothy, above, n. 10]).

³¹ 'Episcopus hic non solum pontifices, sed et presbiteros intelligimus. ... Sed de his in epistola ad Titum sufficienter scripsimus' (*Commentary on Philippians* 1; ed. Landgraf, 'Die Lehre der Frühscholastik', 500 n. 19 [cf. Pelagius on Philippians, above, n. 18]). 'Oportet enim episcopum sine crimine esse. ... et schismatum semina tollerentur' (*Commentary on Titus*; ed. Landgraf, *ibid.* and PL 134.703 [cf. Jerome on Titus, above, n. 13]).

³² 'Ideo non per omnia conveniunt. ... et esset multis scandalum' (*Commentary on Ephesians* 4:11 f.; PL 112.431 [cf. Ambrosiaster on Ephesians, above, n. 11]). 'Notandum vero est illud, ... se ipsis formam caeteros praeberere in his quae conveniebant, vel agi debebant' (*Commentary on Philippians* 1; PL 112.479-80 [cf. Theodore of Mopsuestia on Philippians, above, n. 19]). 'Diaconos similiter, opinatur quisquis usum.... nec non sollicitudinem implent luminariorum. Nam mysterii ministerium presbyteri implent et diaconi soli' (*Commentary on 1 Timothy* 3; PL 112.603-607 [cf. Theodore of Mopsuestia on 1 Timothy, above, nn. 20 f.]). 'Idem est ergo presbyter qui et episcopus ... et schismatum semina tollerentur' (*Commentary on Titus* 1; PL 112.660 [cf. Jerome on Titus, above, n. 13]).

³³ 'Diaconos similiter pudicos. Hoc est, oportet similiter ... in episcoporum nomine comprehendit' (*Commentary on 1 Timothy* 3; PL 103.234 [cf. Pelagius on 1 Timothy, above, n. 17]). 'Oportet enim episcopum sine crimine esse sicut Dei dispensatorem. Ipsum dicit episcopum, quem prius presbyterum nominavit.... et schismatum semina tollerentur' (*Commentary on Titus* 1; PL 103.243 [cf. Pelagius on Titus 1:7, ed. Souter, p. 527, and Jerome on Titus, above, n. 13]).

³⁴ '... qui sunt Philippis cum episcopis [sic], id est cum presbyteris ... habere plures episcopos' (*Commentary on Philippians* 1; PL 117.735 [cf. Pelagius on Philippians, above, n. 18]). 'Similiter diaconos, subaudis oportet esse pudicos. Quare tacuit de presbyteris? ... et tamen non omnis presbyter episcopus est' (*Commentary on 1 Timothy* 3; PL 117.792 [cf. Pelagius on Timothy, above, n. 17, and Ambrosiaster on 1 Timothy, above, n. 10]).

³⁵ 'In primordio omnes docebant vel baptizabant; quod nunc non licet, ne vilescant Ecclesiae mysteria' (*Commentary on Ephesians* 4; PL 134.567 [cf. Ambrosiaster on Ephesians, above, n. 11]). 'Cum vero dicit, "episcopis et diaconibus," non pontifices, sed presbyteros.... Illo enim tempore presbyteri episcopi vocabantur' (*Commentary on Philippians* 1; PL 134.588 [cf. Pelagius on Philippians, above, n. 18]).

Certainly the best-known instance of this is in the *Liber officialis* of Amalarius, where texts from Jerome's *Commentary on Titus* are used in three places.³⁶ Less recognized, but of far more importance for the future, was Amalarius' extensive use of Theodore's *Commentary on 1 Timothy* 3. In his introductory remarks on all the clerical grades, Amalarius states that the apostle Paul specifically named only those orders in the Church that were absolutely necessary, the *sacerdotes* and deacons, and that only as the Church grew were the other orders added. To clarify what he meant by *sacerdotes*, Amalarius quotes Theodore under Ambrose's name to the effect that the two necessary orders of ministers were presbyters and deacons.³⁷ Then, later in his discussion of the presbyters, Amalarius quotes Theodore on the original equation of presbyters and bishops in no less than four instances, again under Ambrose's name.³⁸

The full significance of Amalarius' use of Theodore will be seen when we reach the late eleventh century, but for now it suffices to make the point that early medieval manuscripts of the Latin translation of Theodore's commentaries are extremely rare – Swete and Laistner list only four manuscripts or fragments³⁹ – and hence Amalarius' use of the text seems to have been in large part responsible for its later transmission. The modern editor of Amalarius' *Liber officialis* failed to recognize Theodore in this text and ascribed it to Rabanus Maurus' *Commentary on Timothy*.⁴⁰ Indeed, Theodore was used by Rabanus,⁴¹ but Theodore's later prominence almost certainly came from the fact that Amalarius had clearly quoted him under Ambrose's name in his description of the ecclesiastical grades.

When we move to the role of the patristic presbyterian commentaries in canonical literature before the eleventh century, we find a strange situation. On the one hand, the presbyterian text from Jerome's *Commentary on Titus* found its way into the *Institutio canonicorum* or decrees of the Council of Aachen of

³⁶ *Liber officialis* 2.13.4, 10, 15 (ed. Jean Michel Hanssens, *Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia*, vol. 2: *Liber officialis* [Studi e Testi 139; Vatican City, 1948], pp. 228-32).

³⁷ *Liber officialis* 2.6.2 (ed. Hanssens, pp. 213 f.).

³⁸ *Liber officialis* 2.13.3, 12-14 (ed. Hanssens, pp. 227-32).

³⁹ See Swete, *Theodori episcopi Mopsuesteni In epistulas beati Pauli* 1.xxiii-xxv; and M. L. W. Laistner, 'Antiochene Exegesis in Western Europe during the Middle Ages', *Harvard Theological Review* 40 (1947) 19-31. On the transmission of the work of Theodore to the West, see J. N. Hillgarth, 'Old Ireland and Visigothic Spain' in *Old Ireland*, ed. Robert McNally (New York, 1965), p. 211; N. K. Chadwick, *The Age of the Saints in the Early Celtic Church* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 56 f.; *Theodori Mopsuesteni Expositionis in psalmos Iuliano Aclanensi interprete in latinum versae quae supersunt*, ed. Lucas de Coninck (CCL 88A.vii-xlv); Bernhard Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter' in Bernhard Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte* 1 (Stuttgart, 1966), pp. 206, 210 f.

⁴⁰ *Amalarii episcopi Opera* (above, n. 36) 2.213-32.

⁴¹ See above, n. 32.

816/17,⁴² whose extensive diffusion in ninth-century manuscripts is well known.⁴³ However, the Hieronymian text in the *Institutio canonicorum* is mutilated in such a way as to omit the crucial statement that the bishop is superior to the presbyters more out of ecclesiastical custom than because of the command of the Lord.⁴⁴ That the *Institutio canonicorum* omitted this critical statement is not surprising. The same is true in the commentaries on Titus of Alcuin,⁴⁵ Sedulius Scottus,⁴⁶ and Claudius of Turin.⁴⁷ Moreover, canonical compilers seem generally to have been hesitant to use the commentary of Jerome in any way. If the canonical collections assembled before the eleventh century are surveyed, one will find Jerome's text inserted into only three isolated collections.⁴⁸ The probable reason for this, as will be seen, is that this relatively pure Hieronymian strain of patristic presbyterianism could not have been very popular in an age in which the canonical collections were dominated by texts from the extremely pro-episcopal pseudo-Isidorian *Decretals*.

Together with the presbyterian texts in the ancient biblical commentaries, we have earlier met similar tendencies in several patristic polemical tracts. With one exception, these tracts also were almost never cited before the eleventh century as integral parts of canonical collections. Excerpts from Ambrosiaster's *De iactantia* seem never to have been included in canonical collections until the eleventh century. And while the complete text of the pseudo-Hieronymian *De vii ordinibus ecclesiae* was frequently included in manuscripts of canonical collections,⁴⁹ this meant that both the episcopalist and presbyterian passages of the tract were included and in a sense cancelled each other. Even when the *De*

⁴² c. 10 (MGH *Conc.* 2/1.326 f.).

⁴³ See Reynolds, 'Epistula ad Leudefredum', 254 n. 3, to which may be added Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale nouv. acq. lat. 281 (s. x² [?], N. Ital. or S. Fr.), fols. 111r-116v, a ms. kindly referred to me by Professor Raymund Kottje.

⁴⁴ Cf. MGH *Conc.* 2/1.326, line 34, and PL 26.597 f.

⁴⁵ See above, n. 30.

⁴⁶ See above, n. 33.

⁴⁷ See above, n. 31.

⁴⁸ In the canonical ms. Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale 1406, fol. 3r; the canonical *Collection in Nine Books of Vatican Library Vat. lat. 1349*, fol. 18v; and the canonical ms. Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana T. XVIII, fols. 236r-237r. On these mss. and the collections within them see Hubert Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich. Die Collectio Vetus Gallica. Die älteste systematische Kanonensammlung des fränkischen Gallien: Studien und Edition* (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 1; Berlin-New York, 1975), pp. 134 f., 178-80; and Roger E. Reynolds, 'Basil and the Early Medieval Latin Canonical Collections' in *Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic. A Sixteen-Hundredth Anniversary Symposium*, ed. Paul Jonathan Fedwick, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1981), 2.526 f.

⁴⁹ See the literature listed in n. 22 above, and also R. E. Reynolds, 'The Pseudo-Hieronymian *De septem ordinibus ecclesiae*: Notes on Its Origins, Abridgments, and Use in Early Medieval Canonical Collections', *Revue bénédictine* 80 (1970) 238-52, to which may be added Vatican Library, Barb. lat. 541 (s. xi), fols. 95r-103v, a manuscript called to my attention by Professor Kottje.

vii ordinibus ecclesiae was broken up into individual orders to be used as integral parts of systematic collections, the episcopal and presbyteral sections could both be used. Such is the case in the early ninth-century Salzburg *Collection in Two Books*.⁵⁰

The one exception was Jerome's *Epistula ad Evangelum*, which had been used four times by Amalarius in his discussion of the presbyter in the *Liber officialis*.⁵¹ In the canonical collections extracts from this polemical tract of Jerome appear over the course of five centuries only five times, again in rather isolated instances.⁵² One of the more revealing of these is in a tenth- or early eleventh-century Mantuan manuscript, where as an addendum to the pseudo-Isidorian *Decretals* a snippet from Jerome is used. However, it falls under the title *De diaconibus* and emphasizes not so much the dignity of presbyters in the ancient Alexandrian church but how the deacons there elected one of their number to be an archdeacon.⁵³

The apparent lack of popularity of the patristic presbyterian statements in early medieval canonical literature was probably in large part the result of an ecclesiastical situation that arose in Carolingian times. A crisis bearing striking parallels to that facing the presbyters in Rome in the fourth century now confronted the Carolingian bishops. On one hand they felt the pressure of the powerful metropolitans above them, and on the other the chorepiscopacy below them. Hence, it was deemed necessary to create new texts to relieve this double pressure, and the result is found in the pseudo-Isidorian *Decretals*. In two places in the Forgeries the statement is made that the Lord himself

⁵⁰ 1.2, 25 f. On this collection see Roger E. Reynolds, 'Canon Law Collections in Early Ninth-Century Salzburg' in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law: Salamanca, 21-25 September 1976*, ed. Stephan Kuttner and Kenneth Pennington (Monumenta iuris canonici, Ser. C: Subsidia 6; Vatican City, 1980), pp. 28-31.

⁵¹ 2.13.7, 9, 11, 15 (ed. Hanssens, pp. 229-32).

⁵² In the so-called *Collection of Chieti*, Vatican Library Reg. lat. 1997, fols. 99v-100v (on which ms. see Raymund Kottje, *Die Bussbücher Halitgars von Cambrai und des Hrabanus Maurus: ihre Überlieferung und ihre Quellen* [Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 8; Berlin-New York, 1980], p. 222); the so-called *Colección sistemática mozárabe* 2.xvi (see Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional mss. 4877, p. 73a, 8985, fols. 26r-27v, 213v-216v, and Gonzalo Martínez Díez, *La colección canónica hispana*, vol. 2: *Colecciones derivadas* [Monumenta Hispaniae sacra, Serie canónica 1; Madrid, 1976], p. 655); the canonical ms. Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana T. XVIII (on which see Paul Fournier, 'Un groupe de recueils canoniques italiens des x^e et xi^e siècles', *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 40 [1916] 115); the *Collection in Nine Books of Vatican Library Vat. lat. 1349*, fol. 23r (on which see above, n. 48); and Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale 205 (B.III.1) (s. x/xi), fol. 190v (on which ms. see Horst Fuhrmann, *Einfluss und Verbreitung der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen von ihrem Auftauchen bis in die neuere Zeit* [Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae historica 24.1; Stuttgart, 1972], p. 169 n. 61).

⁵³ Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale 205 (B.III.1), fol. 190v: 'Nam et Alexandriae a Marco ... turba contemptibiles facit' (cf. above, n. 14 and below, n. 68 on Vatican Library Vat. lat. 1343).

instituted two orders of the *sacerdotium*, first the apostolate-episcopate, and only later as the Church grew, the seventy-two disciple-presbyters.⁵⁴ Then with an eye to the chorbishops, who were seen more as presbyters than bishops, pseudo-Pope Anacletus flatly contradicts patristic presbyterian sentiments with the clear statement that '... amplius quam isti duo ordines sacerdotum [i.e., the presbyters and bishops], nec nobis a Deo collati sunt nec apostoli docuerunt.'⁵⁵ Besides these two passages looking to the chorepiscopacy, there were several other condemnations in the Forgeries of this grade whose institution was considered one with the seventy-two disciple-presbyters. None of the other condemnations would be as important in the theology of the episcopate, however, as the pseudo-Anacletan statement because, with the rapid decline of the chorepiscopate, the pseudo-Anacletan text would be used as a simple statement concerning the divine institution of the episcopacy and presbyterate.⁵⁶

Other passages in the pseudo-Isidorian *Decretals* went further to bolster the view that the episcopal grade went back even into Old and New Testament times. Moses, Aaron, and Aaron's descendants are cited as the Old Testament predecessors of the New Testament bishops and presbyters, and the Church of Jerusalem is described with its archbishops.⁵⁷ To trace all the passages that

⁵⁴ *Epistola Anacleti tertia* 28: 'Sacerdotum, fratres, ordo bipertitus est, et sicut dominus illum constituit, a nullo debet perturbari. Scitis autem a domino apostolos esse electos et constitutos et postea per diversas provincias ad praedicandum dispersos. Cum vero messis cepit crescere, videns paucos esse operarios, ad eorum adiumentum septuaginta elegi praecepit discipulos. Episcopi vero domini apostolorum, presbyteri quoque septuaginta discipulorum locum tenent. Episcopi autem non in castellis aut modicis civitatibus debent constitui, sed presbyteri per castella et modicas civitates atque villas debent ab episcopis ordinari et poni, singuli tamen per singulos titulos suos. Et episcopus non ab uno, sed a pluribus debet episcopis ordinari, et, ut dictum est, non ad modicam civitatem, ne vilescat nomen episcopi, aut alicubi, sed in honorabilem urbem titulandus et denominandus est. Presbyter vero ad qualemcunque locum vel ecclesiam quae in eo constituta est praeficiendus, atque in ea diebus vitae suae durandus; amplius quam isti duo ordines sacerdotum, nec nobis a deo collati sunt nec apostoli docuerunt.' Damasus, *De vana superstitione corepiscoporum vitanda*: 'Nam non amplius quam duos ordines inter discipulos domini esse cognovimus.' (Both edited by Paul Hinschius, *Decretales pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni* [Leipzig, 1863], pp. 82, 511.)

⁵⁵ Ed. Hinschius, p. 82.

⁵⁶ e.g., the *Collectio canonum Anselmo dedicata* 4.1 (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Msc. Canon. 5 [P.I.12], fol. 108r); and the *Collection of Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana A 46 inf.*, fol. 149r.

⁵⁷ e.g., *Epistola Anacleti secunda*: 'Porro et Moysi praecipitur ut eligat presbyteros, ... Initium enim sacerdotii Aaron fuit, licet Melchisedech prior obtulerit sacrificium, et post hunc Abraham, Isaac et Iacob. ... Quo loco contemplari oportet Aaron summum sacerdotem, id est episcopum fuisse, porro filios eius presbyterorum demonstrasse figuram. ... Porro et Hierosolimitarum primus archiepiscopus beatus Iacobus qui iustus dicebatur, et secundum carnem domini nuncupatus est frater, a Petro, Iacobo, et Ioanne apostolis est ordinatus, successoribus videlicet dantes formam eorum, ut minus quam a tribus episcopis reliquisque omnibus assensum praebentibus nullatenus episcopus ordinetur et communi voto ordinatio celebretur' (ed. Hinschius, pp. 78, 75).

tended to support an episcopal view and their variants in the many canonical collections, florilegia, and tracts on orders of the ninth and tenth centuries is beyond the scope of this study, but a cursory examination of the canonical collections appearing from the mid-ninth to the beginning of the eleventh century shows the widespread popularity of these episcopal texts. They are found in no less than five collections, two of them being major and widely diffused.⁵⁸

As we reach the end of the tenth century, the exact theological status of the presbyter and bishop is somewhat hard to determine in our major genres of literature where orders were mentioned. In canonical material the episcopal view seems definitely to have been ascendant with the spread of the pseudo-Isidorian texts. As for biblical commentaries, the literary genre in which presbyterianism was most likely to appear, the tenth century produced very little. The *lectio divina*, as Beryl Smalley reminds us, had in the tenth century moved from the cloister to the choir, and this was not conducive to the production of new commentaries.⁵⁹ In liturgical expositions and florilegal tracts there is a bit of evidence for the presbyterian view in tenth-century excerpts from the Alcuinian tract entitled *Disputatio puerorum* where the highest grade described was the presbyter,⁶⁰ but this is somewhat ambiguous and a rather isolated instance. On balance, then, it seems that by the end of the tenth century patristic presbyterianism had reached its nadir.

In the early eleventh century there are a few isolated indications that the theological tide was beginning to turn and that patristic presbyterianism was about to make a comeback. This evidence comes especially from northwestern Europe and southern Italy, areas where authors had fostered the notion that there were seven ecclesiastical grades and that the highest of these was the presbyter. In England both the pastoral letters of Ælfric and a tract sometimes attributed to Wulfstan⁶¹ indicate a practical equation of the bishop and pres-

⁵⁸ See, e.g., the *Collection of Paris*, *Bibliothèque Nationale lat.* 2449, fol. 134r (on which see R. E. Reynolds, 'A Ninth-Century Treatise on the Origins, Office, and Ordination of the Bishop', *Revue bénédictine* 85 [1975] 329); the *Collection of Milan*, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana A 46 inf.*, fol. 149r; and the ms. of the *Collection of St. Emmeram*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14628, fol. 22r (on which ms. see Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, p. 133 n. 169). The two widely-diffused collections are the *Collectio canonum Anselmo dedicata* 4.1 (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Msc. Canon. 5 [P.I.12], fol. 108r) and the so-called *Collection of Remedius of Chur*, c. 14, (ed. Herwig John, *Collectio canonum Remedio Curiensi episcopo perperam ascripta* [Monumenta iuris canonici, Ser. B: Corpus collectionum 2; Vatican City, 1976], pp. 144 f.).

⁵⁹ Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd rev. edition (New York, 1952; rpt. Notre Dame, Ind., 1964), p. 45.

⁶⁰ See Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, p. 80.

⁶¹ *De ecclesiasticis gradibus (Heahhads syndon)*, c. 10: 'Seofan cyriclice hadas sýn: Hostiarius, Lector, Exorcista, Accolitus, Subdiaconus, Diaconus, Presbiter' (ed. Karl Jost, *Die "Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical"*. *Ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York* [Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten 47; Bern, 1959], p. 225). On this tract see Reynolds, *ibid.*, p. 86 n. 15.

byter. Ælfric, for example, tells us that there are seven grades established for the Church and enumerates them from doorkeeper through presbyter. He goes on to say: 'Nis na mare betwyx mæssepreoste and *bisceop*, ... And hy habbað ænne hād, þeah se oðer sy furðor. ... Nam *presbyter* et *episcopus* in septimo gradu sunt. ... *Leofan Men!* Understandað, þæt bezzen sind on anum hade, se *biscop* and se mæsse-preost, þæt is on ðam seofodan ciric-hade, ...' ⁶² In northern France also there are a few signs in the first half of the eleventh century of a recovery of the presbyterian theory. Gerard of Cambrai, a product of the school at Rheims, used the Theodorian-Amalarian statement in the Acts of the Synod of Arras to the effect that the primitive Church knew only the sacerdotal and diaconal grades and only as the Church grew were others added.⁶³

At almost the same time that Gerard wrote, far to the south in Italy two canon law collections would begin to use patristic presbyterian texts rarely found before the eleventh century. In one of these, now found in a codex in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome, ms. Vitt. Em. 583, Ambrosiaster's *Commentary on 1 Timothy* 3 is used for the bishop and deacon.⁶⁴ And in the very influential *Collection in Five Books*, the presbyterian section from the pseudo-Hieronymian *De vii ordinibus ecclesiae* makes its appearance alone in a canonical collection for the first time together with the authentic *Epistula ad Evangelum*.⁶⁵ Moreover, the compiler of the *Collection in Five Books* inserts a rubric over the text from 1 Timothy: 'De inreprehensione episcopi et de hoc loco ipse est episcopus et presbyter.' ⁶⁶

III

Even with these isolated indicia of the first half of the eleventh century pointing to a recovery of patristic presbyterian theory, one is totally unprepared

⁶² Ed. Bernhard Fehr (with a supplement to the introduction by Peter Clemoes), *Die Hirten-briefe Ælfrics in altenglischer und lateinischer Fassung* (Hamburg, 1914; rpt. Darmstadt, 1966), pp. 11, 50, 110.

⁶³ 'Veniendum est autem ad sacratissimos ordines, quos vesanae mentis pertinacia vos rejicere audimus. De quibus primo notandum est quia eos qui magis sunt in Ecclesia necessarii, Apostolus denominat, et eorum mores depingit sine quibus non potest rite immolatio altaris celebrari, id est levitas et sacerdotes. Ut enim sine retractatione sacerdos circa hostias vigilat, necessarius est diaconus ad ministrandum ea quae necessaria sunt sacerdoti. Caeteri ordines his subjecti sunt; crescente namque Ecclesia, crevit officium ecclesiasticum; ut enim multitudini Ecclesiae subveniri possit, adjiciuntur inferiores in adiutorio praepositorum' (PL 142.1291).

⁶⁴ On this ms. with its florilegium of patristic, theological, and canonical material see Roger E. Reynolds, 'Isidore's Texts on the Clerical Grades in an Early Medieval Roman Manuscript', *Classical Folia* 29 (1975) 95-101.

⁶⁵ Vatican Library Vat. lat. 1339, fols. 22r, 110v; 1.26, 3.18 (ed. Mario Fornasari, *Collectio canonum in V libris (lib. I-III)* [CCCM 6.31 f., 323]).

⁶⁶ 1.105 (ibid., p. 78).

for the dramatic revitalization of the ancient presbyterian theory that came with the second half of the eleventh century. Not only is there a flood of the old texts in all genres of literature, but there is a mutilation of Carolingian episcopal texts to make them conform to presbyterian notions. Moreover, there comes a creation of new presbyterian texts. Simply to describe this increased use of the ancient presbyterian texts, the alteration of Carolingian episcopal texts, and the creation of new presbyterian texts is almost demonstration enough of a revival of presbyterian theory. But many factors beyond the simple numerical increase lay behind the popularization and renewed use of the old texts and the creation of the new. Hence, after a description of the increased use of the texts in the period between the pontificate of Gregory VII and the appearance of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, some of these factors will be considered.

First, a most impressive illustration of the renewed use of ancient presbyterian texts can be found in the canonical collections, a source in which such texts had largely been neglected before the second half of the eleventh century. In the long five-hundred-year period prior to 1050, Jerome's *Epistula ad Evangelum* had appeared, as we have seen (cf. above, p. 326), in only five relatively isolated canonical collections. However, in the much shorter period between 1050 and 1150, this same text appeared no less than seven times in original canonical collections, all of them Italian and four of them very major compilations.⁶⁷ It was also appended in at least one instance to a manuscript of the pseudo-Isidorian *Decretals*.⁶⁸ Jerome's *Commentary on Titus* could be found before 1050 in only three isolated canonical collections.⁶⁹ After that time and up to the *Decretum* of Gratian, the *Commentary on Titus* appeared in no less than eleven original collections, all but two or three Italian and six of them major collections.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ The major collections are the *Collectio canonum* of Anselm of Lucca, 7.78 (ed. Friedrich Thaner, *Anselmi episcopi Lucensis Collectio canonum una cum collectione minore* [Innsbruck, 1915], pp. 396 f.); the *Collection of Cardinal Deusdedit* 2.140 (ed. Victor Wolf von Glanvell, *Die Kanonessammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit*, vol. 1: *Die Kanonessammlung Selbst* [Paderborn, 1905], pp. 259 f.); the *Polycarpus* of Cardinal Gregory (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 3881, fol. 47v and Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 7127, fol. 329v); and Gratian's *Decretum*, D. 93, c. 24. See also the *Collection of Vatican Library Vat. lat. 1361*, fol. 155v; the *Collection in Seven Books of Vatican Library Vat. lat. 1346*, fol. 77r; and the *Collection of Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria E V 44 (Pasini 903)*, fol. 85r. A section from this also appears in the eleventh-century florilegium of Vatican Library Reg. lat. 341, fols. 78v-79v.

⁶⁸ Vatican Library Vat. lat. 1343, on which see Hinschius, *Decretales*, p. lxxiii. See also n. 53 above for use of a section from the tract emphasizing the diaconate.

⁶⁹ See above, n. 48.

⁷⁰ The *Collection in Two Books of Vatican Library Vat. lat. 3832* 2.374 f., 377 (ed. Jean Bernhardt, *La collection en deux livres (Cod. Vat. lat. 3832)*, vol. 1: *La forme primitive de la collection en deux livres. Source de la collection en 74 titres et de la collection d'Anselme de Lucques* [Revue de droit canonique 12.1-2; Strasbourg, 1962], pp. 536, 538); Anselm of Lucca,

It was earlier noted that the pseudo-Hieronymian *De vii ordinibus ecclesiae*, when it appeared in pre-eleventh-century canonical collections, was either attached *in toto* to canonical manuscripts or when broken up contained both the competing presbyterian and episcopal-oriented sections. With the collections after the beginning of the so-called Gregorian reform, the *De vii ordinibus ecclesiae* with either the presbyterian section alone or together with the diaconal section occurs regularly, especially in the Italian collections. In eight collections prior to Gratian the pseudo-Hieronymian sections appear, in four instances with both presbyteral and diaconal sections,⁷¹ in two with the presbyteral section alone,⁷² and in two with the diaconal section alone.⁷³

Finally, the Ambrosiastrian *De iactantia* under Augustine's name made its debut in late eleventh-century canonical compilations. In Cardinal Deusdedit's collection⁷⁴ and in the first and second recensions of the *Collectio Caesar-augustana*⁷⁵ there appears the Ambrosiastrian presbyterian description of the constitution of the primitive Church.

When we turn to tracts on sacred orders, liturgical expositions, and sentence collections from the mid-eleventh century on, the patristic presbyterian biblical commentaries and pseudo-Hieronymian *De vii ordinibus ecclesiae* loom especially large. The most prominent of the early Gregorian authors to use these texts heavily was Bernold, the liturgico-canonical specialist of Constance and supporter of the reforming popes. Thanks to Johanne Autenrieth's study of

Collectio canonum 7.112 (ed. Thaner, p. 410); *Collection of Cardinal Deusdedit* 2.143 (ed. Glanvell, p. 262); *Liber Tarraconensis* (Vatican Library Vat. lat. 6093, fol. 134v); Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber de vita christiana* 5.69 (ed. Ernst Perels, *Bonizo, Liber de vita christiana* [Texte zur Geschichte des römischen und kanonischen Rechts im Mittelalter; Berlin, 1930], p. 200); *Collection in Thirteen Books* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Savigny 3, fol. 81v); *Collection of Saint-Germain-des-Prés* (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek Gud. lat. 212, fol. 6v); *Collection in Seven Books of Vatican Library* Vat. lat. 1346, fol. 77r; Polycarpus of Cardinal Gregory (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 3881, fol. 48r and Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 7127, fol. 329r); *Collection of Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale* 227, fol. 157v; *Collection of Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria E V 44* (Pasini 903), fol. 73v (attributed to Anacletus); and Gratian's *Decretum*, D. 95, c. 5.

⁷¹ *Collection of Cardinal Deusdedit* 2.137 f. (ed. Glanvell, pp. 255-58); *Collectio canonum* of Anselm of Lucca, 7.62, 113 (ed. Thaner, pp. 389, 410); *Collection of Vatican Library* Vat. lat. 1361, fols. 154r, 158v; and *Collection in Thirteen Books* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Savigny 3, fols. 81v, 141v).

⁷² *Collectio Britannica* (ed. Paul Ewald, 'Die Papstbriefe der brittischen Sammlung', *Neues Archiv* 5 [1879-80] 588); and Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber de vita christiana* 5.24 (ed. Perels, p. 183).

⁷³ *Collection in Seven Books of Vatican Library* Vat. lat. 1346, fol. 80r; Polycarpus of Cardinal Gregory (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 3881, fol. 47r).

⁷⁴ 2.133 (ed. Glanvell, pp. 250-53).

⁷⁵ *Recensio prima*, Vatican Library Barb. lat. 897, fol. 162r; *recensio secunda*, Vatican Library Vat. lat. 5715, fol. 49v.

the extant manuscripts in Bernold's school at Constance,⁷⁶ we can see the prominence of ancient presbyterian texts in the codices used by Bernold in his later works. In Bernold's time at Constance there was one manuscript with the Pelagian commentaries on the Pauline epistles,⁷⁷ two with the Ambrosiastrian commentaries,⁷⁸ and one with Hieronymian glosses.⁷⁹ Perhaps the most interesting is a manuscript of Amalarius' *Liber officialis*,⁸⁰ a text used heavily in his famous liturgical commentary, the *Micrologus*. In this manuscript of Amalarius, Bernold's colleague, Wolferad, specifically glossed with a question the presbyterian passage from Theodore of Mopsuestia, saying, 'Nomen quod utrique olim convenit presbyteris et episcopis nunc cur non invenies quere.'⁸¹

In the finished literary products of Bernold the preliminary research in the older codices at Constance is quite evident. In one of his early works, the *Apologeticus*, Bernold has a long chapter devoted to the primitive relation of the presbyter and bishop placed in the context of clerical celibacy. St. Paul in 1 Timothy meant that both presbyters and bishops are to be chaste since they are the same order and pass under the same name, and as his authority Bernold uses passages based on the Hieronymian *Commentary on Titus* and the Ambrosiastrian *Commentary on 1 Timothy*.⁸²

Certainly the most famous early medieval treatise on the presbyter alone belongs to Bernold's later career. In this tract, *De presbyteris*, Bernold discourses at length on the original constitution of the Church. His is clearly a presbyterian view, and he uses the Pelagian *Commentary on 1 Timothy* under Jerome's name together with the Ambrosiastrian *Commentary on 1 Timothy*. In addition, there are clear echoes of Jerome's *Commentary on Titus* in Bernold's initial statement that '... antiquitus idem presbyter et episcopus fuerint.'⁸³ As concluding support for his presbyterian theory Bernold uses the section on the presbyter from the pseudo-Hieronymian *De vii ordinibus ecclesiae* to show the original similarity of the presbyteral and episcopal duties.⁸⁴

⁷⁶ Johanne Autenrieth, *Die Domschule von Konstanz zur Zeit des Investiturstreits. Die wissenschaftliche Arbeitsweise Bernolds von Konstanz und zweier Kleriker dargestellt auf Grund von Handschriftenstudien* (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte, N. F. 3; Stuttgart, 1956).

⁷⁷ Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek HB VII 9, and for the gloss on 1 Timothy 3:7 see Autenrieth, *ibid.*, p. 39.

⁷⁸ Fulda, Landesbibliothek Aa 18 and Aa 15, glossed by Bernold's colleagues, Wolferad and Anonymous A, on which see Autenrieth, *ibid.*, pp. 40 f., 51.

⁷⁹ Fulda, Landesbibliothek Aa 10 in 2°, on which see Autenrieth, *ibid.*, p. 57.

⁸⁰ Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek HB VII 43, on which see Autenrieth, *ibid.*, pp. 83-86.

⁸¹ Autenrieth, *ibid.*, p. 85.

⁸² MGH *LDL* 2.75 f.

⁸³ *ibid.*, pp. 142 f.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p. 145.

The presbyterian tendencies of the *Apologeticus* and the *De presbyteris* also worked their way into Bernold's liturgical *Micrologus*,⁸⁵ where he undercuts the primitive independent status of bishop from two sides. First, in his use of echoes of the Theodorian-Amalarian texts on the gradual development of the subdiaconate in the Church, he indirectly questions the episcopalist view.⁸⁶ More directly, he supports the presbyterian theory when he uses the pseudo-Hieronymian text on the presbyter from the *De vii ordinibus ecclesiae*. Here the appeal for a presbyterian theory is made on the basis of the bishop's and presbyter's equality at the altar.⁸⁷

A contemporary of Bernold's and a colleague in the reform movement, Manegold of Lautenbach, also used the patristic presbyterian texts heavily. This writer of polemical tracts had at one time been a master at Paris and had almost certainly written a commentary on the Pauline epistles.⁸⁸ His use of presbyterian passages in his *Liber ad Gebehardum* makes it clear that his theology of the higher orders was presbyterian. In the *Liber*, he, like Bernold, was forced to deal with the passage on clerical continence in 1 Timothy, and following Bernold's *Apologeticus* almost verbatim, he laid down the same patristic authorities in almost the same sequence.⁸⁹

If we consider now the fanatical supporter of episcopal power in Rouen, the Norman Anonymous, it is clear that the ancient presbyterian texts had penetrated the works of all shades of both papal and anti-papal writers by the late eleventh century. The Norman Anonymous, probably William Bona Anima of Rouen,⁹⁰ used Jerome's *Commentary on Titus* twice in his works in a highly tendentious, almost comically perverse way to support not a presbyterian view of ecclesiastical polity but a very high and egalitarian episcopalism. In Jerome's commentary the Anonymous found a vision of the primitive Church that he could twist to use against what he saw were the exaggerated claims of the archbishop of Lyons⁹¹ and the Roman pontiff.⁹²

⁸⁵ On the *Micrologus* see Roger E. Reynolds, 'Liturgical Scholarship at the Time of the Investiture Controversy: Past Research and Future Opportunities', *Harvard Theological Review* 71 (1978) 114 f.

⁸⁶ PL 151.982. But in placing the subdiaconate among the inferior grades he can be seen to be directly supporting an episcopalist position, on which see Reynolds, "'At Sixes and Sevens'", 677, 683 f.

⁸⁷ PL 151.990 f.

⁸⁸ Smalley, *Bible*, p. 48.

⁸⁹ MGH *LDL* 1.353; and cf. Bernold's *Apologeticus* (MGH *LDL* 2.75 f.).

⁹⁰ On the Anonymous see Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, pp. 100 f. n. 2, and literature therein.

⁹¹ Tractate J 2, *De aequalitate ecclesiarum provinciarum et de unitate ordinis episcopalis in una sancta ecclesia* (ed. Karl Pellens, *Die Texte des Normannischen Anonymous, unter Konsultation der Teilausgaben von H. Böhmer, H. Scherrinsky, und G. H. Williams. Neu aus der Handschrift 415 des Corpus Christi College Cambridge* [Wiesbaden, 1966], pp. 7-18).

⁹² Tractate J 4, *Nullus episcopus nisi a solo Deo iudicandus! Defensio Rothomagensis archiepiscopi* (ibid., pp. 35-45).

According to the Anonymous, the break between the sacred orders and hierarchical or jurisdictional grades was not between the presbyter and bishop, but between the bishop and archbishop. Only as schism arose were the hierarchical grades of the archbishop and above instituted, but now in the eleventh century the very grades that were instituted to prevent schism are the ones that are causing it. If the present schismatic elements in the Church (Rome and Lyons) could be eliminated, a return to the primitive state of the Church that Jerome describes would be possible in which no bishop lorded it over another, and all bishops ruled equally.⁹³

Beyond these tracts of the polemical writers of the second half of the eleventh century, it is not uncommon to find the ancient presbyterian texts used in anonymous florilegia and collections of sentences of the early twelfth century. For example, in the florilegial tract on orders of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 19414, based largely on material from the ninth-century *Collection in Two Books*, the sections on the deacon and presbyter from the pseudo-Hieronymian *De vii ordinibus ecclesiae* are used, but the episcopal text of the ninth-century model is conspicuously absent.⁹⁴ In the well-known twelfth-century *Sentences of Sidon* the section on the presbyter from the pseudo-Hieronymian tract has been included, but not for the bishop.⁹⁵ And finally, in another book of sentences, the popular *Liber Quare*, there is a return to the Theodorian *Commentary on I Timothy* to explain that originally, in accord with the Jewish pattern, the episcopacy and presbyterate were the same.⁹⁶

⁹³ 'Si ergo bestialis est Rotomagensis ecclesia, si arciepiscopus eius non est homo, sed animal, querat eis preesse Lugdunensis arciepiscopus. Sin autem, non est ordo legitimus, ut eis preesse velit. Nam hoc etiam usurpatio est, quam necessitas fieri compulit, ut episcopus unus preferatur pluribus. Quod testatur beatus Hieronimus super epistolam Pauli ad Titum, "Idem, inquit, est presbiter, qui episcopus. ... Et scismatum semina tollerentur." Scisma ergo causa est, cur episcopus episcopis prelatus est. Tolle scisma et non erit ratio, ut episcopus episcopis preferatur. Quare, si Rotomagensis ecclesia non facit scisma a Christo, et fidei unitatem non dividit, nulla est iusta causa, cur ei aliquis alienus debeat preferri episcopus. Iniuste igitur aliquis vult ei preferri, quae unus cum Deo est spiritus. Nam ipsi Deo vult preferri, cum quo unus est spiritus' (ibid., p. 18). 'Sed quod preferitur, videamus, utrum sit ordo legitimus an usurpatio, quam necessitas compellit fieri. Sed non est ordo legitimus, quia hoc lege sua decrevisset Christus et senatus ordinasset apostolicus. Est ergo usurpatio, quam necessitas fieri compulit. Antequam enim diaboli instinctu.... scismatum semina tollerentur. Scismata itaque causa sunt, quod Romanus pontifex cunctis prelatus est. Si ergo non sunt in nobis scismata, non est, quod nobis faciat. Ad hoc enim tantum prelatus est, ut scismata tollat. Sed timeo, ne et ipse scisma faciat in ecclesia. Dum enim ecclesiam, quae una est, dividit, et ex una duas facit – aliam superiorem et aliam inferiorem – quia unitatem ecclesiae dividit, scisma utique facit' (ibid., pp. 42 f.).

⁹⁴ See Roger E. Reynolds, 'A Florilegium on the Ecclesiastical Grades in Clm 19414: Testimony to Ninth-Century Clerical Instruction', *Harvard Theological Review* 63 (1970) 251-59.

⁹⁵ Vatican Library Vat. lat. 1345, fol. 144v.

⁹⁶ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 11579, fol. 49r: 'Querendum est in quo ordine essent

Earlier in connection with Manegold of Lautenbach, eleventh-century biblical glossing was mentioned (cf. above, p. 333), but even before Manegold's time in the eleventh century there had been a renewal of this activity after the lull of the tenth century. In this renewal there came a revival of the patristic presbyterian texts. From the Rheims school we have the commentaries of Bruno⁹⁷ with their extracts from Pelagius, Theodore, and perhaps Jerome.⁹⁸ From the Chartrain school⁹⁹ the methods of Fulbert and Berengar were passed to Lanfranc of Bec, who drew especially on the commentaries of Theodore and Pelagius to gloss two of the classical presbyterian loci.¹⁰⁰ Thirdly, with the *Glossa ordinaria* of the school of Laon, it is the commentaries of Pelagius, Theodore, and Ambrosiaster that dominate rather than those of Jerome.¹⁰¹

But perhaps the most interesting biblical gloss of the early twelfth century on the relationship between presbyter and bishop is in an anonymous commentary from the school of Abelard, now in Cambridge, Trinity College ms. 39 (B.I.39). To introduce his commentary on 1 Timothy, where he is heavily dependent on

presbyteri et apostoli. Antiquis temporibus utrisque nominibus appellabantur presbyteri et episcopi, sicut apud Iudeos presbyteri episcopi dicebantur, quia populo praeerant.' On the *Liber Quare* see Reynolds, 'Liturgical Scholarship', 116.

⁹⁷ According to Artur Landgraf, 'Probleme des Schrifttums Brunos des Kartäusers', *Collectanea franciscana* 8 (1938) 542-90, the commentaries on the Pauline epistles attributed to Bruno were written considerably after Bruno's productive career as scholasticus at Rheims. Landgraf thinks that they are closer to the school of Anselm of Laon. Smalley, *Bible*, p. 48, attributes the commentaries to Bruno.

⁹⁸ 'Hic per episcopos accepimus presbyteros.... episcopus possit dici' (*Commentary on Philippians* 1; PL 153.353 [cf. Pelagius on Philippians, above, n. 18, and Theodore of Mopsuestia on Philippians, above, n. 19]). 'Hic autem per episcopum significat sacerdotem.... per presbyterum significet episcopum' (*Commentary on 1 Timothy* 3 [PL 153.440]).

⁹⁹ On the influence of the Chartrain school, see Smalley, *Bible*, pp. 47 f.

¹⁰⁰ 'Episcopos dixit, qui nunc presbyteri dicuntur ... in una civitate' (*Commentary on Philippians* 1; PL 150.307 [cf. Theodore of Mopsuestia on Philippians, above, n. 19]), 'Hic aperte ostendit presbyterorum nomine episcopos superius designatos fuisse' (*Commentary on Titus* 1; PL 150.369 [cf. Pelagius on Titus, above, n. 33, and Theodore of Mopsuestia on Titus, above, n. 19]).

¹⁰¹ 'Hic aperte ostendit presbyterorum nomine episcopos supra fuisse designatos' (Gloss on Titus 1:7; PL 114.639, and *Biblioteca sacrorum cum Glossa ordinaria*... 6 [Paris, 1590], col. 674 [cf. Pelagius or Theodore of Mopsuestia and Lanfranc on Titus, above, n. 100]). 'Pro presbyterorum, quia minus tribus esse non possunt. Et vocat presbyterum, episcopum' (Gloss on 1 Timothy 4:14; PL 114.629 and *Glossa ordinaria*, col. 711). 'Episcopos presbyteros dicit. "Non enim plures episcopi in una civitate..." (Gloss on Philippians 1:1; *Glossa ordinaria*, col. 572 and Landgraf, 'Die Lehre', 501 n. 26 [cf. Pelagius and Lanfranc on Philippians, above, n. 100]). 'Per episcopos presbyteros accipit, cum in una civitate...' (*Glossa glossularum* on Philippians 1; ed. Landgraf, *ibid.*, 501 n. 28 [cf. Pelagius or the *Glossa ordinaria* on Philippians]). 'Post episcopum tantum diaconatus ordinationem subicit. Quare? Nisi quia episcopi et presbyteri una est ordinatio.... non transit omnis presbyter episcopus' (*Glossa glossularum* on 1 Timothy 3; ed. Landgraf, *ibid.*, 501 n. 28 [cf. Ambrosiaster on 1 Timothy, above, n. 10]).

Theodore, the anonymous author makes a statement that sounds something like Theodore, but has been slightly recast. He says:

De ecclesiasticis autem gradibus docet veluti de sacerdotio et diaconatu. Hii quippe duo ordinas (*sic*) in primitiva tantum erant ecclesia. ... Nunc de illis, que circa domum Domini specialiter disponi debent, vult eum instruere, de ecclesiasticis videlicet ministeriis, id est de sacerdotibus et levitis, id est diaconibus. De ceteris enim ordinibus minoribus non instruit, quia illi duo ordines, qui et sacri ordines appellantur, in primitiva, ut supra meminimus, tantum fuerunt ecclesia quia tota domus duo sunt: idem parentque iubentque. Alii vero inferiores ordines numero crescente fidelium quasi ad necessitatem postmodum superaddita sunt, ita etiam, ut una persona singulos in se haberet ordines.¹⁰²

It is possible to interpret this text to mean that the primitive Church knew only deacons and a bipartite *sacerdotium* consisting of both presbyters and bishops; in fact, in the popular forged decree of Anacletus in the pseudo-Isidorian *Decretals*, we have found that the *sacerdotium* was seen in exactly this bipartite way.¹⁰³ But if one examines first, the late eleventh-century context out of which the Cambridge commentary statement came, and second, the model on which the recast Theodorian statement is based, it is clear that for the commentator the *sacerdotium* almost certainly meant simply the presbyterate.

What was this eleventh-century context, and what was the model on which the commentary statement is based? To answer succinctly, both the context and model were canonistic, going back to the period of the so-called Gregorian Reform and the Investiture Controversy.

There is perhaps no better way to capture the canonistic context than to examine a subtle modification of the popular pseudo-Anacletan decree in the canonical collections, especially in many collections that also now included patristic presbyterian texts. Before the mid-eleventh century, as we have seen, the pseudo-Anacletan text which states that the sacerdotal *ordo* was bipartite almost always concludes with the statement that neither did God institute nor the apostles give instruction concerning more than these two orders of bishop and presbyter. To say in the second half of the eleventh century that the *sacerdotium* was bipartite, including bishops and presbyters, clearly fit contemporary facts. But to say at the same time that the bishop and presbyter had originally been instituted by God and were taught by the apostles seemed clearly to contradict the theory in the presbyterian texts that the episcopacy was a later creation of the Church. Hence, very suddenly with the appearance of the *Collection in LXXIV Titles*, the pseudo-Anacletan canon was mutilated and the

¹⁰² Ed. Landgraf, *ibid.*, 503 n. 37.

¹⁰³ See above, p. 327.

final section offensive to a presbyterian theory was removed ('... amplius quam isti duo ordines sacerdotum, nec nobis a Deo collati sunt nec apostoli docuerunt').¹⁰⁴ This reduced version was the one used in the seventh book of Anselm of Lucca's popular canonical collection¹⁰⁵ and in a long line of collections after him.¹⁰⁶

Nevertheless, even this reduction or mutilation of the pseudo-Anacletan episcopal text might be thought to be accidental – that is, until one meets the legal model not only for the Cambridge commentary but also for Peter Lombard. This legal model is a canon issued at the Council of Benevento in 1091 under Pope Urban II, later of First Crusade fame. In the first canon of this council, after saying that bishops may not be elected unless they have been found living virtuously in the sacred orders, Urban II sharpens the tradition going back to Theodore and Amalarius by saying: 'Sacros autem ordines dicimus diaconatum ac presbyteratum. Hos siquidem solos primitiva legitur ecclesia habuisse: super his solum praeceptum habemus apostoli.'¹⁰⁷

In the thirteenth century Pope Innocent III referred to this decree and the importance of Urban II in the development of the medieval theology of orders.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, many of the associations in Urban II's career may in part explain his use of this presbyterian statement. As a student Odo, the future Urban II, had been trained at Rheims, a center in which the Theodorian tradition was well known, as can be seen in the works of Gerard of Cambrai and Bruno, who taught and advised Odo.¹⁰⁹ After moving to Italy, Odo further came under the shadow of the major authors who wrote on orders. As the second cardinal successor of Peter Damian at Ostia, Odo cannot but have been familiar with Peter's *Liber gratissimus*, where it is argued that there are seven

¹⁰⁴ 19.163 (ed. John T. Gilchrist, *Diversorum patrum sententiae siue Collectio in LXXIV titulos digesta* [Monumenta iuris canonici, Ser. B: Corpus collectionum 1; Vatican City, 1973], p. 105).

¹⁰⁵ 7.89 (ed. Thaner, p. 401).

¹⁰⁶ A reduced version is found in the *Collection in Two Books of Vatican Library Vat. lat. 3832* 1.302 (ed. Bernhard, p. 190); the *Collection of Farfa* (Vatican Library Vat. lat. 8487, fol. 70v [71v]); the *Collection in Three Books of Vatican Library Vat. lat. 3831*, fol. 22r; the *Collection of Lord Ashburnham* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Ashb. 1554, fol. 35v); and the *Collectio Gaddiana* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 89 sup. 32, fol. 1r (truncating Burchard's *Decretum* 1.4 [PL 140.550 f.]).

¹⁰⁷ C. 1 (G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 31 vols. (Florence, 1759-98), 20.738.

¹⁰⁸ 'Siquidem Urbanus Papa primus decrevit, ut nullus in episcopum, nisi in sacris ordinibus et religiose vivens inventus fuerit, eligatur. "Sacros," inquit, "ordines diaconatum dicimus et presbyteratum; hos siquidem solos primitiva ecclesia legitur habuisse"' (X, 1.14.9; ed. Friedberg, col. 128).

¹⁰⁹ Alfons Becker, *Papst Urban II. (1088-1099)*, vol. 1: *Herkunft und kirchliche Laufbahn. Der Papst und die lateinische Christenheit* (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae historica 19.1; Stuttgart, 1964), pp. 31 f.

orders and that the highest of these is the presbyter-*sacerdos*.¹¹⁰ As papal legate Odo travelled to Constance where Bernold had repeatedly used the patristic presbyterian texts.¹¹¹ Further, Urban II was quite familiar with the seventh book of Anselm of Lucca's canonical collection with its reduced pseudo-Anacletan canon.¹¹² Finally, Urban was a close friend and companion of Ivo of Chartres, whose sermon on the ecclesiastical orders was one of the most significant statements of presbyterian tendencies in the Middle Ages.¹¹³ Urban was a supporter of Ivo and had in the year before the Beneventan council personally consecrated him in Italy.¹¹⁴

In any event, the first canon of Benevento was extremely popular, and Bishop Gossman has shown that, of all the conciliar decrees of Urban, only one exceeds it in the number of times cited in the dozens of canonical collections until Gratian.¹¹⁵ Further, it turns out that, until Gratian's *Decretum*, this canon is confined almost entirely to French collections, and so in a sense it came to play the role of a presbyterian statement in France similar to that played by the patristic presbyterian texts inserted into the many Italian collections from the mid-eleventh century and beyond.

Had this first canon of Benevento with its reflection of Theodorian and Amalarian presbyterianism been hidden within collections of canons, it perhaps

¹¹⁰ '... ad instar septem donorum Spiritus sancti septem nihilominus sunt ordines aecclesiasticae dignitatis. Quod autem his omnibus gradibus adhuc et alii preferuntur, videlicet ut sunt patriarchae, archiepiscopi, vel episcopi, ab his non tam novus ordo suscipi, quam in eodem ipsi sacerdotio videntur excellentius sublimari. Nam cum sacerdos idcirco dicatur, quia sacrum det, hoc est, quia Deo sacrificium offerat, quid in aecclesiae sublimius, quid eminentius sacerdotio poterit inveniri, per quod videlicet mysterium dominici corporis et sanguinis probatur offerri? Licet igitur illi quibusdam privilegiis pro suo quisque ministerio specialiter potiantur, quia tamen id, quod omnibus maius est, commune cum reliquis sacerdotibus habent, cum eis etiam et ipsi non immerito sacerdotii nomen tenent' (*Liber gratissimus* 15 [MGH *LDL* 1.36]). On Urban's career as cardinal see Becker, *ibid.*, pp. 51-62.

¹¹¹ Becker, *ibid.*, pp. 64-66.

¹¹² See James H. Claxton, 'On the Name of Urban II', *Traditio* 23 (1967) 492-94.

¹¹³ Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, pp. 101-106.

¹¹⁴ Becker, *Papst Urban II.*, p. 191; and Rolf Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres und seine Stellung in der Kirchengeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1962), p. 101.

¹¹⁵ See the chart in Francis J. Gossman, *Pope Urban II and Canon Law* (Catholic University of America Canon Law Studies 403; Washington, D.C., 1960), p. 106. To be added to his list are the *Collection in Seven Books of Turin*, *Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria D IV 33* (Pasini 239), fol. 135v (on whose origins see Roger E. Reynolds, 'The Turin Collection in Seven Books: A Poitevin Canonical Collection', *Traditio* 25 [1969] 508-14, and now Linda Fowler-Magerl, 'Vier französische und spanische vorgratianische Kanonessammlungen' in *Aspekte europäischer Rechtsgeschichte: Festgabe für Helmut Coing zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. C. Bergfeld et al. [Frankfurt/M., 1982], p. 144); Ivo, *Tripartita* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 3858 B, fol. 151r); Haimo's abridgment of the *Collection in Ten Parts* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 2594, fol. 13r); the *Sentences of Magister A* (Vatican Library Vat. lat. 4361, fol. 123v); and the *Sentences of Sidon* (Vatican Library Vat. lat. 1345, fol. 141r).

would not have come to play the important role it did in later debates on the relationship of bishop and presbyter. However, it was abstracted and used in the ever increasing systematic tracts written specifically on the ecclesiastical grades in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

These tracts have been dealt with extensively elsewhere,¹¹⁶ but it is appropriate here to rehearse three characteristics which they generally have in common. First, the tracts state that there are only seven orders; second, the orders include the acolyte, an order often not discussed in earlier tracts; and third, the last or highest order treated is the presbyter. Of the many tracts of the late eleventh and early twelfth century the most influential was *Sermo II* attributed to Ivo of Chartres, in which he gathers together both strands of patristic presbyterian and episcopalist texts, but concludes by considering the presbyter as the highest of the ecclesiastical orders.¹¹⁷

The importance of Ivo's sermon is that, like the Beneventan canon, it was widely copied¹¹⁸ and influenced countless later discussions of sacred orders. But none of the dependent writings were more significant than the *De sacramentis* of Hugh of St. Victor¹¹⁹ and Peter Lombard's *Sentences*,¹²⁰ both exhibiting extensive borrowings from Ivo. Hugh and Peter made even more explicit the presbyterianism of Ivo's sermon. This they did by inserting immediately after their description of the presbyter, but before dealing with the bishop, the first canon of Benevento to help explain why the bishop could not be considered an *ordo* independent of the presbyter.

IV

To have recounted in this article the increased use of ancient presbyterian texts, the alteration and abridgment of Carolingian episcopalist texts such as the pseudo-Anacletan text,¹²¹ and the creation of new presbyterian texts such as the

¹¹⁶ See, e.g., Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, pp. 101-106, 142-51, 162 f. and "'At Sixes and Sevens'", 669-84.

¹¹⁷ PL 162.518 f.

¹¹⁸ For mss. containing Ivo's sermons and especially *Sermo II* see Roger E. Reynolds, 'Ivonian Opuscula on the Ecclesiastical Officers', *Studia Gratiana* 20 [= *Mélanges G. Fransen* 2] (1976) 312 f. n. 9 and 'Marginalia on a Tenth-Century Text on the Ecclesiastical Officers' in *Law, Church and Society: Essays in Honor of Stephan Kuttner*, ed. K. Pennington and R. Somerville (Philadelphia, 1977), p. 126 n. 14, to which add Vatican Library Vat. lat. 1145 (s. xv), fols. 20r-24r.

¹¹⁹ 2.2.5-19 (PL 176.423-31).

¹²⁰ 4 *Sent.* 24 (2.393).

¹²¹ There were also abridgements of patristic 'episcopalist' texts, such as Pope Leo's epistle 'Nam cum extra clericorum', to make them conform to presbyterian notions. See Reynolds, "'At Sixes and Sevens'", 677, 684 n. 67.

first canon of Benevento is perhaps sufficient to demonstrate that many major ecclesiastical writers from the second half of the eleventh century on espoused patristic presbyterianism. But a simple rehearsal of the facts does not fully explain the motivation for the renewed interest. It is well known that much searching of patristic dossiers went on in the second half of the eleventh century,¹²² but it is not enough to say that the presbyterian texts simply happened to be among those chosen for revival and that being spread about they led to the alterations and original compositions we have described. There were also good reasons, both theological and canonical, for the wide acceptance and popularity of the texts, and thus a brief discussion of some of these reasons is our concluding task.

Two of the most common explanations given by modern scholars for the revival of presbyterian sentiments in the eleventh century are, first, the medieval insistence upon the number seven as the ideal number of orders, and, second, a new emphasis on the sacrament of the altar.¹²³ As the number seven became the accepted ideal, and as the acolyte was included within the sacred orders, pressure was applied to the eighth or highest episcopal grade, which, according to several patristic fathers, had the least claim to status as a sacred order, at least in the primitive Church.¹²⁴ Because the bishop, like the presbyter was a *sacerdos*, his *ordo* was a tenuous one theologically and subject to absorption by the presbyter, whose *ordo* was equal to the bishop's at the altar. It is thus no surprise that the ancient presbyterian texts received widespread acceptance when the trend of the eleventh century was to consider the eucharistic presbyter and bishop as belonging to one order.

However, there are several other, more general reasons for the revival of the presbyterian theory that seem not to have received the attention they deserve. First, there seems to have developed by the eleventh century a vague distinction between *ordo* and *dignitas* or between a sacramental order and a hierarchical grade.¹²⁵ Even in Jerome's *Epistula ad Evangelum* the dignity of the archdeacon and bishop had been contrasted with the order of deacon and presbyter,¹²⁶ and Peter Damian made essentially the same point with respect to the bishop and

¹²² See Paul Fournier, 'Un tournant de l'histoire du droit (1060-1140)', *Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger* 40 (1917) 143.

¹²³ See, e.g., Seamus Ryan, 'Episcopal Consecration: The Legacy of the Schoolmen', *Irish Theological Quarterly* 33 (1966) 16-19, 27.

¹²⁴ Reynolds, "'At Sixes and Sevens'", 679-84.

¹²⁵ Martinien van de Kerckhove, 'La notion de juridiction dans la doctrine des décrétistes et des premiers décrétalistes de Gratien (1140) à Bernard de Bottone (1250)', *Études franciscaines* 49 (1937) 420-55.

¹²⁶ See above, n. 14.

presbyter in his eleventh-century *Liber gratissimus*.¹²⁷ The canonical implications of this distinction were put fully into effect in the eleventh century. To be able to fulfill a hierarchical grade, one had first to be in the sacramental order underlying the grade. As early as the Council of Bourges in 1031, it had been said that an archdeacon must first be a deacon,¹²⁸ and soon this was developed so that one also had to be a presbyter before becoming an archpresbyter. There are numerous conciliar canons and citations in canonical collections from 1050 to 1150 reproducing this requirement.¹²⁹ Further, in the Roman ordination rites of the eleventh century, it is presupposed that one must be a presbyter before assuming the dignity of bishop, and Gregory VII himself sanctioned this view by being the first deacon elected pope who insisted upon presbyteral ordination before becoming the bishop of Rome.¹³⁰

Perhaps more important in the revival of the presbyterian texts themselves than this incipient distinction between the presbyteral *ordo* and the episcopal *dignitas* and the rule that one must be in the *ordo* before acquiring an additional *dignitas* was a new vision of the Church on the part of the proponents of clerical reform. The very authors who used or modified texts tending toward patristic presbyterianism, namely, Peter Damian, Anselm of Lucca, Manegold of Lautenbach, Ivo of Chartres, and Urban II, were also champions of the *vita communis* or the movement that goes under the name of canons regular.¹³¹ For these reformers two practical effects would flow from a return to the *vita communis*, which was also styled the *vita primitiva*: it would ensure clerical chastity, and it would theoretically withdraw the election of bishops from

¹²⁷ See above, n. 110.

¹²⁸ 'Ut archidiaconatum nullus habeat, nisi diaconus efficiatur' (Mansi 19.503).

¹²⁹ A cursory examination of the councils listed in volumes 19 through 21 of Mansi shows the following councils to have enacted canons on this subject: Bourges (1031), c. 4 (Mansi 19.503); Poitiers (1078), c. 7 (Mansi 20.498); Clermont (1095), c. 3 (4) (Mansi 20.817 and Robert Somerville, *The Councils of Urban II*, vol. 1: *Decreta claromontensia* [Annuaire historique conciliaire, Suppl. 1; Amsterdam, 1972], p. 143; London (1102), c. 3 (Mansi 20.1151); Troyes (1107), cc. 2, 3 (Mansi 20.1223 and Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Early Councils of Pope Paschal II, 1100-1110* [Studies and Texts 43; Toronto, 1978], p. 96); Toulouse (1119), c. 2 (Mansi 21.226); I Lateran (1123), c. 2 (6) (Mansi 21.282 and Joseph Alberigo et al., eds., *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, 2nd edition [Basel, 1962], p. 166; London (1125), c. 7 (Mansi 21.331); London (1127), c. 4 (Mansi 21.356); Rheims (1131), c. 8 (Mansi 21.459); Pisa (1134), c. 7 (Mansi 21.489); II Lateran (1139), c. 10 (Mansi 21.529 and Alberigo, *Decreta*, p. 175); Rheims (1148), c. 9 (Mansi 21.716). These enactments were then repeated in the canonical collections; e.g., Clermont, c. 3 (4) was used in four collections that Gossman found (*Pope Urban II*, pp. 106 f. [listed as c. 3 Clermont]).

¹³⁰ Michel Andrieu, 'La carrière ecclésiastique des papes', *Revue des sciences religieuses* 21 (1947) 104-106.

¹³¹ See J. C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and Their Introduction into England* (London, 1950), passim.

interloping laymen and give it back to its rightful holders, the cathedral chapter with its presbyters.

To support the *vita communis* the reformers resurrected a vision of the primitive Church, a vision held by Jerome, Ambrosiaster, and other authors of the late patristic era. It thus seems much more than simple coincidence that the Hieronymian and Ambrosiastrian texts with their picture of the primitive, elder-ruled church at Alexandria were revived at the same time that the *vita primitiva* was being promoted by the reformers. It seems more than simple coincidence that several of the strongest proponents of the *vita communis* and *vita primitiva* would say in their tracts on orders that the highest ecclesiastical *ordo* was the presbyter. And it would seem almost predictable, therefore, that the ancient statement of Theodore of Mopsuestia would be recast at Benevento, then be attached to the works of these authors, and ultimately be repeated by Peter Lombard: ‘... canones duos tantum sacros ordines appellari censent, diaconatus scilicet et presbyteratus; quia hos solos primitiva Ecclesia legitur habuisse, et de his solis praeceptum Apostoli habemus.’

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

Postscript.

Codex iuris canonici auctoritate Ioannis Pauli pp. II promulgatus, can. 1009.1 (Vatican City, 1983), p. 178: ‘Ordines sunt episcopatus, presbyteratus et diaconatus.’

LATIN AND MIDDLE ENGLISH PROVERBS
IN A MANUSCRIPT AT ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL,
WINDSOR CASTLE *

Sarah M. Horrall

IN 1932, Montague Rhodes James published a brief catalogue of the six manuscripts remaining at St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, after the dispersal of its library in the seventeenth century.¹ In the course of describing ms. E. I. I, he printed a few lines of Latin and English verse from fols. 21r and 36r, proverbs which he ascribed to 'Cato'. This ascription was accepted in *The Index of Middle English Verse*, where the Windsor proverbs are linked with the translation of Cato in Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Eng. misc. c. 291.²

In fact, the proverbs in ms. E. I. I are a miscellaneous collection of Latin sayings, usually of two lines each, which are then translated into Middle English verse. They are copied by an untidy early sixteenth-century cursive hand into a manuscript of religious pieces copied in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.

THE MANUSCRIPT

Windsor Castle, St. George's Chapel ms. E. I. I is a small vellum manuscript of ninety-five leaves and two fly-leaves in an original binding of white leather over boards, with two clasps. It is composed of eleven gatherings of eight

* I should like to express my thanks to the following people: the Dean and Canons of Windsor for permission to publish this extract from their manuscript; Mrs. Grace Holmes, Archivist of the Chapel, for allowing me to work with the manuscript and for discussing its possible donor with me; Professor Denis G. Brearley of the University of Ottawa who helped me with the Latin transcriptions. Research for this article was carried out with the aid of a grant from The Canada Council.

¹ M. R. James, 'The Manuscripts of St. George's Chapel, Windsor', *The Library. A Quarterly Review of Bibliography*, 4th Ser., 13 (1933) 72.

² Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins, *The Index of Middle English Verse* (New York, 1943), 1539. I will also refer to Rossell Hope Robbins and John L. Cutler, *Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse* (Lexington, Ky., 1965). These two works will be cited hereafter as *Index* and *Supplement*.

leaves, with a final gathering of four leaves and two fly-leaves. One leaf has been cut out after fol. 87. After the third gathering, i.e., after fol. 24, four blank leaves were inserted between the gatherings. This was probably done when the manuscript was originally being copied, for the inserted sheets were pricked with an awl to provide lines for copying in the same way as the rest of the manuscript. However, the leaves remained blank until the sixteenth century.

The manuscript has two separate systems of numbering, both of them modern. One system numbers only the first five leaves in each gathering of eight. The other, which I follow, counts each leaf, although the numbers do not necessarily appear on each folio.

The first item in the manuscript is copied in a good Gothic hand, and the items from fol. 29r on are copied in an equally good but seemingly different Gothic hand. The hand which copies the proverbs is completely different, a hasty sixteenth-century cursive which closely covers the eight blank leaves, fols. 21v-28v, and then continues in the margins of fols. 29r-36r. Further Middle English proverbs, without Latin counterparts, are copied in the margins of fol. 89r. These were not noted by James and do not appear in the *Index*.

Several of the original items have initials decorated in blue and red, with ornamental borders extending for half a page.

The manuscript contains the following material:

fols. 1r-20v Richard Rolle's *Emendatio vitae* in Latin.³

fols. 21r-36r proverbs in Latin and English.

fols. 29r-30v 'Keep well Christ's commandments' (*Index* 1379).

fols. 30v-32v *Index* 1781.

fols. 32v-52v Maydenstone's version of the Seven Penitential Psalms (*Index* 3755).

fols. 53r-87v a prose translation of the Life of the Blessed Virgin by Thomas of Hales,⁴ imperfect at end.

fols. 88r-95r part of a prose translation of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*, imperfect at beginning.⁵

³ See Hope Emily Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for His Biography* (Modern Language Association of America Monographs 3; New York, 1927), p. 230, and Nicole Marzac, *Richard Rolle de Hampole (1300-1349). Vie et œuvres suivies du Tractatus super Apocalypsim. Texte critique avec traduction et commentaire* (Paris, 1968), p. 57. The Windsor copy is not among the ninety manuscripts listed.

⁴ I am currently preparing an edition of this work.

⁵ See Elizabeth Salter, *Nicholas Love's 'Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ'* (Analecta cartusiana 10; Salzburg, 1974), pp. 102-103 for a classification of Middle English translations of this work, long attributed to St. Bonaventure. This translation and the item preceding it in the Windsor manuscript, the Life of the Blessed Virgin, appear only in one other manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 174, which also contains Maydenstone's Penitential Psalms. The relationship of the two manuscripts remains to be investigated.

fol. 89r twenty-four lines of proverbial verse in Middle English, written in the margins in the same hand which wrote the proverbs on fols. 21r-36r.

fol. 95r eight lines in a later hand (*Index and Supplement* 432).

fol. 95v a few lines of Latin, in another hand, beginning '[D]eus qui uoluisti pro redemcione mundi...', and an explicit in a sixteenth-century hand: 'Explycet Robert bewyche / plenum anno xxij henricij vijth' (i.e., 1507).

The fly-leaves contain jottings and the names William Reydon and Jo. Smith.

Besides these names, the manuscript contains other indications of ownership, and a kind of chronology of ownership can be established from them. William Holme signed fol. 41r without a date, but John Holme signed his name and added 'Rector of Brewrton in Cheshire' three times. On fol. 45r he dates this signature 1641, on fol. 50r 1638, and on fol. 73r 1642. This same John Holme appears in a list of rectors of Brereton in Cheshire in the mid-seventeenth century, and appears to have held the post until about 1663.⁶ John Shellmerdine has signed fols. 5r, 38r, 84r, and perhaps fol. 8r. The signature on fol. 38r is dated 1690.⁷ The last signature is that of Isaac Ogden, which appears on fol. 50r, dated 1699.⁸ The name Isaac, in the same hand, appears on fol. 36r, as does the name John Hulme. The latter name appears under the last line of the proverbs, but the handwriting and ink appear to belong to Isaac Ogden. Perhaps Ogden was attempting to ascribe the copying of the proverbs to Holme, but the hand of the copyist is not Holme's.

These dated indications of ownership make untenable the suggestion that the manuscript was kept in St. George's Chapel when its other books were given to the Bodleian Library in 1612. Clearly the volume remained in Cheshire until the end of the seventeenth century at least, and must have been a later acquisition of the Chapel library. Mrs. Grace Holmes, the archivist of the Chapel, has kindly informed me of one eighteenth-century canon of Windsor who had Cheshire connections. John Bostock, Minor Canon 1735-57 and

⁶ George Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, 3 vols., 2nd edition revised and enlarged by Thomas Helsby (London, 1882), 3.94. This is presumably the John Holme who matriculated at Merton College, Oxford in 1634, aged 19. He was the son of John Holme of Kinderton, Cheshire. See Joseph Foster, ed., *Alumni Oxonienses. The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714* *The Matriculation Register of the University*, 4 vols. (Oxford-London, 1891-92; rpt. Nendeln, 1968), 1.735. As William was not John's father, he may have been his son. Various William Holmes appear in Ormerod, *History* 2.456 but, without further information, speculation on his identity is fruitless.

⁷ The Shelmerdines are described as 'a family of local gentry who were resident ... for several generations' at about this time at Chamber Hall, Etchells. See J. P. Earwaker, *East Cheshire Past and Present or a History of the Hundred of Macclesfield*, 2 vols. (London, 1877-80), 1.327. A John Shelmerdine was baptized on 15 November 1657, the son of a minister at Mottram who was later ejected for non-conformity (*ibid.* 2.130 n.).

⁸ The Ogden family was established in Macclesfield from the early fifteenth century. See Ormerod, *History* 3.750.

Canon 1757-86, was the son of John Bostock of Malbury, Cheshire. I have not been able to trace a connection with this manuscript, nor is there any indication of his having donated anything to the Chapel. However, as Mrs. Holmes points out, an informal gift might not have been recorded, and John Bostock remains a possible link in the chain of ownership leading from Cheshire to Windsor.⁹

DIALECT OF THE PROVERBS

There are certain northern features in the orthography of the proverbs. The northern spelling *qw* for OE *hw* predominates (13 ×) over the *wh* spelling (7 ×), and ME *qu* is also spelled *qw* (*qwert* 362). Although *good* occurs twice, the form *gud* or *goud* is much more common (12 ×). Long vowels often appear with the late northern addition of *y* to indicate the length: *layd* 20, *claym* 381, *agayne* 449, 909, *ayd* 937, *beyn* 22, *leyf* 59, *leys* 218, *ceys* 220, *deyll*/ *weyll* 44-45, 486-487 (but cf. *wele*/ *deyll* 922-923), *meyd*/ *deyd* 48-49 (as against *medes*/ *dedes* 488-489), *dreyd*/ *deyd* 433-434, *cleyn* 494 (cf. *cleane* 224), *foyll* 94 (cf. *fole* 396), *froytte*, *froitte* 656, 664 (cf. *frute* 662), etc.

The vocabulary also suggests a northern provenance: *tytter*/rather 373, *tynsel*/loss 446, *sclyke*/such 531, *ware*/spring 655, *tynes*/loses 669. The form *kyrke* (707, 856), although not exclusively northern, is predominantly so.¹⁰

The rhymes of the poems are not very strict. The translator seems willing to rhyme any sibilant with another (*marchandys*/ *velanys* 74-75, *vnwyse*/ *pryce* 119-120, *place*/ *has* 121-122, *vyce*/ *clerges* 166-167, etc.). Final *y*'s similarly rhyme, without regard for the rest of the word (*holye*/ *almightye* 36-37, *lightly*/ *tresory* 208-209, *honestly*/ *clergy* 231-233, *lechery*/ *nedy* 244-245, *many*/ *besely* 920-921). Other final letters rhyme as well: *cleyn*/ *evyn* 506-507; cf. *wele*/ *skyll* 113-114, *ayd*/ *neyd* 937-938. Words are sometimes invented or distorted to provide these weak rhymes.¹¹

MIDDLE ENGLISH PROVERB COLLECTIONS

Middle English proverbs appear in manuscripts in several different formats. Many are copied, either singly or in very small groups, simply as page fillers in

⁹ There are indications that the main text of the manuscript was still being read at a time when reading Middle English had become somewhat difficult. From fol. 55v to fol. 76r occasional marginal glosses appear in a later hand. Most of these are single words, but the text of fol. 65r 'for whi sorwes sieden not marie in childbering bifore whom zede no lust' is glossed 'The blessed virgin as she had not pleasure in gettinge her child, so she had no sorrow in bearinge it'. The hand is not the same as that which copied the proverbs.

¹⁰ See Charles Jones, *An Introduction to Middle English* (New York, 1972), map 1.

¹¹ See notes on *the/owtragye* 250-251 and *sollemply/ferially* 219-221 below.

manuscripts of unrelated material.¹² However, three main types of larger proverb collections also exist:

- (1) collections in Middle English and Latin used as translation exercises;
- (2) collections in Middle English alone, for didactic purposes;
- (3) collections of fairly formal translations from Latin to Middle English, also intended for instruction.

The first kind of proverb collection exists as school exercises, to teach pupils to translate from English into Latin verse.¹³ A very early Middle English collection, in Cambridge, Trinity College ms. 1145 (O. 2. 45), appears to be of this type. In this, an Old French or Middle English proverb is followed by a Latin translation. Similar collections appear in manuscripts containing Latin grammars and other school texts.¹⁴ In some, a single line of English may be translated as many as seven different ways.¹⁵ This kind of proverb collection, one line of Middle English, one of Latin, came to be copied into gentlemen's commonplace books at the very end of the Middle Ages.¹⁶

The second kind of collection consists of poems clearly intended for moral instruction and appearing mainly in religious or didactic miscellanies. These are in Middle English only. Some are completely miscellaneous collections of proverbs in rhyming couplets, but they are copied continuously in the manuscripts to give the impression of a single work. One such collection is known from the first words of the first proverb as 'Fyrst þou sal'. It is related to another group of texts, known collectively as the 'Prouerbis of Wysdom', although the manuscripts vary somewhat. The 'Proverbs of Good Counsel' is another such collection.

Some Middle English proverb poems have a more formal structure, however, using more complicated stanza forms and often a refrain. The proverbs may be attributed to a legendary wise man, and are often expressly intended to

¹² See the entries in the *Index* and *Supplement* under 'Proverbs'.

¹³ However, this should not be taken to indicate the original language of the saying. Item 11 of the present collection contains lines which also appear in several collections of this type, but the Middle English versions are quite varied and several Latin forms are found in many manuscripts, both English and continental. See note to ll. 96 and 98 below. For a discussion of this type of collection and information about editions, see Bartlett Jere Whiting, 'A Collection of Proverbs in BM Additional MS 37075' in *Franciplegius. Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honor of Francis Peabody Magoun, Jr.*, ed. Jess B. Bessinger, Jr. and Robert P. Creed (London, 1965), pp. 274-89. Editions of other proverbs are listed in the bibliography of Whiting, *Proverbs*, and/or in the *Index* and *Supplement*.

¹⁴ London, British Library mss. Add. 37075 and Harley 3362.

¹⁵ Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Douce 52; Manchester, John Rylands University Library ms. Lat. 394.

¹⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Rawl. D. 328; *Rel. Ant.* 1.287-89; Richard Hill's Commonplace Book.

instruct someone how to get on in life. Such poems include the Proverbs of Alfred, of Hendyng, of Solomon, 'Myne Awen Dere Sone' and *The Good Wife Taught Her Daughter*. This kind of poem is often only loosely proverbial, merging into the large body of mediaeval verse of moral instruction.¹⁷

The third kind of collection consists of translations into Middle English stanzas of large collections of proverbs or sentences from either Latin or Old French. The chief collection to be so translated was the *Distichs* of Cato. Although the *Distichs* were extensively used to teach Latin to school children, the extant translations do not have the air of school exercises.¹⁸ They are found in manuscripts of religious and moral instruction, often without their French or Latin originals. The translations usually attempt a verse form more difficult than rhyming couplets, the later ones being in polished rhyme royal stanzas. The 'Proverbs of Old Philosophers' is another collection of this type.

THE WINDSOR PROVERBS

The present collection belongs largely to the third type discussed above. Most of the items existed first in Latin, which was then translated into Middle

¹⁷ See, e.g., *Index* 3069, 3083, 2523 (edited by A. S. G. Edwards, 'A Fifteenth Century Didactic Poem in British Museum Add. Ms. 29729', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 70 [1969] 702-706).

¹⁸ Mediaeval English versions of the *Distichs* are:

- (1) an Old English version extant in three mss., most recently edited by R. S. Cox, 'The Old English *Dicts of Cato*', *Anglia* 90 (1972) 1-42.
- (2) *Index* 820, 247, a translation in quatrains, accompanied by versions in French and Latin, extant in two mss., ed. F. J. Furnivall, *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript 2* (EETS OS 117; London, 1901), pp. 553-609.
- (3) *Index* 3957, a version in northern couplets, extant in three mss., ed. Max Förster, 'Eine nordenglische Cato-Version', *Englische Studien* 36 (1906) 1-55.
- (4) *Index* and *Supplement* 1539, ms. 2, a translation from the French, accompanied by Latin and Old French versions, ed. Sarah M. Horrall, 'An Unknown Middle English Translation of the *Distichs* of Cato', *Anglia* 99 (1981) 25-37.
- (5) *Index* 169, ms. 1, a translation from Old French in six-line stanzas with much alliteration, ed. Richard Morris, *Cursor mundi* 5 (EETS OS 68; Oxford, 1878, rpt. London, 1966), pp. 1669-74.
- (6) *Index* 169, ms. 2, a translation from Latin in six-line stanzas, ed. Sarah M. Horrall, 'Christian Cato: A Middle English Translation of the *Disticha Catonis*', *Florilegium* 3 (1981) 158-97.
- (7) *Index* 854, 3955, Benedict Burgh's translation of Cato Major and Cato Parvus, extant respectively in thirty-one and twenty-one mss., ed. Max Förster, 'Die Burghsche Cato-Paraphrase', *Archiv* 115 (1905) 298-323 and 116 (1906) 25-40. Caxton printed this translation three times; see A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640* (London, 1926; rpt. 1969), 4850, 4851, 4852.
- (8) Caxton's prose translation of an Old French glossed Cato which, in spite of the translator's introduction, is not related to Burgh's. See Pollard and Redgrave, *ibid.*, 4853.

English, but a few seem to have had popular currency in Middle English as well.¹⁹

The proverbs, although a mixed collection, are arranged in rough groupings. The wisdom of speaking well is dealt with in 8-13 and never recurs, but admonitions about the rich appear more than once (12-16, 39-42, 47-56), and friendship is spoken of several times (20, 23-29, 98-99). Acquisition of wisdom is seen as desirable though difficult (61-67, 93-95), and instruction is given in maintaining the social order against lazy servants and troublesome wives (87-89, 134-139). Many of the proverbs deal with the sad inevitability of death (36-42, 47-50, 80, 110-118). On the whole, the tone of the proverbs here collected is highly moral, in contrast to the pragmatism which causes the writer of the *Distichs* of Cato to urge the appearance of virtue for the sake of expediency.

The Middle English translation is usually in rhyming couplets,²⁰ and is quite crude. Rhyme fillers are frequent (e.g., 207, 571), and the syntax is often badly strained to fit the rhyme.²¹ Mistranslations occur, sometimes because of the need for a rhyme, and are discussed in the notes to this edition. Occasionally, however, the translator produces a quatrain which is reasonably terse and retains most of the quality of the original Latin (e.g., 266-269). The collection was clearly not translated by the person who copied it here, as scribal errors and missing rhyme words show.

The sayings on fol. 89r were probably copied from a collection of the second type. They are in Middle English couplets only, with no Latin equivalents, and show some similarity to the sayings in 'Fyrst þou sal'. Their tone is a good deal less religious and more imperative than that of the earlier proverbs, and the metre is much more varied. In addition, they do not exhibit the northern dialect characteristics of the earlier proverbs.

All the Windsor proverbs were copied onto the blank leaves and margins of a religious miscellany. Although most of the extant collections are more formally copied, such an arrangement is not unknown. Warminster (Wilts.), Longleat House, Library of the Marquess of Bath ms. 29 has the 'Prouerbis of Wysdom' copied into its lower margins, and the English proverbs in London, British Library ms. Harley 3362 are squeezed into the margins.²²

In the following transcription, ME abbreviations are expanded in italics and editorial additions are enclosed in square brackets. Capitalization and word division conform to modern practice.

¹⁹ See, e.g., notes to nos. 6, 7, etc.

²⁰ The exceptions are nos. 18, 30, 32, 37, 41, 42, 52, 61, 62, 69, 75, 108, 111, 118, 119, 121, 122. For a discussion of several feeble rhymes, see p. 346 above.

²¹ The worst example is ll. 596-597, but cf. ll. 89, 133-134, 470-471, 488-489, 522-523, 673-674.

²² See *Index* 3502 and Whiting, 'A Collection of Proverbs', 274.

The notes indicate the number assigned to each Latin proverb in Hans Walther, *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi. Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in alphabetischer Anordnung*, 5 vols. (Carmina medii aevi posterioris latina 2.1-5; Göttingen, 1963-69). I give the number of manuscripts in which Walther has found each proverb, and how many of these are English (that is, manuscripts which were either copied in England or were demonstrably in England during the late Middle Ages), so that the reader may assess the popularity of each saying in England and on the Continent. If the saying is current in Middle English, I also give its number in Bartlett Jere Whiting and Helen Wescott Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings Mainly before 1500* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).

PROLOGUE

Assit huic operi presentia pneumatis almi f. 21r
Quod res hic cepta finem dignum sit adepta.

In the begynynge of this dede
Pray we god that he us spede,
That of noght made all kyn thyng; 5
And to his ioie he us brynge.
Thou that wyll thys bybyll rede,
I pray the, frend, for curtashede,
If so befall that thou fynde ought
Writen therin that lettys the noght, 10
Be curtas, and say non yll.
For who may do ylke a mans wyll?
Qwo may pay euer ylke a man?
He lyffys noght that so do can.
That lykes noght one, that lykes another. 15
By way of goudnes and goud maner
This thyng was writen and gaderd here.
For the ordyner, blame hym noght,
By way of gud sythen he it wroght.
This thyng ys writen and same layd 20

1 pneumatis: p inserted superscript with a caret 19 sythen in margin and corrected from seyng

1-33 This is a very elaborate beginning to a collection of proverbs, although many do start with a brief reference to the connection of beginning and ending. The purpose of the translation, 'for ylke a lewde man', is a commonplace in earlier didactic poetry.

15 A line is missing here.

- Of wysemen saws that them haue said,
 That before oure tyme has beyn,
 That spake of thynges that after was sene,
 And *sum* what towchys holy wrytte
 Als thow shalt fynd wryten in ytte. 25
 Fyrst are verses in Latyn made
 That sythen are turned in Englishe brade:
 The verses for clerkes that Latyn can,
 The Englishe for ylike a lewde man.
 That in Latyn are said before, 30
 Vnder the Englishe to lesse *and* more.
 Now the Latyn I wyll begynne,
 And sythen the Englishe as it is *withynne*.
- 1 Omne bonum nostrum referamus ad omnipotentem;
 Quicquid peccamus id nobis attribuamus. 35
 All owre goodes we count holye,
 Tyll hym that is almightye;
 But in synne qwhateuer we do,
 Gyff we that owreself vnto.
- 2 Ex ope celesti fit quicquid habetur honesti, 40 f. 21v
 Et venit ex superis quod agas bene vel mediteris.
 What so thow has of honestie,
 Fra heuen it comes þat helpes þe.
 Fra abouen it *commes* ylike deyll,
 If thow thynke or do oght weyll. 45
- 3 Quicquid habes meriti preuentrix gratia donat;
 Nil deus in nobis preter sua dona coronat.
 What so thow has of any meyd,
 It ys of grace *and* noght of þi deyde.
 God in vs crownes no thyng
 But that we haue of his gyffynge. 50

22 has *corrected from* hae

1.34-35 Walther 19803a var. (2 mss.).

2.40-41 Walther 8310 (15 mss., 2 English).

3.46-47 Walther 25286 (19 mss., 2 English).

48 *meyd* is a poor translation of *meriti*.

- 4 Comoda qui queris, cur onus non ferre teneris?
Nubit honos honeri; fer onus vel differ honori.
- Thow þat þe prophet will all craue,
Whye the charge should thow noght haue? 55
With the profet the charge should go;
Wedded same are they two.
Beare the charge *with* gode wyll,
Or leyf the honour *and* yt ys skyll.
- 5 Magnum querit onus, qui magnos querit honores; 60
Et quia dulcis honos, dulce videtur onus.
- Beyr the charge *somme* may wyll
For the honowr þat longys thertyll.
For þe honowr ys swete to beyr,
The charge ys swete *and* will noght deyr. 65
- 6 Est dolus ingenium, amor omnis ceca voluptas,
Ludus rusticitas, et gula festa dies.
- Witte ys turnyd to trechery;
luffe ys turned to lechery;
Play ys turnyd to velany; 70
The holy day to glotony.
- 7 Fraudes mercantur, procures scurrilia fantur,
Festa gula dantur, pomposi nobilitantur.
- Now dos gyles thir marchandys;
Now speakes lordes velanys; 75

4.52 Cf. Walther 28900, 11126, 11123a, 7753.

53 Walther 7753 (6 MSS.).

5.60 Walther 14249a lists this line from only 1 English manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library Douce 52, fol. 2r.

62-65 The translation is awkward here, with the syntax of l. 62 especially strained.

6.66-67 This is one of the few items in the collection which was probably originally composed in English and then translated into Latin.

68-69 Cf. 'Fyrst þou sal' 73, ll. 149-150; *The Pricke of Conscience* ..., ed. Richard Morris (Berlin, 1863), 1596-1600.

70 *Pricke of Conscience* 1593.

71 This saying is interpolated into some copies of the *Pricke of Conscience*. See Angus McIntosh, 'Two Unnoticed Interpolations in Four Manuscripts of the *Prick of Conscience*', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 77 (1976) 71, ll. v-vi.

7.72-73 This too is probably originally English.

74 Cf. McIntosh, *ibid.*, ll. iii-v.

Now to glotons feast [es] are made;
Now are boasters in nobilitie hadde.

- 8 Scire loqui decus est, decus est et scire tacere; f. 22r
Hec duo si poteris scire, peritus eris.

Myckell worshyppe comes hym tyll 80
That can speake *and* can be styll.
Cun these ij *and* thow may,
Thow beys wyse soth to say.

- 9 Non est locus pacis, vbi regnat lingua loquacis; 85
Ille loqui nescit, cuius non lingua quiescit.
Ther ys neuer the steyd of peas
Wher jangland tonge has the reas.
He can noght speke, soth to say,
The tonge of whom rest ne may.

- 10 Cum loquitur sapiens attendit tempus et horam; 90
Cum loquitur fatuus nescit habere moram.

He that ys a wise man
Abyds his time *and* spekes then;
But the foyll abydys noght,
Bot spekes all he has in thoght. 95

- 11 Qui bene vult fari, bene debet premeditari.
Lingua loquens plura non intendit ad omnia iura;
Os frangit glossa, tamen in se non habet ossa.
Whoso wyll speke weyll his thynkyng,
Hym awe to haue a forlokyng. 100

76 feastes] feast ms. 78 tacere] taceri ms.

8.78-79 Walther 27621 (19 mss., 3 English). Cf. Whiting S77.

9.84 Walther 17973 (11 mss.).

85 Walther 11447 (1 English ms.).

87 *has the reas* is an awkward translation of *regnat*.

10.90-91 Walther 6698 (9 mss., 1 English). L. 90 is also found separately in 2 mss. (Walther 4217).

91 Cf. Whiting F396-397, F401.

11 These lines are not found together in Latin.

96 Walther 23854 (25 mss., 2 English).

98 Walther 20408 (6 mss., 1 English) and 20462 (3 English mss.).

99-100 Cf. Whiting S82 (1 citation).

Be tonge þat ys mekyll iangland,
 It ys not ay to right gangand.
 The tonge for why brekys bonne,
 In itself þof it haue nonne.

- 12 Cum diues loquitur, quamuis sit inops rationis, 105
 Protinus auditur, laudatur ut os Salomonis.

When the riche to speyke ys bone,
 Þofe all hym fawt gud reson,
 Sone he ys hard *and* wele praysed
 Als Salamon had it said. 110

- 13 Cum pauper loquitur, licet hic ratione serenus,
 Vox sua despicitur quia vilis habetur egenus.

But when the pore spekes ought wele,
 Þofe all it be full goud skyll,
 Als sone his vois is set at noght,
 For of the pore gyffys no man noght. 115

- 14 Nunc facit indoctum paupertas, copia doctum; f. 22v
 Diues honoratur, pauper nec habet nec amatur.

Now makes pouert man vnwyse;
 Riches makys man to be in pryce. 120
 The riche ys honoured in ylke a place;
 The poore ys hated for he noght has.

- 15 Nil bene pauper agit; sed pro ratione tenetur
 Quicquid agit diues, seu bene siue male.

Now may þe pore do no kyn thyng 125
 That nowe may be in lykyng.
 Wheyther the riche do gode or ylle,
 It ys holden for full gud skylle.

- 16 Cum moritur diues, occurrunt vndique ciues;
 Pauperis ad funus vix transit clericus vnus. 130

101 iangland *corrected from* ianglynge 123 nil *corrected from* nill

- 103-104 Whiting T384 (20 citations).
 12.105-106 Walther 6498 (2 mss.).
 15.123-124 Walther 16679 (6 mss.).
 16.129 Walther 6614 var. (20 mss., 2 English), and 4256 1.1 (21 mss., 2 English).
 130 Walther 4256 var.

The riche man, when he ys dead,
 Ouyr all thay run to that stead;
 When the pore is dead and gone,
 Vnnethys thydur go wyll one.

- 17 Est melior probitas que nullo sanguine claret 135
 Quam sit nobilitas que probitate caret.

Bettyr ys bountye of symple blode
 Than ys gentyltye that is noght gode.

- 18 Quid valet hic esse de stirpe bona generatum, 140
 Quem deus inveniet uirtute bona spoliatum?

What profettes it, so the may
 Begettyn or commen of gode kyn,
 That no vertue fynde non kan
 In thyself bot it be syn?

- 19 Nobilitas morum plus ornat quam genitorum; 145
 Non eget externis qui moribus abundat internis.

The nobyllyty of vertues good
 More honour *than* the gentyll blood.
 Outward of gode no myster has he
 That vertues *with* him has plentye. 150

- 20 Si facias ut dico, non omnia dicas amico;
 Quod si forte datur, tuus hostis efficiatur.
 Tunc scit longinquus, quod sciuerat ante propinquus.

That ys thy counsell, þou tell noght all
 To thy frende that may befall; 155
 Thy frend *than* may be thy foe,
 Thy fo wait *than* thy weyll þi woe.

151 omnia dicas *corrected from* dicas omnia

17.135-136 Walther 7617 (11 mss.).

137-138 The translation here is uncharacteristically terse and clear.

19.145 Walther 17023 (21 mss., 1 English).

146 Walther 17536 l. 1 (16 mss.).

148 *More honour*, presumably an imperative, does not translate *plus ornat*.

20.151 Walther 28472b (1 ms.). This is another saying more common in English than in Latin. See Whiting F635 (8 locations).

157 This does not correspond well to the Latin.

- 21 Si quis lucrari vult atque propheta vocari,
 Discat adulari, quia tales sunt modo cari.
 He that any goud wyll get, 160 f. 23r
And be cald here a prophet,
 For to glose nowe he leere;
 Such in cowrt now are deere.
- 22 Quondam scire nichil vicium fuit, sed modo risus;
 Nunc non est vicium preter habere nichil. 165
 It was sumtyme a fowle vyce,
 Noght to *kun* clerges;
 But nowe it is but scornynge,
 For to talke of *cunnynge*.
 It ys no vice now in land, 170
 Bot to haue noght in hand.
- 23 Tempore felici multi numerantur amici;
 Dum fortuna perit, nullus amicus erit.
 In tyme of welfare, ylke a man,
 Many a frende has he than; 175
 When his happe wyll away,
 All his frendes begynnys to stray;
 When his godes begynnys to gone,
 Of all his frendes he has noght one.
- 24 Verus amicus erit, qui plus me quam mea querit; 180
 Paupertate vides, que sit amica fides.
 He is a frende, goud *and* fyne,
 That luffys myself more then myne.
 In thy pouert than may thowe se
 Who ys than a frende to the. 185

163 now inserted superscript with a caret

21.158-159 Walther 29379 (6 mss., 1 English). Cf. *Proverbs of Wisdom*, p. 246, ll. 91-92.

22.164-165 Walther 19778a (12 mss., 1 English).

23.172-173 Walther 31228 (30 mss., 3 English).

176-179 The translator states the idea of l. 173 twice.

24.180 Walther 33202 l. 1 (10 mss.); Whiting F644.

181 This line fits awkwardly with the previous one, being in the second person rather than the first.

- 25 Non amat, ut dico, qui non succurrit amico
Dum videt hunc inopem, nisi sibi prestat opem.

He luffys not, the sothe to say,
With his helpe that says nay
To his frende when he has neyd, 190
Bot he hym helpe with his deyde.
- 26 Obsequium prestat, si posset, amicus amico;
Si valeat nec vult, non est dicendus amicus.

A frende *with* another he say noght nay
With his *seruys*, yf he weyll may. 195
If he may, *and* he ne wylle,
He is no frende by goud skylle.
- 27 Pro modico tibi non est offendendus amicus;
Quantumcumque potes ymo tolleretur amicus.

No kyn frend that ys the lefe 200
For lityll þinge þou shalt hym greyffe;
Bot, als mykyll as þou may,
Thou shalt forbear þi frend ay.
- 28 Omnia dona dei transcendit verus amicus;
Nullus pauper erit thesauro peditus isto. 205

A veray frend, he passys all
Þe gyftes of god, both grete *and* small.
He beis noght pore full lightly,
That has a frende in tresory.
- 29 Sunt multi fratres, sed in illis rarus amicus; 210
Hos natura creat, gratia donat eum.

There are broder many *and* feyll,
But frend in *them* seldom leyll.
Kynde wyll shape *and* geyffe a brother;
The grace of god that gyffes the other. 215

25.186 Walther 17231a (1 English ms.).

191 The line does not translate the Latin well.

27.198 Walther 22484 l. 1 (7 mss., 1 English).

28.204 Walther 19983 l. 1 (3 mss.).

29.210-211 Walther 30775 (2 mss.).

- 30 Dum quid habere putor, solenni voce salutor, f. 23v
Sed re cessante fit vox ferialis ut ante.

When I haue oght, withowtyn leys,
Men me wyll hayls full sollemply;
Bot when my thyng wyll fro me ceys, 220
Thay wyll me hayls full ferially.
- 31 Vir bene vestitus pro vestibus esse peritus
Creditur a mille, quamuis idiota sit ille.

He that cledde ys *with* clothys cleane,
For his clothes many thay wene 225
That he be a full wyse man,
Thof that he no goodde can.
- 32 Si careas veste nec sis vestitus honeste,
Nullius es laudis, quamuis scis omne quod audis.

If thow want gode clothynge, 230
Ne arte cled honestly,
Þou art holdyn of nothyng,
If all þou can enoghe clergy.
- 33 Qui plus expendit, quam lucri copia tendit;
Non admiretur, si paupertate grauetur. 235

He that algates more wyll spende
Then his wynnyng wyll tyll hym sende,
Of thys thys thyng mervyll hym noght,
Þof he to pouerte sone be broght.
- 34 Diues eram dudum, fecerunt me tria nudum: 240
Alea, vina, venus; tribus hijs sum factus egenus.

237 tyll *inserted from the margin with a caret and corrected from to*

30.216-217 Walther 6676 (17 mss., 2 English).

221 The *Middle English Dictionary* does not list the form *ferially*, although it does list one instance of *ferial* used as an adverb. This word, like *ceys* in l. 220, is taken directly from the Latin.

31.222-223 Walther 33505 (33 mss., 2 English).

224-227 The English is not accurate here. For the sake of a rhyme, the translator has changed *bene vestitus* to *with clothys cleane*, and weakened the ending of the Latin.

32.228-229 Walther 28301 (14 mss., 1 English).

233 This line makes little sense.

33.234-235 Walther 24503 (31 mss., 3 English).

34.240-241 Walther 6064 (36 mss., 3 English).

- Sumtyme riches I hadde,
 Bot thynges iij me pore has made:
 The harserd, the wyne *and* lechery,
 Throughe these iij I am nedy. 245
- 35 Diues eram dudum, sed sum ex diuite factus
 Pauper. quid facit hoc? sola superfluitas.
 Sumtyme forsothe riche I was,
 Bot now to pouert downe I passe.
 Who has done that to the? 250
 No kyn thyng but owtrage.
- 36 Si quis sentiret, quo tendit, et vnde veniret,
 Numquam gauderet, sed in omni tempore fleret.
 Who would thynke of thynges two:
 Wheyn[s] he came *and* whyther to go, 255
 Neuer more ioye should [se],
 Bot euer in gretynge be.
- 37 Qui tumultum cernis, cur non mortalia spernis?
 Tali namque domo clauditur omnis homo.
 Thow that thy graue ylke day may se, 260
 Why spysys þou nocht thynges dedly?
 Ilke a man shall stokyn be
 In suche a howse, certaynly.
- 38 Post mortis morsum vertit dileccio dorsum;
 Finita vita finit amicus ita. 265
 When the deyde hys bytte shall take, f. 24r
 Loue als sone turnes hys bake.
 When the lyfe hys endynge makys,
 Als sone the frende hys endynge takes.

242 was *after* sumtyme expunged by dots 255 wheyns] wheyn ms. 256 se: *supplied because* ms. lacks a rhyme word

242 The line is metrically lacking. Perhaps *forsothe* should be supplied after *Sumtyme*, as in l. 248.

35.251 The translator has added an extra syllable to *outrage* to achieve a rhyme.

36.252-253 Walther 29074 var. (7 mss., 3 English).

37.258-259 Walther 24880 (9 mss., 1 English).

38.264-265 Walther 22027 (13 mss., 3 English).

266-269 The English translation here retains the metaphors of the Latin. For 268-269, cf. Whiting D71.

- 39 Dum potes, esto dator; post te veniet dominator 270
Rerum, resque tuas arguet esse suas.

Gyffe thy godes whiles thowe may.
Ther commes another after thy day
That proue wyll, *with* reson fyne,
That all are hys and nothyng thyne. 275

- 40 Sis memor, o diues, non in omni tempore viues.
Fac bene, dum viuis, post mortem viuere si vis;
Da tua, dum tua sunt: post mortem tunc tua non sunt.

Thow riche man, þou thynke alway
In thys world thow lyffe noght ay. 280
Do now wele, thy goddes thow gyffe,
After thy death yf thow wylt lyffe.
Gyffe of thyne or thow be gone,
For after thy death thyne ar nonne.

- 41 Quando sedes in mensa, primo de paupere pensa 285
Ad te clamanti; partem defer ad ostia stanti.

When þou sittes at burde thyne,
Furst thou thynke vpon the pore.
Gyffe *sum* parte to gods hyne
That standes *and* cryes at thy dore. 290

- 42 Pauperis in specie cum Christus venerit ad te,
Hoc largire sibi, quod dedit ipse tibi.

When þou art myghty *and* wele stand may,
And þi hornes vp may bere,
Mans power lastes not ay 295
Is noght the thynges that may deyre.

286 partem] pars ms. (*this emendation seems to be required by sense, but it disturbs the metre*)

39.270-271 Walther 6658 (4 mss., 3 English).

40.276 Walther 19451 (25 mss., 3 English). Some have either l. 277 or 278 as their second line. See also Hill's *Commonplace Book*, p. 130.3, ll. 7-8.

277 Walther 8635 (15 mss., 2 English).

278 Walther 4861 (11 mss., 2 English).

41.285-286 Walther 6712 l. 1 (9 mss.), 4430 l. 1 (7 mss., 1 English), 4407 l.1 (5 mss., 2 English), 24689 (2 mss.), and 25553 (9 mss., 3 English).

42.291-292 Walther 20998 (14 mss.).

293-296 This does not translate the Latin, nor does the English make good sense as it stands. The scribe's eye has obviously slipped and omitted a whole section of his copy.

- 43 *Sunt odiosa tria Christo testante sophia:
Sordida vita senis, dis mendax, fastus egenus.*

Thre kyns thynges displeasys our Lorde,
As holy wrytte wyll recorde: 300
The riche man lychyr þe fyrst ys he;
Old made lychore þe tothyr may be;
A pore man ys the thyrd,
That has pryde in hert hydde.
- 44 *Tres sunt stultitie maiores omnibus, audi:
Tantum iurare, tantum dare, tantumque minari
Quod nil credaris, habeas nil, nil metuaris.*

iij are folyes more than other.
Herkyn for thy hedyr brother:
On it is to swear so mykyll, 310
To be holdyn fals *and* fykyll;
Another ys to gyffe þi gode so fast
Haue noght þiself at the last; f. 24v
The thyrd ys þan so mykyll to threte
That nother thow dredys litle nor grete. 315
- 45 *Tres infelices in mundo nouimus esse:
Infelix, qui pauca sapit spernitque doceri;
Infelix, qui multa sapit nolensque docere;
Infelix, qui recta sapit operans et inique.*

In þis world thre we ken 320
Þat are called vncely men:
One ys he þat lityll can,
and wilbe leryd of nakyn man;
He þat can mykyll ys another
And noght teache here his brother; 325

301 lychyr *corrected from* lechyr 306 minari *corrected from* minare 324 can *inserted*
superscript with a caret

43.297-298 Walther 30787a (2 mss.).

301 lychyr should read *lyar* (Latin *dis mendax*).

303 The rhyme word may originally have been *thrydde*, although the translator may simply have used a weak rhyme here.

44.305-307 Walther 31566 (3 mss., 1 English).

45.316, 318-319 Walther 31559, ll. 1, 3 and 4.

317-318 Walther 12306 ll. 2 and 1.

319 Walther 12308a (2 mss.).

325 The verb should probably be *teaches*.

Be thyrd that knawes the right
And dos the wors *with* all his myght.

- 46 In mundo duo sunt, que nil abscondita prosunt:
Fossus humi census, latitans in pectore census.

In the world are ij kyn thynges, 330
If thay be hyd no *profett* thay brynges:
One ys riches in erthe lyggand;
Another ys witte in brest lygand.
- 47 Dic, homo, quid speres, qui mundo totus adheres?
Tecum nulla feres, licet omnia solus haberes. 335

What thynkes thou, man, als god the saue,
Pat all thys world thyself wald haue?
Thow beyres full lityll at þe last *with* þe,
Þof all thys world þyn own myght be.
- 48 Diues diuitias non congregat sine labore, 340
Nec tenet absque metu nec deserit absque dolore.

The riche his riches he gaders noght
Withowten travell *and* great thoght;
He haldes them noght *withouten* drede;
In *pertynge* for sorowe his hert wald blede. 345
- 49 Diues diuiditur moriens tribus: accipit eius
Styx animam, corpus vermis et orbis opes.

The riche *man* diand ys *pertyd* in thre:
The fende his sowle that takes he;
Hys body the wormes in the graue; 350
All his riches the world shall haue.
- 50 Est leuius per acum magnum transire camelum
Quam diuitem per opes magnas ascendere celum.

328 *prosunt: a blot obscures what is presumably -nt* 345 *wald corrected from wyld*

46.328-329 Walther 11880 (19 mss., 3 English).

47.334-335 Walther 5559 (24 mss., 3 English).

48.340-341 Walther 6059 (24 mss., 2 English).

49.346-347 Walther 6058a (2 mss.).

50.352-353 A paraphrase of Mt 19:24.

Lighter it is, *and euer* was,
Throughe *an* nyld eye to passe 355
The camyll body that is greate,
Then the riche to heuen seate.

- 51 Diuitis est proprium memorari diuitiarum; f. 25r
Hac vbi thesaurus fuerit cor ponit auarus.

A riche man, it is his kynde 360
To haue his riches mykell in mynde.
Be he sycke or in qwert,
Where hys treysour there his hert.

- 52 Semper auarus eget, quia non saciatur auarus; 365
Tangere parta timet sibi ne minuatur aceruus.

Euer the chinge ys full of nede;
His hert may fyll no kyn thyng.
His godes to touche he has drede,
That his howrd ne haue lessyng.

- 53 Ante scrutari mare possit vel numerari 370
Omnis arena maris quam censu habundet auarus.
Non est in mundo diues qui dicit: 'Habundo'.

Tytter serched myght be the see,
And the grauell telled be,
Than any cattell suffyce may 375
Tyll a chynche, sothe to say.
In werld so riche qwylke is he
That says hymself he has plentye?

- 54 Diuitias non diues habet, sed habetur ab illis; 380
Non is eis sed ei predominatur opes.

371 *omnis: a blot obscures the o* censu] sensu ms.

354-357 Whiting C13.

51.359 A paraphrase of Mt 6:21.

360-363 Whiting T451.

52.364-365 Walther 27912 ll. 1-2 (3 mss., 1 English).

53.370-371 Walther 1169 (4 mss., 1 English).

370 The more usual reading for *scrutari* is *siccari*.

372 Walther 17645 (26 mss., 3 English).

54.379 Walther 6130.

The riche that riches *with* right will claym,
 Þai haue hym, *and* he noght theym.
 He of *them* no lordshippe has,
 But to *them* the lordshyppe gase.

- 55 Omnia vir vicia dimittit quando senescit; 385
 Restat Auaritia, que sola senescere nescit.

All kyn vices euer ylke a man,
 When he waxes old, he leueths than —
 All but couetyce; it dwelles ay;
 For nakyn eld it wyll away. 390

- 56 Diues erit raro, domino qui seruit auaro;
 Prodigus expendit, sed auarus cuncta retentat.
 Seldom shall he haue riches
 That *seruis* a lord full of chynches,
 For the chynche all wyll hald; 395
 The fole large of spens is bold.

- 57 Quanto dignior es aut per genus aut per honores, f. 25v
 In te tanto res viciose sunt grauiiores.
 Ay the worthyer that thow be,
 Authyr by kyn or oder degre, 400
 So mykyll wars than ys þi syn
 When thow fallys any in.

- 58 Non nimis amissis doleas nec omne, quod audis,
 Crede nec affectes id quod habere nequis.
 For no kyn goud lost fro the 405
 In kare mikyll noght þou be;
 Ðat þou heres trow þou noght all;
 Þou may noght get zarne þou ne shall.

382 haue] haue haue ms. 408 þou² *inserted superscript with a caret*

55.385-386 Walther 20101 (1 ms.); Whiting C490.

56.391 Walther 6066 (5 mss., 3 English).

57.397-398 Walther 23585 (6 mss., 1 English).

58.403-404 Walther 18088 (10 mss., 6 English).

408 Ðat should be understood at the beginning of the line.

- 59 Qui non assuescit virtuti dum iuuenescit,
A viciis nescit discedere quando senescit. 410
He that as a zonge man
To no vertue gyffes hym þan,
When he is old, he ne may
Fro his vices parte away.
- 60 Vsus vult morem vel vult sufferre dolorem;
Quod capis ex vsu, nequit absque dolore caueri. 415
Wont will want it is so,
Or els it will suffer wo.
That þou takes of vice to the,
Hard it is fro þe to fle. 420
- 61 Scire volens aliquid, sis amans patiensque laborem;
Nam nisi per grandem sapiens fit nemo laborem.
Who so will be conynge man
And sumwhile wele to fare,
Hym behoues suffyr þan and þan 425
And luffe to werke sare.
No man for why, the soth to tell,
Þat to wisdom come to may,
Bot it be by greate travell,
Or 3yt his lyfe wele to say. 430
- 62 Dum iuuenis crescit, et crescendo pavescit;
Illi decrescit honor omnis quando senescit.
A man that has no kyn dreid,
When he is yonge, of his deyde,
Al kyn[s] honor wanys hym fro 435
When he is old for he dyd so.

411 as] ys ms. 435 al kyns] als kyn ms.

59.409-410 Walther 24381 (27 mss., 3 English). Cf. Whiting Y29.

60.415-416 Walther 15310a (1 English ms.); Whiting W557.

419 *vice* does not translate the Latin *ex vsu*.

61.423-430 The extended translation is heavily padded. Lines 424 and 430 are not in the original; the second half of l. 427 is totally unnecessary, as are the repeated *þan* in l. 425 and *to* in l. 428.

62.431 If the English translation is accurate, a negative may have dropped out of the Latin. Cf. no. 59 above.

433-436 Whiting Y29.

- 63 Disce libens et eris sapiens et honore frueris;
Quod fieri queris, disce libens et eris.
- Leere gladly, sonn *and* þou shalt be
Wyse *and* honourd in dignite; 440
Looke thow leere willynglye
Þou shalbe made whateuer þou wilbe.
- 64 Damna fleo rerum, sed plus fleo damna dierum: f. 26r
Quis quis potest rebus succurrere, nemo diebus.
Non restauratur perdita sola dies. 445
- Tynsels of goodes I grete full sore;
Tynsels of dayes I grete wele more.
Gooddes may men recure *with* payne,
But non his days may geyt agayne.
For why a day tynt fro the 450
Neuermore after restored may be.
- 65 Discat qui nescit: cura sapientia crescit;
Crescit et augetur, si longior vsus habetur.
- He þat can noght let hym leere:
Wysdam waxys by study cleere; 455
Be lengar vsed þat it be,
Be more it waxes *and* ebes to hy.
- 66 Sepe rogare, rogata tenere, retenta docere:
Hec tria discipulum faciunt superare magistrum.
- Three thynges garres in clergy strange 460
A discipull his maister ouergange:
Oft to aske þat he ne can;
And þat he askes to hald wele þan;
And that he haldes for to kan;
Thyes iij makes many wyse man. 465

441 willynglye *corrected from* wyth goud wyll 448 *with: 1 [†] placed above o*

63.437-438 Walther 5851 var. (4 mss., 1 English).

439 Many collections of wise sayings were ostensibly directed to the writer's son.

64.443-444 Walther 4893 (34 mss., 5 English).

65.452-453 Walther 5830 var. (14 mss.). Cf. 5831 (3 mss.).

457 The word *ebes* ruins the sense of the saying.

66.458-459 Walther 27263 (19 mss., 3 English).

- 67 Discere, querere, sepe reuoluere sit tibi cura!
Hec tria sunt via, qua sapiencia sit valitura.

Luke theis besynes be to the,
To lere, to aske, in vse to be.
Theis thre thynges are þe way 470
Wysdom by whylk haue þou may.
- 68 Verbosi lites, fili charissime, vites!
Multi sermonem retinent, pauci rationem.

My derist son, loke þat þou fle 475
With wordy men in stryfe to be.
Many for why has wordes to wyll,
Bot fewe gyffes tent to any skyll.
- 69 Est melius peccasse prius, post viuere recte,
Quam prius esse pius et fore fine reus.

Better yt is to any man 480
Fyrst to syn *and* sythen mend,
Then þat any þat wele began
And be made a shrewe in his end.
- 70 Non bene sit ceptum quod finem sumit ineptum;
Premia iustorum pendent in fine laborum. f. 26v 485

That thyng ys noght begunne weyll,
A gud endyng þat wantes ylk a deyll.
Rightwyse men for why *ther* medes
Henges in endyng of theire dedes.
- 71 Quicquid agas, sapienter agas sed respice finem!
Si bonus est finis, tunc dico bonum fore totum. 490

468 theis: e added superscript with a caret 477 fewe] fewes ms.

67.466-467 Walther 5926 var. (6 mss.).

68.472-473 Walther 33134 var. (9 mss.).

473 Cf. Walther 15472 (6 mss., 1 English).

69.478-479 Walther 7627 (2 mss., 1 English).

483 The *And* comes from the Latin, but the grammatical structure has been changed so that the *And* should have been omitted.

70.484 Cf. Whiting B199, C119, F675, F700, T180.

485 Walther 22184 (5 mss., 1 English).

71.490 Walther 25242 (11 mss., 1 English).

What so þou dos, wysely þou doe,
And to þe ende behald þou to;
 If the end be gud *and* cleyn
 Pan ys all gud bedeyn. 495

- 72 Cum poteris vinci, noli tu dicere 'vici'.
 Vt scriptura sonat: finis, non pugna, coronat.
 The whyls þou may ouercommen be,
 Say the victorye ys noght *with* þe.
 Holy wrytte says þat endynge 500
 Gyffes the crowne, *and* not fyghtynge.

- 73 Vespere detur ei, si laus est danda diei;
 Vespere laudatur, si pulcra dies habeatur.
 If þe day be loued of the,
 At þe euyn shall loued be. 505
 If the day be fayre *and* cleyn,
 It shalbe louyd at þe evyn.

- 74 Vt doceas alios securus et absque pudore,
 Consonet os cordi nec opus discordet ab ore.
 If þou securly wyll preche *and* ken 510
 Withouten shame of other men,
 Thy mouth, thy hert, loke þai accorde;
 Let not thy mouth þi werkes discorde.

- 75 Quem sua culpa ligat, mea cur delicta remordet?
 Me male castigat, proprio qui crimine sordet. 515
 Whar to my fawtes remordes he
 Þat hymself ys bounden in blame?
 Full yll me thynke he chastys me
 Þat more ys gylty in the same.

492-495 Cf. Whiting B197, 204, 207, etc.

72.496 Walther 6656 (2 MSS.).

497 Walther 32558 (10 MSS.).

73.502 Walther 33221 (9 MSS., 5 English).

503 Walther 33226 (6 MSS., 3 English).

74.508-509 Walther 32372 (2 MSS.).

512 Whiting M754-755.

75.514-515 Walther 23776 var. (10 MSS., 1 English).

- 76 Qui cupit ex oculo fratris depellere labem, 520
 Primitus ex propriis diluat ipse trabem.
 Drawe owte a moyte he þat wyll
 Of his brother eye for yll,
 Fyrst he shuld out of his own
 Take the balke þat non were knawn. 525
- 77 Peccantes damnare caue, nam labimur omnes; f. 27r
 Aut sumus aut fuimus aut possumus esse, quod hic est!
 Þof all men syn þou dampne no man,
 For all we fall then *and* then.
 Awther we are, or we be may, 530
 Or we have beyn, selyke as thay.
- 78 Si sis securus pro tempore siue staturus,
 Sis bene visurus ne postea sis ruiturus.
 If þou be sekyr for to stand
 For a tyme þat ys in hand, 535
 So to þiself loke þat þou se
 For to fall þat þou noght be.
- 79 Sicut ad omne quod est mensuram ponere prodest,
 Sic sine mensura deperit omne quod est.
 Right as meser a profet wyll do 540
 Tyll a thyng it is put to,
 Alkyn thyng, right so it wyll,
 Withowtyn mesur als son spyll.
- 80 Sex sunt que revocant hominem peccare volentem:
 Flebilis ingressus et tristis ab ore recessus, 545
 Sacra que pungunt animam, quoque passio Christi,
 Gaudia celestis patrie, tormenta gehenne.
 Syxe thynges a man agayn wyll call
 Þat in syn vmqwyle wald fall:
 His commynge hyther in world so bare, 550

76.520-521 A paraphrase of Mt 7:3, Lc 6:41.

522 Cf. Whiting M714.

77.526-527 Walther 21063 (2 mss., both English).

79.538-539 Walther 29566 var. (5 mss.).

80.546 There is no Middle English translation for this line. The reading of the first word in the Latin is uncertain; what appears to be *ſcra* has been expanded here as *sacra*, which suits the sense but not the metrical requirements.

His wendynge heyn so full of care,
 Þe ioie of hevyn where euer ys pecysse,
 Þe paynes of hell þat neuer shall cease.

- 81 Cessant peccare iusti virtutis amore;
 Cessant peccare prauī pene pro timore. 555

The rightwyse men no syn wyll doe
 For luffe they haue ther gode vnto;
 But þise shrewes lettes to syn
 For dreyd of payn that lygges therin.

- 82 Vir pius et sapiens super omnes debet amari, 560
 Impius et sapiens semper debet dubitari;
 Impius insipiens nulli debet sociari,
 Vir pius insipiens pietate potest tollerari.

He that meke ys *and* wyse ther tyll,
 Hym aw be luffed ouer [all] by skyll; 565
 Bot he that ys both wycked *and* wyse,
 Hym aw be dred by alkyn pryse;
 A wikked mann, a fole with all, f. 27v
 To no felowshyppe þou shall hym call;
 He that ys myld, vnwyse therwith, 570
 Men shall hym chose by fyld *and* fryth.

- 83 Qui diues fuerat et pauper nesciat esse,
 Ille modum vite nescit habere sue.
 That mann can noght his lyf here
 Rewl, ne haue in gud manere, 575
 That fyrst has ben a riche [man]
 And after pore be ne he can.

- 84 Si laudandus eris, sine te tua facta loquantur:
 Fac ergo no[n] te sed tua facta loqui.
 If any lovyng worth þou be, 580
 Let thy werkes speyke that of þe;
 Luke þat þiself speyke right noght,
 Bot thy dedes that þou hast wroght.

576 man: *supplied because ms. lacks a rhyme word* 579 non] no ms.

82.560-563 Walther 35551c (1 ms.).

- 85 Cum pare certare dubium, cum principe stultum,
Cum puero pudor est; cum cunctis nil tibi prodest. 585
With þi peir a stryf begyn,
But it is dowl who better shall wyn;
With thy better, noght to ly,
For to stryf it is foly;
To stryfe with hym lesse then thowe, 590
It is shame and noght þi prowē;
With alkyn men in stryf to be,
No kyn thyng it profittes the.
- 86 Me vult vitalem, qui dat mihi rem modicalem;
Qui mihi contulerit modicum, me viuere querit. 595
Longe of lyf he wyll I be
A littyll thyng that gyffes me.
A littyll thyng þat wyll me gyf,
He helpes me here for to lyffe.
- 87 Cum cor mitescit domini, seruire pigrescit;
Mitis prelatus facit ignauos famulatus. 600
Þi lordes hart qwen þou may se
Myld and sufferand begynnys to be,
Þan þe seruand waxes sclawe
In his seruys and standes non awe. 605
The prelatte that ys ouer meke and myld f. 28r
Shall make his sugettes ouer suer and wyld.
- 88 Non debet iudex, doctor, medicusve sacerdos
Esse suis tepidus, aut nimis ferus.
Nowdyr preiste ne domysman may be, 610
Leche ne techer that teache kanne,

587 dowl] down ms. 595 viuere] viuerit ms.

85.584-585 Walther 4293 (4 mss., 3 English).

86.594 Walther 14562 (5 mss., all English).

595 Walther 24289 (19 mss., 5 English).

596-597 The syntax is very strained here. Presumably this means 'Whoever gives me a little thing wants me to be long of life'.

87.600 Walther 4072 (1 English ms.), 6475 (6 mss.).

601 Walther 14959 (4 mss., 1 English).

88.609 The metre of this line is faulty.

610 The line has been badly copied. The rhyme word, presumably, was *domysman*.

Awe to be, the sothe to telle,
 Ouyr meke ne yet to felle.

- 89 Postquam nobilitas seruilia cepit amare,
 Postquam seruiles ceperunt nobilitare, 615
 Nobilis et seruus ceperunt degenerare.

Sythen that they that lordes ware
 Began to luffe knaves fare,
 And sythen þat knaves þat were noght
 To lordes state has ben broght, 620
 Sythen haue þei bothe gon owte of kynd
 As nowe ouerall men may fynd.

- 90 Facta domus furto durabit tempore curto;
 Res male quesita iure peribit ita.
 De male quesitis vix gaudet tertius heres. 625

The howse shall haue no gud lastynge
 That ys made *with* stolne thyng.
 Þe same maner sothe to say,
 Ill gettyn gud wyll passe awaye.
With strange gettynge yf þou haue oght, 630
 The thyrd heyre reioyses it noght.

- 91 Parca manus, labor assiduus designat habere;
 Larga manus, labor insolitus designat egere.
 A scars hand, *with* travell grete,
 They garre a man bothe haue *and* gette. 635
 A large hand *with* littyll deyde,
 They garre a man be broght to neyd.

- 92 Ultra posse viri non vult deus vlla requiri;
 Ultra posse meum non me lex vlla coegit.
 Non reor esse reum qui totum posse peregit. 640

89.614-616 Walther 22083 (more than 12 mss., 3 English).

621-622 The translation makes the situation more specific and immediate than the Latin.

90.623-624 Walther 8702 (3 English mss.).

625 Walther 5081 (22 mss., 4 English).

629 Whiting G342; cf. N166.

631 Whiting G333.

91.632-633 Walther 20642 (5 mss.).

92.638 Walther 32105 (18 mss., 2 English).

639 Walther 32103 var. (6 mss.).

640 Walther 18355a (1 ms.).

- Thar ys no lawe þat byndes me to
 More þan I may gudly do;
 He ys not gylty by any right
 Þat goodly dos after his might.
 God hymself, heuen kynge, 645
 Ouer mans power askes noþinge.
- 93 Omnis planta recens nisi sit bene fixa peribit;
 Sic doctrina dicens nisi consolidetur abibit.
 Ylka plant þat nowe ys set
 Dyes away, bot it rote get. 650
 So does lore þe soth to say:
 Bot it be vsed it gos away.
- 94 Vt ver dat flores, flos fructum, fructus odores, f. 28v
 Sic studium mores, mos sensum, sensus honores.
 Als tyme of ware gyffes floryshynge, 655
 Þe floures the froytte, the froytte smellynge,
 Right so wyll study vertues brynge,
 Vertues wysdam, wisdam honorynge.
- 95 Ingenium, nisi sit studium, flos est sine fructu;
 Hec duo iuncta simul fructificare solent. 660
 Study ys noght bot wit be thare,
 Bot as a flowre þat no frute bare.
 If it be ioyned *with* stody vnto,
 Full mykell froytte þan wyll it doe.
- 96 Ultra mensuram qui tendit ad ardua curam 665
 Amittit totum quo gestit ponere votum.
 He þat settes his besynes
 Owte of mesurre to hynes,
 Of he tynes all þat þinge
 In qwylike he settes his zernynge. 670

647 recens corrected from rejcens 648 dicens corrected from decens 656 floures: u
 written superscript 663 þe after ioyned expunged by dots 668 mesurre corrected from
 mesorre

641-646 Lines 641-644 translate ll. 639-640; ll. 645-646 translate l. 638.

94.653-654 Walther 32618 (19 mss., 2 English).

95.659-660 Walther 12376 (13 mss.).

- 97 Qui plus quam debet ascendere tendit in altum,
Quem nollet prebet ex alto culmine saltum.

Clym ouer hyght he þat wyll
Mikyll more þan ys skyl,
A lawpe oft sythes shall he make 675
Qwylke he wold not gladly take.
- 98 Qui mel in ore gerit et me retro pungere querit,
Eius amicitiam nolo mihi sociam.

He þat hony in mouth can beare,
And me behynde wyll prycke *and* deyre, 680
That mans frendshippe wyll I nought
In company to me be brought.
- 99 Retro rodentes et coram blanda loquentes
Sunt detractores, sunt demone deteriores.

Þat knows *her* behynde inuiowsly, 685
Speykes before so swetelye —
Þai are backbytors sothe to tell,
Warre þan any devyll of hell.
- 100 Vltio celestis quamuis veniat pede lento,
Tandem grande sonat feritque ictu violento. 690
Ante dei vultum nichil est quod transit invltum.

Gods vengeans hyder to *somme* f. 29r
With wayke fote þof all it come,
Folly it soundes at the last,
And *when* it smytes it smytes fast. 695
Before god nothyng may
Passe vnvenged fro hym away.
- 101 Non bene pugnatur vbi fortior est inimicus;
Non est Iudicium quod Iudex firmat iniquus.

Men fyghtes noght wele ne securly 700
Where more stalworth is þe enemy.

97.673-676 Cf. Whiing C296. This proverb was probably originally English.

98.677-678 Walther 24239 (25 mss., 4 English).

99.683-684 Walther 26832 (1 ms.).

100.689-690 Walther 32097 (4 mss.).

691 Walther 1118 (25 mss., 2 English).

- It is no dome in right to gange
That a domesman confyrmes wrange.
- 102 Virtus, ecclesia, clerus, demon, Symonia
Cessat, calcatur, errat, regnat, dominatur. 705
- Now 3e ses vertue it has no rote;
Haly kyrke ys ere broght vnder fote;
Clergy erres in ther dedes;
The devyll reyngnes *and* saws thar sedes;
Þe cursyd syn of symonye 710
Has nowe lordship certaynly.
- 103 Cerui cauda brevis male celat posteriora;
Stulti lingua levis peius tegit interiora. f. 29v
- The hert tayle ys short of kynde,
Hydes full yll the thynges behynde; 715
The fole tongue yt cannot blynne,
Hydes full yll the thynges within.
- 104 Da puero dum vult, catulo dum cauda movetur;
Sic puer indomitus, catulus bene pastus habetur.
- Gyffe þi chyld, whyles he wyll, 720
Waggand hys tayle þe hounde his fyll.
Than þat chyld vntaght shalbe,
And the hounde wele fedde bes he.
- 105 Si sis vir fortis, non des tua robora scortis;
Scribitur in portis: Meritrix est ianua mortis. f. 30r 725
- If thou be a stanworth man
Gyfe not thy strenght to bordyll þan.
On the zates written is þis:
'The wyckyd of death þe bordyll ys'.
- 106 Unde superbit homo, cuius conceptio culpa, 730
Nasci pena, dolor vita, necesse mori?

102.704-705 Walther 33656 (14 mss., 6 English).

103.712-713 Walther 2684 var. (5 mss., 2 English).

104.718-719 Walther 4847 (2 English mss.).

720-723 Whiting C214.

105.724-725 Walther 4447 var. (5 mss., 1 English).

106.730-731 Walther 32163 var. (22 mss., 4 English).

- What thyng should man enpride hym in
Whos conceyvynge ys but synne,
Hys beyrynge pyne, sorowe hys lyfyng,
Nedfull to hym ys dyenge? 735
- 107 Sperma prius, post saccus olens, post vermibus esca, f. 30v
Post cinis, inde fetor! Vnde superbit homo?

So fowll a kynde þat fyrst ys,
Sythen a secke of styckand mes;
Wormes meate fowll to se, 740
And sythen asse for to be.
Fro that to noght to turne þan
Qwar of enprydys any man?
- 108 Vnde superbimus, quid ego, quid tu nisi limus? 745
Primus homo limus, sortem mutare nequimus.
Cum fex, cum limus, cum res vilissima simus,
Vnde superbimus? ad terram terra redimus.

Qwer of prowð þan may we be,
Qwat I, what þou, oght bot clay?
The fyrst man clay was he; 750
Chaunge þat cut we ne may.
Dregges *and* clay sythen we are thus,
Be fowlest þinge þat we be may,
Qwer of haue we pride in vs?
Erthe to erthe we turne away. 755
- 109 Si tibi copia seu sapiencia formaque detur, f. 31r
Sola superbia destruit omnia si comitetur.

If worldly riches, great plenty,
Wysdom *and* fayrenes be gyffyn to the,
Stroy theym all pryde it wyll, 760
And it be felawshippe them vntyll.
- 110 Quid mundi flores prosunt vel eius honores
Cum nequeant mortem vel mortis tollere sortem?

107.736-737 Walther 30124 (9 mss., 2 English). Cf. Edwards, 'A Fifteenth Century Didactic Poem' (above, p. 348 n. 17), for other versions of this sentiment.

737 Most mss. have *nihil* for *fetor*.

108.744-745 Walther 32162 (10 mss., 4 English; 1 ms. combines this with the next distich).

746-747 Walther 4141 var. (26 mss., 3 English).

109.756-757 Walther 29238 (2 mss., 4 English).

110.762-763 Walther 25097 var. (3 mss.).

- In thyngthis vncertayne ys nokyns thyng
 More vncertayn than death comynge; 765
 Bot certayner may no thyng be
 Than ys the dethe that non may fle.
- 111 Mente stude memori viuendo sequi meliora;
 Res est certa mori, nichil est incertius hora.
 With besy mynde loke thow stody, 770
 Ay the lenger the better to lyue.
 Certayn thyng it is to dye;
 The howre of deth no certan wyll gyve.
- 112 Morte cadunt queque, mors est que iudicat eque; f. 31v
 Dum mors infestat, nichil est quod denique restat. 775
 Mors cunctis dura, cuncta trahit ad sua iura:
 Regem, Reginam facit ipsa subire ruinam.
 Be deyð falles downe all thyng in leyð;
 Deyð ys þat that demes euenhede.
 Qwen deyð begynnys to assayle, 780
 No thyng may last ne þan awayle.
 Dethe ys hard to all wyghtes:
 All it drawes to his rightes:
 Kynge *and* qwene *and* other all
 When it *commes* it garres downefall. 785
- 113 Est homo res fragilis, res durans tempore paruo:
 Nunc est, nu[n]c non est, quasi flos qui crescit in aruo.
 A man ys brysyll thyng
 That lettyll tyme makes lastynge;
 Nowe he ys, als son away, 790
 As flowre in feld that turnes to hay.

774 que] qui ms. 784 other] o- other ms. 787 nunc²] nuc ms.

764-767 These lines do not translate the Latin. The scribe's eye has skipped from one Middle English stanza to another.

111.769 This line is similar to ll. 764-765 above.

772-773 Whiting D96.

112.776-777 Walther 15124 (2 English mss.).

778-785 Cf. Whiting D97-101.

113.786-787 Walther 7486 (23 mss.).

791 Cf. Whiting F317-324.

- 114 Forma, genus, mores, sapiencia, res et honores f. 32r
 Non prohibent hominem, quin redit in cinerem.
 Fayrenes, vertues *and* gentle blode,
 Wysdom, honours *and* wordly gode, 795
 No man heyre forbyd them may
 That euer he shall turne to assys away.
- 115 Viuere qui bene vult sic semper viuere debet:
 Vltima viuendi sit quasi queque dies.
 He þat will weyll I lyffe here 800
 Hym awe to lyffe of thys manere:
 Ðat ylke a day be in hys doynge
 As it were the last in his liffynge.
- 116 Est nichil vtilius nec tam laudabile primo:
 Ad mortem semper esto paratus homo. 805
 I may shew no kyns thyng
 Of no more prophet, ne zet loffyng,
 Than thou may be redy aye
 To the deyd, nyght *and* day.
- 117 Si vis scire quid bene viuere, disce! docebo: 810 f. 32v
 Ores, ieiunes, vigiles, des! sic bene viues.
 If þou wylt kun to lyffe wele here,
 Leyre of me, I shall the leyre:
 Pray *and* fast, wake *and* gyffe,
 So than thou shalt full wele lyffe. 815
- 118 Viue carens vicio, quasi tu sis cras moriturus!
 Insistas studio quasi mortem non habiturus.

804 This line began to be copied beside the previous proverb, but the scribe abandoned it after *est nichil v*, and began again at the bottom of the page. 817 *habiturus*: bi cancelled and replaced by an abbreviation sign

114.792-793 Walther 9751 (3 mss.).

793 Walther has *retinent* for *prohibent*, which makes more sense. However, l. 796 translates *prohibent*.

117.810-811 Walther 29415 var. (4 mss.).

118.816 Walther 33935 l. 1 (2 mss., with a second line somewhat like l. 817).

817 Walther 12510 l. 1 (3 mss., with a second line somewhat like l. 816).

- Withowtyn syn loke þou lyffe,
 As þou tomorne were to dy.
 And to stody þou the lyffe
 As deyð might neuer meyt þe by. 820
- 119 Cum ad thesaurum nisi purum non venit aurum,
 Hinc qui saluari cupit, expedit hic tribulari.
 Ne gold may come to tresory
 But it pured wele before. 825
 He þat zernes be saued for thy,
 Here it spedes hym be noyd sore.
- 120 Quod amat ipse deus hos arguit atque flagellat;
 f. 33r
 Pena flagella malis, gloria vero bonis.
 Þat god hymselfe loffes weyll here, 830
 Þam he chastyes *with* noyes shere.
 Hys sondes to gode are great lykyng,
 To shrewys forsothe grete pynyng.
- 121 Cum facis ingressum, studeas sic esse modestus,
 Vt post decessum de te sit rumor honestus. 835
 Qwere þou entre makes to dwell,
 So debonere þou stody to be,
 After thy partyng þat man may tell
 Of the nothyng but honesty.
- 122 Qui non captaret plus quam natura rogaret,
 840
 Sic diues esset, et copia nulla deesset.
 He þat wald take no more
 Than hys kynde wald aske by skyll,
 He should be riche weyll beyre,
 And no kyns thyng shuld fayll hym tyll. 845
- 123 Si tua debita sint bene reddita cuique petenti,
 f. 33v
 Per patriam potes ire via nullo prohibenti.

827 *spedes: cancelled and rewritten in ms.* 833 *pynyngel pyaynge ms.*

119.824-827 Cf. Whiting G298.

120.828 Cf. Apoc 3:19; Heb 12:6.

121.834-835 Walther 4138 var. (13 mss., 1 English).

- If thy dettes weyll payd be
 Tyll ylk man þat chalenge the,
 In cuntry sauely may þou go than
 Withowtyn let of any man. 850
- 124 Sedulus in studio, pius in templo, puer, esto,
 Ad mensam letus super hijs et inde facetus;
 Pacifice pergas per vicos atque plateas.
- Besy in stody loke chyld thow be, 855
 Myld in kyrke as fallys to the,
 At the borde blyth *and* merye,
 Curtasse to the that sittes the by;
 By ways *and* stretes loke also
 In pees þou came in pees þou go. 860
- 125 Sit timor in dapibus, benedictio, leccio, tempus,
 Sermo breuis, vultus hillaris; pars detur egenis;
 Absint delicie, detractio, crapula murmurque.
- Loke þat dreyd be ay in meyte;
 Or it be blessid loke þou noght ete; 865
 Tyme of meyte loke it be had
 Wordes shorte *and* chere gladde;
 Part be gyffyn the nedy to;
 Dayntyth meates away þou doo;
 With no meyte þou make grutchynge; 870 f. 34r
 In meyte haue non in bachitynge.
 Thow eate also so meysurably,
 Be þou noght takked wyth glotony.
- 126 Ex nimio potu titubat pes, lingua vacillat,
 Turpia verba rumant, mens ratione caret. 875

858 curtasse *corrected from* curtassye 861 timor *corrected from* tymor 874 titubat]
 tutibat ms. lingua: *the scribe wrote ling-, cancelled it, and then wrote lingua.*

124.852-854 Walther 27853 var. (4 mss.; 3 of Walther's mss. have only 2 lines, but 1 English ms. has an extra line similar to l. 853 here, as does Hill's *Commonplace Book*, p. 130.18. Hill's Middle English translation differs from this).

859 The Middle English *ways* suggests that the translator may have read *vicos* as *vias* in l. 854.

125.861-862 Walther 29881 (4 mss., 2 English). Cf. 28074 (l. 862 only, 1 English ms.).

863 Walther 164 (2 English mss.).

126.874-875 Walther 8303 (5 mss., 2 English).

Of drynke to mykyll the fote wyll slydyr,
 The tong wyll waver hyder *and* thydyr;
 Fowle wordes wyll owte than
 That the mynde no reason can.

- 127 Potus post potum sensum facit esse remotum; 880
 Ebrietas frangit, quicquid sapientia tangit.
 Drinke *after* drinke so mykyll tane
 Makes thy wit away be gane.
 Dronkynnes it brekes vnthryvandy
 What so wysdom touches hereby. 885
- 128 Hec tria sunt fumus, uxor mala, stilla caduca f. 34v
 Que tollunt homini sedem sedisque quietem.
 The fowle reyke ys noght to hyde,
 A shrewd wyfe that wyll fast chyde,
 The droppes of rayn: thir thynges thre 890
 Makes a man his seate to fle.
- 129 Portatur leuiter, quod portat quisque libenter;
 Quod fert inuitus, grande videtur onus.
 Lyghtly ys borne þat ylk thyng
 Þat man beyres with lykynge. 895
 Þe charge borne agayne þe wyll
 Ys seyn to be grevous *and* yll.
- 130 Viuis, defunctis prodest oratio cunctis;
 Hortor vt oretis, fratres, dum tempus habetis.
 To þe qwycke *and* to the dead 900
 Prayer wyll helpe *and* stand in stede;
 Besely brether forþi 3e pray
 Whyle ye haue tyme *and* wele may.
- 131 Est amor ingratus, cum non sit amator amatus; f. 35r
 Illi pena datur qui semper amat nec amatur. 905

127.880 Walther 22115a (2 mss., 1 English).

881 Walther 6874 (14 mss., 1 English).

129.892 Walther 21951 (13 mss., 1 English).

893 Walther 25804a (1 ms.).

130.898-899 Walther 11151 (1 English ms., with lines reversed).

131.904-905 Walther 7267 (10 mss., 2 English, not all of which have l. 905).

905 Walther 11477 (8 mss., 1 English).

Ʒat luffe þan ys vnkynd certayn
 When the lover ys not loved agayn;
 To þat man ys gyffyn grete payne
 Ʒat ay luffes, *and* ys not luffed agayn.

- 132 Qui non dat quod amat, non accipit ille quod optat; 910
 Non capit optata qui non largitur amata.

Vnworthy ys he for to haue
 Any thyng Ʒat he would crave
 Ʒat wyll not perte with þat thyng
 Ʒat he has in his kepyng. 915

- 133 Tu nichil es nisi des; ergo des! plurima si des,
 Respice cui des! perdita multa vides.

Thou art noght bot yf thou gyf;
 Gyffe forthy qwylyes þou may lyffe.
 If þou gyffe thyngs many, 920 f. 35v
 To whom þou gyffes behald besely.
 Many thyng Ʒou seys full wele
 Oft tynt ar, *after* ylk a deyll.

- 134 Fac seruo nequam bona semper, et omne quod illi
 Prebuerris perdes, cum sibi nullus amor. 925

Do what þou wyll of thy goud
 To a *seruant* vnkynd of blud;
 If þou hym gyffes it tynt *and* gone
 Sythen kyndly luf in hym ys none.

- 135 Rebus in humanis tria sunt dignissima laude: 930
 Uxor casta, bonus socius, securus amicus.
 Annumeretur in hijs seruus bonus atque fidelis.

911 largitur] largititur ms. 913 would *corrected from* doth 919 qwylyes: 1 *inserted superscript with a caret*

132.910 Walther 24391 l. 1 (20 mss., 5 English, including 4 with only l. 1).

911 Walther 17357 var. (13 mss., 4 English).

912-915 Whiting G96.

133.916-917 Walther 31680 var. (11 mss., 2 English).

134.924-925 Walther 8665 (1 ms.).

926-929 The Middle English does not translate the Latin well; l. 928 is syntactically defective.

135.930-931 Walther 26405 var. (7 mss., 1 English).

- That fallys to man any thyng,
 Three are worthy most luffynge:
 Þat fyrst thyng ys þe wyfe 935
 Chaste *and* buxum *and* gud of lyfe;
 The second a felaw gud in ayd;
 The thyrd frende secur in neyd.
 With them may countyd be
 A gud seruand full of bewtye. 940
- 136 Rebus in humanis tria sunt peiora dracone: f. 36r
 Uxor amara, malus socius, sic fictus amicus.
 Additur hys seruus vulpina pelleque tectus.
- Ther longs to man here things thre
 Þat are wors then the dragon may be: 945
 A bitter wyfe *and* vnheynd,
 An yll felow, a feynd frend.
 With theis a *serua*[nt] may be als
 Als wyly as the foxe *and* fals.
- Blame not all wemen þough one haue offendyt. 950 f. 89r
 Say well by the worst þe best may be amendyd.
 Layne well thy counsell as treysure in thy chyst;
 Tell neuer thy frend all þat þi harte lyste.
 Spende not wantantly whyle thou art here;
 Be ware for nede hath no pere. 955
 He that wyll lyve quyetly in his lyfe
 Kepe hym from debate *and* stryfe.
 A wantoun wyfe and an vtter dore
 Makes a riche man to be pore.
 Happe is hard *and* grace hath no pere, 960
 Riches ys a negard *and* frendshippe ys dere.
 Grace, vertue *and* honestye
 Brynges a man to hye degre.
 Deme not my dedes yf yours be nought;
 Say what þou wyll þou knowe not my thought. 965

948 theis] their ms. *seruant: a blot obscures the* -nt als] cald ms. (*which destroys the rhyme*)

136.941-943 Walther 26406 var. (11 mss., usually with only 2 lines, but one with 3).

955 Whiting N52.

958-959 Whiting W243.

964-965 Whiting D128. cf. 'Fyrst þou sal', 100, ll. 203-204; Henry A. Person, ed., *Cambridge Middle English Lyrics*, rev. edition (Seattle, 1962), item 59, p. 52, ll. 7-8.

Yonge men take hede *and* thanke god of all;
 Yewth it ys wylfull *and* pryde wyll haue a fall.
 Be meke of chere *and* gentle of langage;
 A sobur answar wyll wrath aswage.
 Be ruled by resoun *and* be not to prowde; 970
 A measurable meane ys best alowd.
 Kepe the from surfet, be measurable in fedying;
 Nature ys content *with* a full litle thyng.

Ottawa.

- 967 Cf. Whiting P393.
 969 Cf. Whiting A132.
 971 Cf. Whiting M448.
 973 Whiting N26.

THE EFFECTS AND EXTENT
OF THE BLACK DEATH OF 1348:
NEW EVIDENCE FOR
CLERICAL MORTALITY IN BARCELONA *

Richard Gyug

THE economic and social history of the fourteenth century is characterized by decline, restriction, and setback. However facile or misleading such a generalization may be, fourteenth-century Europeans witnessed physical disasters of magnitudes we can scarcely comprehend. Despite the horror of the famines of the early decades of the century, the wars between England and France, and, in the latter half of the century, recurrent plague, no single event of the time perplexed contemporaries and disturbed the popular imagination of later centuries as did the Black Death of 1348. For the most part, modern social historians, like their medieval counterparts, have been fascinated by the demographic effects of the plague, even if the possibility for the discovery of new sources with potential for population studies has been thought limited.¹

* An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Twelfth Annual Conference of the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies on 24 April 1981 in Toronto.

¹ The literature relevant to the study of plague mortality is cited in the summary accounts of J.-N. Biraben, *Les hommes et la peste en France et dans les pays européens et méditerranéens*, vol. 1: *La peste dans l'histoire* (Paris, 1975); J. Sobrequès Callicó, 'La Peste Negra en la península Ibérica', *Anuario de estudios medievales* 7 (1970-71) 67-102; P. Ziegler, *The Black Death* (London, 1969); E. Carpentier, 'Autour de la peste noire: famines et épidémies dans l'histoire du xiv^e siècle', *Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations* 17 (1962) 1062-92; Y. Renouard, 'Conséquences et intérêts démographiques de la Peste Noire de 1348', *Population* 3 (1948) 459-66; and C. Verlinden, 'La grande peste de 1348 en Espagne', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 17 (1938) 103-46. For Catalonia, see also references to the plague in J.-P. Cuvillier, 'La population catalane au xiv^e siècle', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 5 (1969) 159-87; P. Vilar, 'Quelques problèmes de démographie historique en Catalogne et en Espagne', *Annales de démographie historique* (1965) 11-30; and J. N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms 1250-1516*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1976-78), 2.10, 636 ff. Specific studies include José Trenchs Odena, 'La archidiócesis de Tarragona y la peste negra: los cargos de la catedral' in *VIII Congreso de historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Valencia, 1969), pp. 45-64; and H. Kern, 'La peste negra y su influjo en la provisión de los beneficios eclesiásticos', *ibid.*, pp. 71-84.

The several series of notarial registers from the period in the Archivo Diocesano de Barcelona are, however, previously unstudied sources from which demographic information may be drawn. Examination of the contents of three of the registers, *Collationes* 9, *Notule communium* 15, and *Taxae beneficiorum* 1, aids in understanding the consequences of the plague for diocesan administration and also helps in answering the vexing question of the extent of the Black Death, i.e., the actual number of its victims.

The compilation of episcopal registers in Barcelona began under Bishop Pons de Gualba (1303-34). The major series contain, in separate registers, records of daily administration, provisions to benefices, visitations, ordinations, and tax collection.² *Notule communium* 14 has appeared in an edition by J. N. Hillgarth and G. Silano.³

The first register relevant for the study of the Black Death is *Collationes* 9 in the series recording acts of presentation, resignation, institution, exchange, and other business relating to provisions to the benefices of the diocese.⁴ The register contains 235 documents from between 17 February 1347 and 27 June 1348 on 105 folios. The second register from the period of the Black Death is *Notule communium* 15. Although the *Notule communium* series usually treats matters of curial concern (licences, appointments, benedictions, litigation, debts, bail procedure, etc.),⁵ *Notule communium* 15 has been conflated with the *Collationes* series for the period between 9 July 1348 and 27 September 1349. Thus it records provisions to benefices as well as the variety of daily business found in the *Notule communium* series. Its 137 folios contain 1018 documents, the majority concerning benefices and provisions. The third register of the plague period is the first volume of the series of *Taxae beneficiorum*, which contains lists of the benefices of the diocese with estimates of the revenue of each benefice and calculations of the taxes and tithes owed on the revenue.⁶ The payment actually made, or not made, is noted. I have used only the fiscal censuses of 1344 and 1350 to determine the number of benefices and hence the total number of beneficed clergy in the diocese, though *Taxae beneficiorum* 1 includes also the censuses for 1390 and 1398.

Recent estimates of plague death totals in Barcelona have worked backwards from the surviving records of hearth and household taxes of the later fourteenth

² For descriptions of the archive and the registers, see J. Sanabre, *El Archivo Diocesano de Barcelona. Los archivos eclesiásticos de la diócesis de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1947).

³ J. N. Hillgarth and G. Silano, eds., *The Register Notule Communium 14 of the Diocese of Barcelona (1345-1348)* (Subsidia mediaevalia 13; Toronto, 1983).

⁴ Sanabre, *El Archivo Diocesano*, pp. 43-46, 132.

⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 46-49, 134.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 57.

century. The tax records suggest a population of just over 30,000 in 1365-70.⁷ J. C. Russell adds an estimated mortality rate of 16 to 20 per cent to arrive at a preplague population of about 48,000.⁸ J.-N. Biraben suggests, however, that the population of the city had recovered somewhat in the ten years before the information provided by the tax records.⁹ He estimates, therefore, that the population of Barcelona immediately after the plague was about 27,000 and adds a hypothetical mortality rate of 35 per cent to the figure to arrive at a preplague population of 42,000. In the case of both scholars, the mortality rate is assumed from statistical studies of other regions and may be without any relevance for Catalan conditions. The tax records, moreover, are notoriously difficult to date and assess: the ratio of people per hearth, for instance, is purely a guess. The inclusion of the information from the episcopal registers will eventually provide an additional valuable check on present estimates of population for the second half of the fourteenth century, but for the first half of the century the registers may be the only source for the study of demographic trends in Barcelona.

For the plague period, the calculation of death rates is straightforward. Because the provisions to benefices usually cite the reasons for vacancy, resignation or death, and because the documents of *Collationes* 9 and *Notule communium* 15 cover a control period before the plague, the months of greatest mortality, and a period of twelve months following, comparisons of numbers of vacancies caused by death can be made. This method is not new. The studies of Gasquet, later refined by Thompson and Lunn, pioneered the approach in examining several registers from English dioceses for such statistics.¹⁰ These works compared the number of death-related vacancies during the plague to the total number of benefices in a diocese. Thompson and Lunn calculated plague mortality rates of around 45 per cent for beneficed English clergy. The method

⁷ R. D'Abadal i de Vinyals, 'Prólogo' in *Historia de España*, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, 14 (Madrid, 1966), pp. xvi-xviii, following J. Iglésies Fort in *Memorias de la Real Academia de Ciencias y Artes de Barcelona* 34 (1962) 247-356, dates the hearth tax to 1365-70 and estimates 4.5 members per household (6670 hearths). Other estimates of population based on the same tax records are 33,500 by Biraben, *Les hommes et la peste*, p. 201 and 38,000 by J. C. Russell, *Medieval Regions and Their Cities* (Bloomington, Ind., 1972), pp. 169-70.

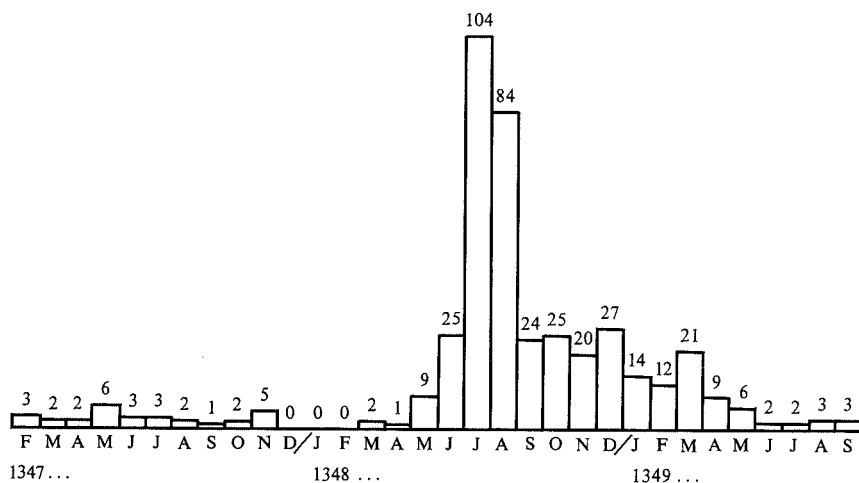
⁸ Russell, *ibid.*, p. 169 (Table 22).

⁹ Biraben, *Les hommes et la peste*, p. 203 (Table).

¹⁰ F. A. Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence (A.D. 1348-9), Now Commonly Known as the Black Death* (London, 1893), pp. 75 ff. describes the method. See also A. H. Thompson, 'The Registers of John Gynewell, Bishop of Lincoln, for the Years 1347-1350', *The Archaeological Journal* 68 (1911) 301-60 and 'The Pestilences of the Fourteenth Century in the Diocese of York', *ibid.* 71 (1914) 97-154. The results of J. Lunn's unpublished thesis at Cambridge have been summarized by G. G. Coulton, *Medieval Panorama: The English Scene from Conquest to Reformation* (Cambridge, 1938), pp. 495-99.

used took into account a number of qualifying considerations. Benefices vacated twice during the pestilence could be counted only once if a true rate of mortality for the group holding benefices at the start of the plague was to be calculated. The exact number of benefice holders actually present in a diocese is difficult to determine: some benefices were held by pluralists; other clerics might have been absent. The effect of pluralism and absenteeism was to shrink the initial group of benefice holders. The decrease, if unrecognized, results in comparisons of fatalities yielding artificially low percentages, while an incomplete count of benefices would affect the percentage in the opposite fashion. J. C. Russell and Philip Ziegler have discussed the merits and shortcomings of the method itself and its value in determining mortality rates for the general population.¹¹ Despite Russell's reluctance to accept Thompson's and Lunn's calculations of high death rates, the flaws in the system tend in fact to result in understated rates.

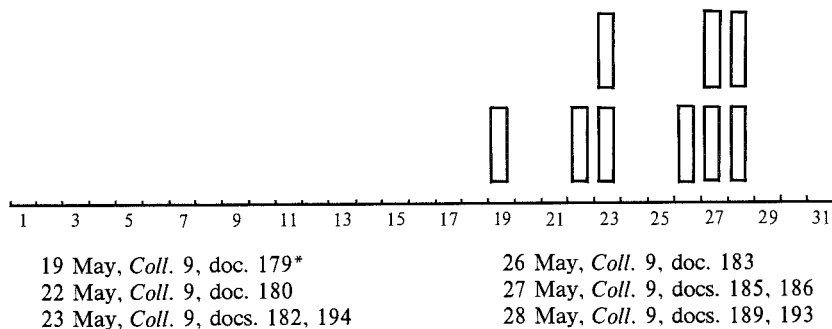
TABLE 1
Benefices Vacant through Death
*Collationes 9 and Notule communium 15**
Barcelona, 17 February 1347 to 24 September 1349



* Eighteen documents of *Notule communium 15* are undated. They have not been included in calculations of mortality rates.

¹¹ J. C. Russell, *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque, N.M., 1948), pp. 220-21; Ziegler, *The Black Death*, pp. 123, 126-27, 227-28.

TABLE 2
Benefices Vacant through Death
Barcelona, May 1348



* The numbering of the documents is my own.

The information derived from the provision notices in *Collationes* 9 and *Notule communium* 15 is quite clear. Although I have assumed that each provision to a benefice follows closely upon the death of the previous office holder, as the frequency of cases increased, the duration of vacancy implied in some cases, such as the requests for rectors to service parishes other than their own, may have been the norm.¹² For the most part, however, notices of procuratorship suggest an expedient handling of provisions. In *Collationes* 9, doc. 47 (fol. 22v), a single day lapsed between the issuance of an instrument of procuration and the appearance of a procurator before the vicars.¹³ Table 1 shows the number of vacancies due to death reported each month in *Collationes* 9 and *Notule communium* 15. Table 2 charts the death notices by day for the month of May 1348. Several conclusions concerning the extent and duration of the plague are apparent from the statistics.

The documents from the plague period edited by López de Meneses indicate that the first cases of the plague in Catalonia probably occurred in May 1348.¹⁴

¹² See *Notule communium* 15, docs. 172, 456 (Appendix 6 and 7).

¹³ *Collationes* 9, doc. 47 (fol. 22v) is a notice that on Thursday, 16 June 1347, Berengar Masqueroni, procurator for Bernard Guillelmi de Tappis, lord of Podio Albero, through an instrument drawn up 15 June 1347 presented Berengar Guiberti to the vicars for the church of Podio Albero, vacant through the death of Bertrand Blanch. Examples of longer delays between procuration and presentation also exist: *Notule communium* 15, doc. 220 (fol. 19r) shows the presentation on 20 August 1348 of an instrument of procuration dated 8 November 1347.

¹⁴ A. López de Meneses, 'Documentos acerca de la peste negra en los dominios de la Corona de Aragón' in *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón* 6 (Saragossa, 1956), pp. 291-447: doc. 4 (9 May 1348) to the king's uncle Petrus, count of Ribagorza, on the death of his wife (p. 294) and doc. 6 (16 May 1348) to Guillelmus Obrinus and Petrus Natalis, procurators in Cerdagne and Roussillon (p. 296).

The date is supported by the vacancy rate in Barcelona. In the fifteen months before May, thirty-two deaths are noted for a monthly average of just over two (high 6; low 0) or an annual rate of about twenty-five. In May, however, nine deaths are recorded, with eight of the nine dated after 22 May, the date of the first royal letter to mention the arrival of the plague in Barcelona (see Table 2).¹⁵ The mortalities in June, July, and August were unusually high, reaching a monthly average of seventy-one (June, 25; July, 104; August, 84). A lower, though still inflated, rate of death continued throughout the fall and winter in the months from September to April with a total of 152 death-related vacancies. The average of nineteen per month is almost ten times the norm. The gradual decline in fatalities throughout the period after the summer is noticeable (Table 1) and may reflect a lessened death rate. It may also indicate a gradual filling of vacancies created in the summer of 1348. Regardless of the exact reason for the phenomenon, by the summer of 1349 the number of vacancies had returned to near normal or just over three per month.

Between May 1348 and April 1349, 374 deaths are recorded, i.e., 350 more than in the previous year. Can such an enormous increase in the death tolls reveal anything about the percentage of clergy and, by extension, the percentage of the general population that succumbed to the plague? The third register examined for this study, *Taxae beneficiorum* 1, cites by name in the census of 1344 the canons and deans and gives a list of all the benefices not held by canons but by other, unnamed, clergy in the See itself, the city, and the two deaneries. 616 entries are cited in 1344. Most of the canons and senior officials were pluralists; almost every one paid taxes first for his position and second for the extra chapels and fiefs he possessed. Together both payments form a single entry. Because pluralists and holders of single benefices made only single payments, the total number of payments (616) represents, therefore, the total number of benefice holders including pluralists. The second tax list in *Taxae beneficiorum* 1 is from 1350, two years after the onset of the plague. Although the benefices of the deaneries are not listed and thus the census is incomplete, the total number of canons, deans, and benefices in the See and city is almost unchanged from 1344. Without the deaneries, 375 entries are listed in 1350. Since in 1344 the total number including the deaneries was 616 and without them was 325, in the second census fifty extra benefices appear to be cited for the city. The discrepancy is reduced, however, when the fifty or so benefices assigned outside the diocese listed in 1350, but not in 1344, are subtracted from the total for 1350. After this operation, the total in each year is about 325

¹⁵ López de Meneses, *ibid.*, doc. 8 (22 May 1348) to Acardus of Talarño, vicar and bailiff of Barcelona (p. 298).

without the deaneries. The number of provisions, therefore, made during and after the plague probably matches closely the number of deaths. Presumably, when a pluralist died, his holdings were not split among several rectors but were assigned in a block, thereby leaving the total number of benefice holders unchanged.

The lists of *Taxae beneficiorum* 1 show that over 600 clerics held benefices in Barcelona in 1344 and most likely also in 1350. During a normal year before the plague, such as 1347, approximately twenty-five provisions were made to benefices vacant through death. The number represents a mortality rate of just over 4 per cent, i.e., 25 out of 600, a rate close to that calculated by Thompson for York in the preplague years (3.58 per cent). During the months of highest mortality from the plague, June to September inclusive, 237 provisions were made to benefices vacant through death, and this suggests a mortality rate of close to 40 per cent, i.e., 237 out of 616. For the entire year of the plague, May 1348 to April 1349, 374 provisions were made or just over 60 per cent of the total number of benefices. An immediate mortality of 40 per cent and a death rate within the year of 60 per cent are higher figures than any previous modern estimate: Russell's 16 to 20 per cent appears very low, and Biraben's 35 per cent is also conservative. Only Thompson and Lunn with estimates of about 45 per cent are even close.¹⁶ Factors of age and exposure might have elevated the mortality among clergy to a level not indicative of the general average. Beneficed clergy could reasonably be expected to be older than the average medieval man and to face contamination during deathbed duties, thus running greater risks despite possibly superior nutrition and lodging.

The information for the study of population trends is the most dramatic category of evidence ascertainable from the registers of Barcelona, but the documents also suggest qualitative assessments of the impact of the plague on the diocesan administration. In the fifteen months before the plague, *Collationes* 9 contains fifty-one documents concerning thirty-two separate cases of provision to benefices vacant through death.¹⁷ The installation of the new rector or chaplain is usually noted through a series of documents as in the case of the benefice of St. Peter of Peramolanta. *Collationes* 9, doc. 75 (fol. 38v) is the record of the appearance of Berengar Castilionis before the bishop's

¹⁶ Russell, *Medieval Regions*, p. 169 (Table 22); Biraben, *Les hommes et la peste*, pp. 198 ff.; Thompson, 'The Registers', 321-27 and 'The Pestilences', 128-31. R. W. Emery, 'The Black Death of 1348 in Perpignan', *Speculum* 42 (1967) 620 estimated a 50 per cent mortality in Perpignan.

¹⁷ *Collationes* 9, docs. 12, 13, 14, 17, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 36, 37, 38, 39, 44, 45, 47, 49, 50, 55, 56, 64, 68, 71, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83, 87, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 98, 108, 118, 131, 133, 134, 135, 138, 139, 140, 141, 158, 159, 160, 173, 174.

representatives and other witnesses to present Bernard de Torrentibus, a cleric from the neighbouring diocese of Vich, as a candidate for the church of Peramolanta, vacant since the death of its previous rector (Appendix 1). The next document, no. 76, is a copy of the letter to the new appointee, Bernard de Torrentibus, formally declaring him beneficed (Appendix 2). The series is completed by a copy of a letter directed to the rector of a church near Peramolanta, Berengar de Bonastre of St. Salvador de Gunyolibus, requesting him to ensure the installation of Bernard (Appendix 3). The same formulas are repeated for most provisions with only minor variants in details of donorship, qualifications, and circumstances.

After the onset of the plague in May 1348, the record of provisions changes drastically. Instead of notice of a presentation and copies of two letters, one for appointment, the other for execution, most cases are treated in a single highly abbreviated entry. The simplest form the shortened system could take is exemplified by *Notule communium* 15, doc. 31 (fol. 4r):

On Tuesday, the Ides of July, in the aforesaid year [1348] provision was made of the priest Romeus Tort to the chapel of St. Margaret in the castle of Claramunt of the diocese of Barcelona, vacant through the death of Raymond de Tous, the former rector. A letter of execution has been sent to Peter Moraconis. (Appendix 4 [b])

The document is no longer a complete transcript but rather a *précis* of an entire series of official letters. The reason for the reduction is readily deduced. Until May 1348 the scribes were registering an average of slightly over eight documents each month concerning provisions to benefices vacant for any reason, but during the peak months of the plague, i.e., the summer and autumn of 1348, the number of documents multiplied to an average of over fifty-eight per month.¹⁸ Under the pressure of unaccustomed business, the copying of notices had to be reduced to a mere record of names and dates. After the period of greatest dislocation, the scribes occasionally revert to the earlier practice of making full copies, e.g., *Notule communium* 15, doc. 338 (fol. 31r).

Several types of documents appear with unusual frequency in the plague period. One group of twenty-nine documents appoints executors to handle estates for which all the original appointees had died.¹⁹ Although the chances of all the executors dying before they can administer a testament are normally

¹⁸ 1347: Feb., 15 docs.; Mar., 7; Apr., 10; May, 12; June, 7; July, 9; Aug., 8; Sept., 9; Oct., 8; Nov., 19; Dec., 8. 1348: Jan., 1; Feb., 4; Mar., 8; Apr., 2; May, 17; June, 50; July, 137; Aug., 104; Sept., 30; Oct., 41; Nov., 33; Dec., 42.

¹⁹ *Notule communium* 15, docs. 345, 348, 351, 352, 379, 384, 388, 402, 458, 541, 548, 549, 557, 578, 582, 594, 661, 747, 829, 832, 862, 891, 977, 998, 999.

minimal, during the plague entire circles of acquaintances and associates were decimated. In the notarial registers of Perpignan, Richard Emery found evidence for plague mortality in an increase in wills and in the appearance of documents appointing new executors, a class of documents similar to the notices from Barcelona.²⁰ *Notule communium* 15, doc. 345, 11 October 1348 (fol. 32r) is the first instance of such a case in the register. The vicars, Petrus de Castlarino and Franciscus Rufach, appoint Johannes Gras, presbiter, and Petrus Mir, citizen, to be the new executors of the testament of the citizen Bernardus de Villa: the manumissors designated in the will had died (Appendix 5). Why were no similar documents recorded for the probably more lethal period between May and September? We may surmise that the circumstances requiring such appointments did not arise before October or that the press of plague-related business and the possible mortality of scribes during the summer of 1348 created such chaos in the curia that no opportunity to administer testaments could be found before October.

A category of documents which appears for the first time in *Notule communium* 15 allowed the temporary appointment of already beneficed clergy to the care of souls and the collection of tithes in churches that had lacked rectors for some time. *Notule communium* 15, doc. 172, 7 August 1348 (fol. 14v) is the first notice of the kind. The vicars granted Petrus de Prato, rector of the church of St. Faustus, the care of souls in the church of Cabaneis which had lacked a rector. Petrus was also granted the power to collect and hold the tithes of the church of Cabaneis (Appendix 6). In a variant of the formula, the bishop's representatives permitted rectors to celebrate Mass on Sundays and feasts in nearby vacant churches. *Notule communium* 15, doc. 456, 5 December 1348 (fol. 43v), for instance, is the request of the vicars that the rector of the church of St. Peter of Olivella celebrate Mass also in the church of Santa Maria de Jaspera (Appendix 7). In the twenty-five similar cases noted between August 1348 and September 1349, the forms occasionally vary but the intent to mitigate the effects of vacancy is the same.²¹ The need to shift duties onto someone already beneficed implies either that the number of eligible candidates was limited or that diminished congregations neither required nor could support full-time rectors. Resignations also increase in the postplague period from an average of one every two months to about two per month.²² Could

²⁰ Emery, 'The Black Death', 613.

²¹ *Notule communium* 15, docs. 172, 183, 207, 225, 272, 326, 334, 362, 383, 434, 456, 537, 560, 604, 611, 650, 653, 802, 844, 890, 921, 922, 947, 995, 996.

²² These numbers include only resignations that do not specify a new appointee. Documents dealing with the provision to benefices vacant through resignation also increase from 3.3 per month to 4.3 per month.

high plague mortality have reduced the abilities of smaller congregations to support rectors? This reason for the doubling of duties and the increase in resignations is reinforced by a noticeable decline in revenues for the taxpaying benefices listed in *Taxae beneficiorum* 1. In 1344, the year of the first census of taxable benefices, the deans, canons, and monthly provosts registered substantial incomes and paid their assessed taxes in every instance. In 1350, two years after the plague, many of the highest officers of the diocese were unable to pay the amounts owed either because the returns from their benefices were inadequate for their posts ('non sufficit ad seruicium') or barely covered expenses before taxes ('nichil superfuit hoc anno facto seruicio'). Loss of income owing to population decline provides the most plausible explanation for the change in the monetary fortunes of the clergy and for the subsequent changes in staffing positions.

The general activity of the curia appears to have changed at the height of the plague. Only eight documents not concerned with provisions to benefices are registered in *Notule communium* 15 for the months of July and August 1348 while the average after the plague is close to twenty-one documents per month.²³ The business of providing for vacant benefices so overwhelmed the diocesan administration that not only were documents noted in a more cursory fashion but the amount of other business was sharply limited. Social turmoil is also evident in the format of the registers themselves. After the onset of the plague the functions of both the *Collationes* and *Notule communium* series are combined in a single register, *Notule communium* 15. The script and appearance of the documents bear little resemblance to the carefully spaced and written copies from before the plague: legibility, spacing, and letter size suffer in the registers of the plague period.²⁴ In *Collationes* 9, for instance, the preplague documents regularly occupy at least one page and sometimes more, but in the later folios of *Collationes* 9 and the early folios of *Notule communium* 15 as many as ten highly abbreviated and laconic notes may be crammed on a page (examples in Appendix 4).

Hence, both the effects of the Black Death of 1348 on ecclesiastical institutions and the awesome death rate of beneficed clergy attributable to the disease are evident from the information contained in the episcopal registers of the diocesan archives of Barcelona. The shortened entries, the new formulas for testaments and unfilled vacancies, the lack of regular business, the loss

²³ July, 0; Aug., 8. After the plague: Jan., 18; Feb., 33; Mar., 46; Apr., 8; May, 17; June, 13; July, 22; Aug., 21; Sept., 12. Total 190 (includes ordinations, testamentary cases, matrimonial cases, debts, and other business).

²⁴ See Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence*, p. 88 for a similar description of the episcopal register of Exeter.

of revenues, and the conflation of registers all attest to a disruption of administrative procedure that reflected the turmoil in the general society. The death rate calculated from the notices of vacancies explains graphically the reason for the disturbance of routine. Fifteen times as many benefices became vacant through death during the plague year as during the previous year. At least 40 per cent of beneficed clerics in the diocese died during the summer and fall of 1348. This figure must be considered in future studies of the population of Barcelona and of Western Europe in the fourteenth century.

APPENDIX

1. *Collationes* 9, doc. 75, 14 July 1347

(f. 38v) Die lune intitulata vii^o Idus Iulii anno domini m^o ccc^o xl^o vii^o in presencia mei Guillelmi Vilella notarii publici predicti domini episcopi et uenerabilis Arberti de Serriano canonici et Guillelmi Raymundi de Fonollete beneficiati in ecclesia Barchinonensi coram uenerabilibus et discretis uiris dominis Guillelmo de Turrilliis et Bernardo Rouira canonicis Barchinone uicariis generalibus reuerendi in Christo patris domini Michelis diuina prouidencia Barchinone episcopi in remotis agentis in dicta sede personaliter constitutis comparuit uenerabilis uir dominus Berengarius Castilionis canonicus et prepositus Barchinone capellanusque ecclesie Sancti Petri de Peramolanta diocesis Barchinonensis quam uaccare asseruit per mortem Raymundi de Rippis quondam rectoris eiusdem; et ut capellanus ipsius ecclesie presentauit dictis dominis uicariis ad dictam sic uaccantem ecclesiam Bernardum de Torrentibus clericum diocesis Vicensis oriundum tanquam ydoneum et sufficientem in rectorem eiusdem supplicando ipsis dominis uicariis ut dictum Bernardum de Torrentibus ad dictam suam presentationem dignarentur instituere in eadem. Protestatus tamen fuit dictus Berengarius Castilionis quod per predicta non intendebat preiudicare impetrantibus domini nostri pape si qui essent et ius competeret eorum alicui in ecclesia memorata. Que acta fuerunt die loco et anno predictis presente cum dicto notario et pro testibus uenerabili Arberto de Serriano canonico Barchinone et Guillelmo Raymundi de Fonollete predictis. Postquam inmediate dicti domini uicarii predictum Bernardum de Torrentibus instituerunt in predicta ecclesia siue sibi prouiderunt de illa cum omnibus iuribus et pertinentiis suis uniuersis ad presentationem dicti uenerabilis Berengarii Castilionis ut sequitur.

2. *Collationes* 9, doc. 76, 14 July 1347

(f. 38v) Guillelmus de Turrilliis et Bernardus Rouira canonici Barchinone uicarii in spiritualibus et temporalibus generales reuerendi in Christo patris et (f. 39r) domini domini Michelis diuina prouidencia Barchinone episcopi in remotis agentis dilecto in Christo Bernardo de Torrentibus clerico Vicensis diocesis oriundo salutem in domino. Attendentes tue probitatis merita super quibus apud nos laudabile tibi testimonium perhibetur ecclesiam Sancti Petri de Peramolanta diocesis Barchinonensis uaccantem ut asseritur per mortem Raymundi de Rippis quondam rectoris eiusdem uobis ad pre-

sentacionem uenerabilis Berengarii Castilionis canonici et prepositi Barchinone et capellani eiusdem nobis presencialiter factam, si alteri in ea non fuerit ius adquisitum seu alius quicumque non fuerit potior in iure, conferimus ac prouidemus de eadem uosque instituimus in ea et de ipsa per birretum presencialiter inuestimus cum plenitudine iuris sui; saluo tamen in omnibus et per omnia iura Barchinonensis ecclesie et domini episcopi supradicti mandantes uobis quatenus de bonis proprietatis dicte ecclesie nichil uendatis impignoretis distrahatis seu quomodolibet alienetis absque consensu et uoluntate dicti domini episcopi aut successorum suorum et licentia speciali. Ego itaque Bernardus de Torrentibus clericus predictus recipiens a uobis uenerabilibus et discretis uiris dominis meis uicariis supradictis collacionem prouisionem et institutionem predictas promito uobis et nichilominus iuro per deum et eius sancta quattuor euangelia corporaliter a me tacta predicta attendere obseruare et complere iuxta posse. In cuius rei testimonium nos predicti uicarii presentem litteram iam fieri fecimus et sigilli commissi nobis officii appensione iussimus communiri. Datum Barchinone vii^o Idus Iulii anno domini millesimo ccc^o xl^o septimo. Fuit littera exequucionis directa Berengario de Bonastre rectori ecclesie Sancti Saluatoris de Gunyolibus diocesis Barchinonensis uel eius locum tenenti sub hac forma.

3. *Collationes* 9, doc. 77, 14 July 1347

(f. 39r) Guillelmus de Turrilliis et Bernardus Rouira canonici Barchinone uicarii in spiritualibus et temporalibus generales reuerendi in Christo patris domini Michelis diuina prouidencia Barchinone episcopi in remotis agentis dilecto in Christo Berengario de Bonastre rectori ecclesie de Gunyolibus diocesis Barchinonensis uel eius locum tenenti salutem in domino. Cum nos ecclesiam Sancti (f. 39v) Petri de Peramolanta diocesis Barchinonensis uaccantem ut dicitur per mortem Raymundi de Rippis quondam rectoris eius contulerimus Bernardo de Torrentibus clerico Vicensis diocesis oriundo sibi que prouiderimus de eadem ad presentacionem uenerabilis uiri Berengarii Castilionis canonici et prepositi Barchinone ac capellani eiusdem, si alteri tamen in ea non fuerit ius adquisitum prout hec et alia in quadam alia carta nostra die et anno infrascriptis confecta plenius continentur, ideo uobis et cuilibet uestrum tenorem presencium committimus et mandamus quatenus dictum Bernardum de Torrentibus uice nostra inducat in possessionem dicte ecclesie et eius iurium corporalium et defendatis inductum ammoto inde quolibet illicito detentore, sibi que de omnibus ipsius ecclesie fructibus redditibus prouentibus et uniuersis aliis iuribus faciatis integriter responderi, contradictores et rebelles si qui fuerint auctoritate nostra per censuram ecclesiasticam compescendo. Nos enim super predictis uobis et cuilibet uestrum committimus plenarie uices nostras. Datum Barchinone vii^o Idus Iulii anno domini m^o ccc^o xl^o vii^o.

4.

(a) *Collationes* 9, doc. 210, 11 June 1348

(f. 97v) Eadem die dictus dominus Petrus Montellis auctoritate predicta prouidit de ecclesia Sancti Felicis de Canouellis diocesis Barchinonensis uaccante per obitum

Rogerii de Molleto quondam rectoris eiusdem spectante ad collacionem dicti domini episcopi Francisco Gros clerico diocesis Gerundensis oriundo cum plenitudine iuris sui sine tamen iuris preiudicio alieni. Fiat littera ut in forma. Testes predicti.

(b) *Notule communium* 15, doc. 31, 15 July 1348

(f. 4r) Item die martis intitulata Idus Iulii anno predicto fuit facta prouisio de beneficio capelle Sancte Margarite constructe in castro de Claromonte Barchinonensis diocesis uacans (*sic*) per mortem Raymundi de Tous quondam rectoris ipsius capelle Romeo Tort presbitero. Et fuit littera execucionis directa Petro Moraconis presbitero.

5. *Notule communium* 15, doc. 345, 11 October 1348

(f. 32r) Petrus de Castlarino legum doctor canonicus Barchinone et Franciscus Ruffacii decretorum doctor archidiaconus de Baroncella in ecclesia Auriensi uicarii in spiritualibus et temporalibus generales reuerendi in Christo patris domini Michelis etc. dilectis in Christo Iohanni Gras presbitero et Petro Mir cuius Barchinone salutem in domino. Cum Bernardus de Villa quondam ciuis Barchinone in suo ultimo testamento certos manumissores suos duxerit designandos ipsique manumissores uiam sint uniuerse carnis ingressi et ideo non sit qui ultimam uoluntatem dicti testatoris exequi ualeat et complere, ideo recepto a uobis et utroque uestrum quod circa execucionem dicti testamenti fideliter uos habebitis et quotienscumque per dictum dominum episcopum uel nos requisiti fueritis de receptis gestis et administratis per uos de bonis dicte manumissorie reddetis fideliter rationem et reliqua rationum restituētis ad sancta quattuor dei euangelia corporaliter iuramento, uos prefatis defunctis manumissoribus tenore presencium subrogamus et in locum eorum ponimus in testamento predicto uobisque damus et conferimus illam et eandem potestatem qualem habebant dicti defuncti manumissores dum uiuebant et haberent si uiuerent et uti uellent manumissoria predicta in et super execucionem testamenti predicti et in omnibus et singulis in ipso testamento contentis. Datum Barchinone v^o Idus Octobris anno domini m^o ccc^o xl^o viii^o.

6. *Notule communium* 15, doc. 172, 7 August 1348

(f. 14v) Guillelmus de Turrilliis et Raymundus Romei canonici Barchinone uicarii etc. dilecto in Christo Petro de Prato rectori ecclesie Sancti Fausti Barchinonensis diocesis salutem in domino. Cum ecclesia de Cabaneis dicte diocesis nunc careat rectore, propter quod non sit qui ad presens regat in ea curam et regimen animarum, idcirco quod quamdiu dicto domino episcopo seu nobis eius nomine placuerit possitis in ipsa ecclesia celebrare et in eius parrochia exercere curam et regimen animarum, concedentes uobis quod possitis fructus et redditus et alia iura parrochialia prefate ecclesie colligere et habere et fideliter conseruare taliter ut cum certus fueritis possitis de ipsis redditibus et iuribus, satisfacto uobis tantum competenter de laboribus et expensis per uos factis et sustentis, futuro rectori reddere fideliter rationem. Datum Barchinone vii^o Idus Augusti anno etc.

7. *Notule communium* 15, doc. 456, 5 December 1348

(f. 43v) Petrus de Castlarino legum doctor canonicus Barchinone et Franciscus Rufacii decretorum doctor archidiaconus etc. uicarii etc. dilecto in Christo rectori ecclesie Sancti Petri de Oliuella salutem in domino. Cum ecclesia Sancte Marie de Jaspera Barchinonensis diocesis prout percepimus rectore careat diu est et pastore ex quo diuinum officium cesset celebrari in eadem et parrochiani eiusdem ecclesie exigant suplicando a nobis ut super istis remedium aliququaliter impendamus, idcirco uestre discretioni prouidere committimus quatenus unam missam in uestra ecclesia et aliam in ecclesia Sancte Marie precitata eadem die horis debitis et honestis et hoc in diebus dominicis tantum et festis precipuis possitis de assensu et licentia nostra debite celebrare et etiam sacramenta ecclesie prout uobis uidebitur expediri cotidie ministrare necnon recipere et claudere testamenta ac etiam instrumenta, quousque a nobis aliud receperitis in mandatis uel eidem ecclesie de Jaspera prouisum fuerit de rectore. Datum Barchinone nonis Decembris anno domini m^o ccc^o xl^o viii^o.

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

HUGH PRIMAS AND THE BISHOP OF BEAUVAIS

C. J. McDonough

THE earliest evidence for the spare detail about the life of the poet Hugh Primas is recorded in a near contemporary document, the *Chronicle* of Richard of Poitiers, written around 1171.¹ It notes for the year 1142 the existence in Paris of a certain Hugh,² known to his peers as Primas, who came from or lived in Orléans, a centre well known at the time for the flourishing state of its literary culture.³ Among the productions which have survived under his name is a poem of interest to students of literature and history, an extended bilingual composition written in a seamless combination of Old French and Latin and preserved solely in Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Rawlinson G. 109, fols. 19-24.⁴ It is structured around the elections of certain unnamed bishops of Beauvais and Sens and the poet's reaction to these events. The primary aim of this note is to argue for a new identification of the bishop of Beauvais and to evaluate the worth of the charges levelled against him. In the process, a view of the first part of the poem, differing from that of Wilhelm Meyer, will be presented.

¹ L. Delisle, 'Le poète Primat', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 31 (1870) 306 f.

² For a somewhat later dating, see R. L. Poole, *Studies in Chronology and History*, ed. A. L. Poole (Oxford, 1934), p. 232.

³ R. H. Rouse, 'Florilegia and Latin Classical Authors in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Orléans', *Viator* 10 (1979) 131-60.

⁴ I have used the text in W. Meyer, ed., *Die Oxforder Gedichte des Primas (des Magisters Hugo von Orleans)* (Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, Göttingen, 1907; rpt. Darmstadt, 1970), pp. 15-19 (all page references are to the reprinted edition). K. Langosch, *Hymnen und Vagantenlieder. Lateinische Lyrik des Mittelalters mit deutschen Versen* (Basel-Stuttgart, 1954), pp. 160 f., gives the Latin and a German rendition. O. Dobiache-Rojdestvensky, *Les poésies des Goliards* (Paris, 1931) translates excerpts on pp. 114 f., 140 f., and there is a discussion and partial translation in C. Witke, *Latin Satire. The Structure of Persuasion* (Leiden, 1970), pp. 216-24. A full description of Rawlinson G. 109 is now available: see A. G. Rigg, 'Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (IV)', *Mediaeval Studies* 43 (1981) 472-97. On the mixture of Latin and vernacular verses see P. Zumthor, *Langue et techniques poétiques à l'époque romane (XI^e-XIII^e siècles)* (Paris, 1963). I am preparing for the Toronto Medieval Latin Text series an edition of the poems of Hugh Primas.

The contents of this macaronic poem may be summarized as follows:

- vv. 1-21 The poet is moved to pronounce on the outrage dealt to the church of Beauvais by the election to the see of a monk and the rejection of a member of the cathedral chapter.
- vv. 22-57 The hypocrisy of the bishop is painted, with accusations directed against him of gluttony, drunkenness, tyrannical conduct and philandering.
- vv. 58-68 Beauvais is urged in future to elect a member of its own chapter.
- vv. 69-106 The city of Sens had avoided such a fiasco by electing as archbishop a native son rather than an outsider, and the election was harmonious and regular. Primas relates the kindness and generosity he had received while staying in Sens; the archdeacon gave him a fine horse.
- vv. 107-124 The poet invokes the Muses to aid him in composing a hymn of praise to the archbishop of Sens to request a gift of oats and hay for his horse.
- vv. 125-132 A member of the poet's audience interrupts to state that he lacks the poetic talent to achieve his ends.
- vv. 133-136 The poet indignantly rejects the charge and prays to Christ for direction.
- vv. 137-146 The petition for oats and hay is presented and the noblemen are asked to intercede on his side, for the poet has had to pawn his saddle and reins.
- vv. 147-156 Moved by the poet's plight, an Englishman, Richard, presents an argument in his favour and redeems the poet's pledges, giving in addition an article of clothing.

As Meyer's text is not readily available, I reproduce here those verses relevant to the argument, before proceeding to a discussion of Meyer's interpretation.

- ...
- Or est venuz li moines ad episcopium,
pallidus et macer propter ieunium:
sed mox assiduo stridore dentium
 - 25 sex frusta devorans magnorum piscium,
in cena consumens ingentem lucium,
inpinguatur ingrassatur infra biennium,
porcorum exemplo rebus carencium.
In claustro solitus potare fluvium,
 - 30 ore fait de forz vins tantum diluvium,
que l'on le porte el lit par les braz ebrium.
Ore verrez venir milia milium,
de parenz, de nevoz turbam, dicencium:
je sui parenz l'evesche, de sa cognatium.
 - 35 Dunt fait cestui canoine, hunc thesaurarium;
cil, ki servierant per longum spacium,
amittunt laborem atque servicium.
Tristis hypocrita, quem vos eligitis,

- adeptus honorem non suis meritis,
 40 primitus apparet et bonus et mitis;
 omnibus inclinat cervicem capitis,
 paratus prestare, si quid exigitis.
 Sed primis duobus annis preteritis
 iam ferus apparet et sevens subditis,
 45 vexat vos et gravat causis et placitis.
 Secedit ad villas in locis abditis;
 quant est priveement et in absconditis,
 carnibus utitur regula vetitis.
 Si poscat rabies lascivi capitis
 50 et presto sit puer, filius militis,
 que il deit adober pro suis meritis,
 qui virgam suscitet mollibus digitis
 plus menu que moltun hurte des genitis.
 Tunc primum apparet vestra dementia,
 55 quando pontificis incontinentia
 et vanitas patet et avaritia,
 in quibusdam folie et ignorantia.
 Caveat deinceps Belvacus talia!

Any review of this question must begin from a reexamination of Meyer's findings. His position can be briefly summarized: the bishop of Beauvais had been elected a short while before the composition of the poem. As a result of this, the poet had little to fuel his invective apart from the fact that the bishop had formerly been an abbot. Consequently, the scurrilous portrait of the man is prospective and prophetic; it predicts that within two years this bishop will reveal his true colours by committing acts of tyranny and lust, against which the people of Beauvais are urged to guard in future episcopal elections.

After this reconstruction, Meyer betrayed his uneasiness in commenting on two matters. Firstly, he found it striking that throughout the narrative the poet used, almost in every case, present and not future tenses. Secondly, the specific mention of a two-year period (vv. 27, 43) was also remarkable, for it was certain, in Meyer's view, that the election had taken place not two years earlier but a short while before. As for the archbishop of Sens, he too had been elected not long before the poem was written, and he had been before his translation a member of the cathedral chapter of the same city.⁵ It is characteristic of Meyer's acumen that he put his finger on the two questions which posed difficulties to his reconstruction: the meaning to be put on the present tenses and the significance of the emphasis on a two-year span.

⁵ Meyer, *ibid.*, pp. 12, 22-24.

If the tirade is to be construed as a threatening revelation of the future degeneracy of the bishop, it has to be set against the poet's admission that, at the time of the poem's composition a short while after the election, the bishop is portrayed as leading a properly ascetic life. Such a device is possible, but it does not seem to be the most effective starting point for an attempt to denigrate the bishop's character. There is, however, a particular stumbling block to the view that the present tenses are used in anticipation of the future. The presence of the pluperfect *servierant* in the subordinate clause in v. 36 indicates that the present *amittunt* in the main clause is to be taken as a historical present to represent a past action in a lively manner.

There are further assumptions and statements in Meyer's reading which are questionable. The verses on the election at Sens (69-84) indicate only that it had taken place prior to that in Beauvais; they provide no clue whatsoever as to the length of time. Moreover, Meyer's further conclusion that a former abbot had succeeded in Beauvais is not at all certain. On this Meyer did not elaborate but two considerations probably influenced his thinking. He may have inferred it from the revelation (vv. 73-77) that an abbot had tried to buy his way into the bishopric at Sens but had been rebuffed. The poet, however, may have been implying merely that bribery had taken place at Beauvais and not been checked as it had been at Sens. Further, Meyer may have construed Primas' charge (vv. 6 f.) concerning previous elections in Beauvais to mean that an abbot had been selected:

Ker quant vos volez faire d'evesche electum,
currentes queritis intra cenobium
L'abé o le prior vel camerarium.

Here, however, in this generalization, the abbot is named as only one of three possibilities; the verses are not decisive, then, on this matter. It may be significant that, when the poet does allude to the object of his scorn, he calls him *monachus* (v. 13) and *li moines* (v. 22). At all events, the important fact is that, whatever his precise status within the monastery, he was a member of the regular clergy.

In short, there is nothing to prevent the view that Primas built his attack against the bishop's hypocrisy by a series of contrasts between his initial façade of piety and the subsequent discovery of his true character as revealed by his actions in the two years after his election. It follows that the poem was written at least two years after the relevant election in Beauvais.

Meyer is likely to have been influenced in his choice of the relevant bishops by a reading of the poem which demanded for its plausibility two elections occurring within a brief span of time. Accordingly, the only dates which he felt could accommodate his hypothesis were 1142, the election of Hugh in Sens,

and 1144, the election of Odo III in Beauvais. While Meyer observed that the archbishop of Sens had previously been a member of that city's cathedral chapter, he passed over in silence some additional information which deserves to be discussed in some detail. The introductory verses on the election at Sens (69-72) provide a suitable starting point for a detailed examination of the evidence to be considered:

Hoc bene previdit urbs Senonensium
et plebis et cleri sanum consilium,
ki melz voldrent eslire fidelem filium
quam querere foris advenam alium.

The object of these lines is Sens but by implication the case at Beauvais is the same; Sens had chosen a native son and not an outsider. Elsewhere in the poem, Primas uses the same term *filius* to refer to the member of the Beauvais chapter denied advancement by his envious peers (vv. 18-19):

Vos fratrem linquitis et intra gremium
matris ecclesie nutritum filium.

It is with the same imagery that he concludes his exhortation to the Beauvais chapter not to make the mistake in future of promoting a monk (vv. 59-62):

Si quando venerit res necessaria,
eslizez prode clerc de turba socia;
mandetur filio mater ecclesia,
ut mater filii sit in custodia.

The antithesis, then, in vv. 71-72, which is implied in other verses on Beauvais, is between one who is a member of a cathedral chapter (*filius*) and one who is not (*advena*). In v. 72 the notion of an outsider is reinforced by *foris*. However, it is the qualification of *advena* by *alius* which may be significant in the search for the identity of the bishop of Beauvais, for the phrase 'another stranger' presupposes the election of a previous one.

Before an evaluation of the claims of various candidates as the protagonists in Primas' poem, it may be useful to summarize here the data gleaned from the work which form the guidelines to the inquiry:

- (1) Of the two episcopal elections, that in Sens had occurred first.
- (2) The people and clergy of Sens chose a man who had previously been a member of that city's cathedral chapter.
- (3) Beauvais had rejected a member of its own chapter and elevated a former monk, who was an outsider (*advena*).

In short, the investigation must reveal an archbishop of Sens who could not be said to be either *advena* or *advena alius* and then, following the implication of

vv. 71-72, proceed to establish which bishop of Beauvais, on the contrary, was both *advena* and *advena alius* at the precise time when Sens had one who was neither.

Since, on palaeographical grounds, a *terminus ante quem* is provided by the dating of the Bodleian ms. Rawlinson G. 109, where the poem occurs, to c. 1200,⁶ the period to be explored might properly be restricted to the previous century. The following table of candidates and electoral dates provides points of reference for discussion:

<i>Sens</i>	<i>Beauvais</i>
1097-1122 Daimbert	1114-33 Peter de Dammartin
1122-42 Henry Sanglier	1133-44 Odo II
1142-68 Hugh of Toucy	1144-49 Odo III
	1149-62 Henry of France

Let us consider now the various possibilities. The precise status of Daimbert of Sens before his elevation is unsure but he was certainly a member of the chapter in Sens;⁷ however, it is known that Peter de Dammartin of Beauvais had never been a monk. In fact, he had held a canonate in the cathedral of Beauvais and, after the death of Hugh de Gerberoy, was made dean of the chapter; from this post he was translated to the see in 1114.⁸ It could not be implied that he was in any sense an *advena*. There is some evidence that Henry Sanglier was a canon in Sens before he was chosen in 1122, at the king's insistence, and so he could aptly be termed a native son.⁹ In Beauvais, Odo II had begun his tenancy in 1133 or, possibly, 1135;¹⁰ he had risen from the abbacy of a Benedictine house, that of Saint-Germer-de-Flay, which lay within the diocese of Beauvais, situated twenty kilometers east of the city.¹¹ He was undoubtedly an *advena*, but it could not be insinuated that he was *advena alius*, for, since Sanglier's accession, there had been no other outside candidate

⁶ For a summary of opinions on the date of the manuscript, see Rigg, 'Poetic Anthologies (IV)', 479.

⁷ *Gallia christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*..., 16 vols. (Paris, 1706-1877), 12.41.

⁸ C. Delettre, *Histoire du diocèse de Beauvais depuis son établissement au 3.^{me} siècle jusqu'au 2 septembre 1792*, 3 vols. (Beauvais, 1842-43), 2.47.

⁹ H. Bouvier, *Histoire de l'église et de l'ancien archidiocèse de Sens*, 3 vols. (Sens, 1906-11), 2.1; G. Grossier, 'Saint Bernard et Henri Sanglier', *Société archéologique de Sens. Bulletin* 37 (1929-30) 72 f.

¹⁰ For the later date cf. W. M. Newman, *Les seigneurs de Nesle en Picardie (xii^e-xiii^e siècle). Leurs chartes et leur histoire. Étude sur la noblesse régionale ecclésiastique et laïque*, 2 vols. (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 91; Philadelphia, 1971), 1.246.

¹¹ L. H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, 2 vols. (Mâcon, 1935-37), 2.2710. Newman, *ibid.*, places the death of Odo II on 26 June 1144 or 1145; cf. Delettre, *Histoire du diocèse de Beauvais* 2.85.

elected. The phrase, even when viewed in a broader perspective, would be inappropriate, since his predecessor at Beauvais had belonged, as noted above, to the secular clergy. In 1142 Hugh of Toucy began his long tenure of the episcopacy at Sens.¹² In a letter from the clergy of Sens to suffragan bishops in 1142 requesting confirmation of Hugh's election, it is stated that the archbishop-elect had formerly been *praecentor* in the chapter. Much is made of the fact that they had chosen one of their own:

... concorditer elegimus nobis ... Hugonem praecentorem nostrum ... non alienum, non ignotum, sed fratrem nostrum uterinum, qui libere proferre possit illud Dominicum: *Et cognosco meas, et cognoscunt me meae*: qui nova et vetera de thesauro suo producere noverit et ab amplexibus ecclesiae nostrae, cujus panibus educatus est, avelli nunquam possit.¹³

Hugh, then, is certainly fitted to be the 'faithful son' mentioned by Primas in v. 71.

But what was the situation in Beauvais? Until 1144 Odo III had been the abbot of the Benedictine house of Saint-Symphorien in Beauvais.¹⁴ From here he was called to succeed his namesake Odo II. An interloper, to use the poet's term, Odo III certainly was, and he could properly be called *advena alius*. For, on Hugh's assumption of office at Sens in 1142, an *advena*, Odo II, was already in place at Beauvais. Thus, Odo III, who succeeded his namesake in 1144, could be described as *advena alius*.

Yet, because of his conviction that the bishop had been advanced directly from an abbacy, as well as a feeling that the elections in the two cities had to be as close in time as possible, Meyer did not even consider the claims of another candidate, to whom the phrase *advena alius* has equal, if not better, applicability: Henry of France, who was promoted to the bishopric in late 1149.¹⁵ *Advena* he most certainly was and *alius*, in its predominant sense of 'another (of many)', would naturally describe Henry.

¹² An account of Hugh's episcopate can be found in Bouvier, *Histoire de l'église* 2.40-102. For details of the ceremony at Sens in 1142 cf. *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 24 vols. (Paris, 1869-1904), 12.303-304 and *Gallia christiana* 12, instr. 34, cols. 33-34.

¹³ *Gallia christiana*, *ibid.* On this see also M. Pacaut, *Louis VII et les élections épiscopales dans le royaume de France* (Paris, 1957), pp. 48-49 and n. 1 on p. 49; for the duties of the *praecentor* cf. Bouvier, *ibid.* 2.87.

¹⁴ Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique* 1.314; Delettre, *Histoire du diocèse de Beauvais* 2.97. Thus Ivo, *Ep.* 78 (PL 162.100D) addresses Arnulf as 'Belvacensis monasterii Sancti Symphoriani monachus'.

¹⁵ G. Constable, ed., *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 2.195 f., summarizes Henry's career before his withdrawal to Clairvaux. For the date 1149 cf. Pacaut, *Louis VII et les élections*, p. 137. Newman, *Les seigneurs* 1.225, argues that nothing prevents it from being dated to 1148.

After a hectic career as abbot of various monasteries, Henry retired to Clairvaux as a monk in 1146 or 1147. It was from this cloister that he was called to higher things two years later. As the records of the episcopal elections in Beauvais register that no bishops other than Odo II, Odo III and Henry of France rose from the ranks of the regular clergy between 1100 and 1217, it would appear that in his poem *Primas* was referring to Hugh of Toucy as the archbishop of Sens and, in my view, Henry of France as the hypocritical bishop of Beauvais.

The known status of Henry as a monk at Clairvaux¹⁶ agrees with the poet's references to *monachus* (v. 13) and *li moines* (v. 22). The distinction, constantly made during the invective, between the asceticism practised by the monk in the cloister and his subsequent licentious behaviour would also have added sting when directed against a Cistercian monk, as Henry was, for self-denial had become the primary and distinguishing mark of the reform movement in monasteries in the twelfth century. Further, in Henry's case, *advena* would allude to the fact that he was not only outside of the chapter but had also come from a region distant from the diocese of Beauvais, whereas both Odo II and Odo III came from the city and its environs.

If the relevant part of the poem is reexamined in the light of this hypothesis, the case for Henry appears to be confirmed by one positive fact. Among the charges levelled at the bishop is his transformation from complaisant leader to a tyrant who uses the machinery of the law to harass those under his jurisdiction (vv. 40-45). Commonplace though such accusations are in invective, its appearance here is made more intriguing by a charter of 1151. This document of Henry's brother, Louis VII, records a confrontation between Henry and the community of Beauvais over the administration of justice. Henry had lodged a complaint with his brother, who in turn travelled to Beauvais and in a charter, read in public, proclaimed that the legal affairs of the whole town now fell under Henry's jurisdiction and that all complaints were to be directed to the bishop's tribunal.¹⁷ Such a conflict must have engendered much bad blood, and *Primas'* verses may contain an echo of the controversy. The poet's double notice that the degeneration of the bishop of Beauvais had occurred within two years of his election would place the time of the poem's composition in 1151 or shortly after, a date which coincides with the known date of Louis' charter on this jurisdictional quarrel.

¹⁶ In a letter to Suger, Henry describes himself as 'indignus monachus Clarevallensis'; cf. *Recueil des historiens* 15.518. Peter the Venerable, *Ep.* 146 (Constable, *ibid.* 1.361-62) has the title *Epistola Henrici fratris regis, ex monacho in episcopum electi*; cf. Pacaut, *ibid.*, p. 137 n. 1.

¹⁷ A. Luchaire, *Études sur les actes de Louis VII* (Paris, 1885), pp. 184-85.

There are other accusations which, if Henry is the pilloried bishop, gain in power. Instances of nepotism in ecclesiastical preferment were widespread in the twelfth century and the verses on this subject (vv. 32-37) could be applied to any number of cases. Yet Henry would have been an easy target for any critic who wanted to make capital out of his royal connections to charge that his advancement had been due solely to those. In 1140, Samson, the archbishop of Reims, wrote that Louis VII had acknowledged that he (Louis) had conferred the office of treasurer on Henry, his brother, *injuste*.¹⁸ Irregularities of this kind could have been behind the sneering charge that Henry's promotion was a direct result of his brother's influence (v. 39).¹⁹ John of Salisbury plainly states that Henry was chosen precisely *because* he was the king's brother: 'Obeunte episcopo Beluacense substitutus est ei Henricus monachus Clareuallensis, eo quod erat frater regis Francorum.'²⁰

Apart from these charges, what evidence is there to corroborate the indictment of dissipation in his personal life? Both John of Salisbury and Bernard of Clairvaux intimate that between 1149 and 1151 Henry was incompetent and immature.²¹ Yet there is no hint of the grosser conduct which Primas records. In reply to Bernard who had written to ask whether he should approve of Henry's election, Peter the Venerable testified, in late 1149, that Henry had led a blameless life and was a paragon of self-denial; the election had been a harmonious one drawing the support of all ecclesiastical authorities.²² This advocacy must have had no little effect in aiding the ratification of Henry's position. The following year Bernard, in a letter to Pope Eugenius,²³ recommended Henry as being a man worthy of the pontiff's aid for his strenuous efforts on behalf of the Church of Beauvais.

What could have triggered the poet's outburst? It has been suggested that Henry, at some earlier date, had inflicted some personal wrong on Primas.²⁴ This is possible, but it should be noted that the reason for Primas' outrage is presented as being a response to a more general malaise. It is directed primarily against the whole community of Beauvais for having inflicted distress on the Church by an inept choice. Their folly is castigated through the exposure of the

¹⁸ *Recueil des historiens* 16.6.

¹⁹ See Newman, *Les seigneurs* 1.225-26 for a contrary view on the difficulties between Louis and Henry.

²⁰ *Hist. pont.* 35 (ed. R. L. Poole, *Ioannis Saresberiensis Historiae pontificalis quae supersunt* [Oxford, 1927], p. 70).

²¹ Cf. Newman, *Les seigneurs* 1.226.

²² *Ep.* 145 (Constable, *Letters* 1.360-61).

²³ *Ep.* 278 (PL 182.484).

²⁴ K. Langosch, *Profile des lateinischen Mittelalters. Geschichtliche Bilder aus dem europäischen Geistesleben* (Darmstadt, 1965; rpt. 1967), pp. 267-68.

unsavoury aspects of their spiritual leader. The basis of the attack is hinted at in vv. 9-13; conflict between the regular and secular clergy, both within cathedral chapters and outside, over their respective spheres of influence is well documented.²⁵ On this controversial matter Primas makes his position clear: he deplores the subjection of the *clericus* to the *monachus* (v. 13).²⁶ The poet's charge (v. 6) that the electoral body in Beauvais always resorted to the cloister for their bishops, though not supported by the historical record,²⁷ forcefully expresses the poet's exasperation at what was the third successive election of a member of the regular clergy to the see of Beauvais since 1133.

The polemical verses, then, appear to be a skilfully woven fabric of exaggeration and distortion, illustrating the passions which could be stirred in such matters. Many precedents exist for abuse of this kind; for our purposes, the partisan feelings and intemperate language in a letter of Ivo of Chartres concerning a disputed election in Beauvais in 1100 form an apt parallel (*Ep.* 87 [PL 162.107D f.]):

Prædicta enim Ecclesia tandiu jam bonos desuevit habere pastores ut malos habere videatur ei quasi legitimum, bonos autem eligere quasi nefarium. Quod in hoc satis patet quod adversus litteras domni papae et vestras de electione vel assumptione episcopi illicita prohibentes ... postposita omni canonica obedientia clericum quemdam illiteratum, aleatorem et caeteris hujusmodi lenociniis vacantem, procul etiam a sacris ordinibus inventum, quondam quoque propter publicum adulterium ... de Ecclesia ejectum, pro voluntate regis ... in episcopum assumpserunt.²⁸

Beauvais' penchant for selecting, within the poet's lifetime, monkish bishops was a perfect foil for the subsequent celebration of the city of Sens and its archbishop. For, throughout the twelfth century, all the archbishops of Sens had come from the ranks of the secular clergy.²⁹ Of these, two and possibly three had been taken from the cathedral chapter of Sens itself.

My substitution here of Henry of France for Meyer's Odo III cannot alter Meyer's selection of Hugh, who took office at Sens in 1142, as the subject of Primas' encomium in the second half of the poem. Not only does chronology demand it; what is known of Hugh from other sources corroborates the

²⁵ P. Delhaye, 'L'organisation scolaire au XII^e siècle', *Traditio* 5 (1947) 214; C. W. Bynum, 'Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31 (1980) 1-17; Pacaut, *Louis VII et les élections*, p. 83.

²⁶ The poet hints at the internal dissension within the Beauvais chapter in vv. 20-21, 63-64; on this matter see Pacaut, *ibid.*, p. 84.

²⁷ Pacaut, *ibid.*, p. 114.

²⁸ Delettre, *Histoire du diocèse de Beauvais* 2.1-31.

²⁹ Pacaut, *Louis VII et les élections*, pp. 109, 114-15.

essential information given by the poet. Mention is made no less than five times (vv. 107, 108, 113, 137 [twice]) that he was a *juvenis*, a term which could cover any age from twenty to forty.³⁰ Hugh, in the letter from the clergy of Sens quoted above, was elected *canonice et legitime*,³¹ which would suggest that in 1142 he was probably at least thirty years old. Thus in 1142, shortly after his election to Sens, Hugh applies the word to himself in a letter to the clergy of Paris lamenting the death of their bishop Stephen: 'Amisi enim portionem animae meae, baculum juventutis meae, consolatorem et eruditorem vitae meae. Baculus namque sustentationis, fratres, sicut scitis, multoties juveni necessarius est plus quam seni, quia juventuti pernecessaria est doctrina....'³² At the time of the poem's composition, Hugh would have been approximately forty years old and could still have been called a *juvenis*.

Trinity College, University of Toronto.

³⁰ See G. Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. C. Postan (Berkeley, 1977), pp. 112 f.

³¹ See above, p. 405 and n. 13.

³² *Recueil des historiens* 15.711; *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 38 vols. (Paris, 1865-1949), 13.575.

THE TRINITY COLLEGE ASCENSION SERMON: SOURCES AND STRUCTURE

Jerome Oetgen

THE nineteenth sermon in Cambridge, Trinity College ms. 335 (B. 14. 52), 'In Ascensione Domini', is the only extant treatment of the Ascension in vernacular homiletic literature during the early Middle English period (1100-1300).¹ The collection in which it is found, copied during the last quarter of the twelfth century, contains thirty-four sermons and a 'moral ode' written in a Southeast Midlands dialect.² Seventeen of the sermons in the collection provide lections for the Temporale, seven for the Sanctorale, and ten for unspecified occasions. Like many earlier English homiletic collections, the *Trinity Sermons* are arranged according to the liturgical calendar and cover a period from the first Sunday of Advent through the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle (30 November). By beginning the ecclesiastical year with the season of Advent, however, the compiler has broken step with the most famous of all early English vernacular sermon-makers, Ælfric of Eynsham, who ends the year

¹ The sermon is edited by Richard Morris in *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century from the Unique MS B. 14. 52. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Second Series...* (EETS OS 53; London, 1873, rpt. Milwood, N.Y., 1975), pp. 109-15. I have used this edition for the text of the sermon, substituting my own punctuation and capitalization.

The earlier English Ascension sermons are (1) Blickling 11, 'On þa Halgan þūnres Dei', ed. Richard Morris in *The Blickling Homilies...* (EETS OS 58, 63, 73; London, 1874-80, rpt. 1967), pp. 115-31; (2) Ælfric's 'Sermo in Ascensione Domini' (CH I, 21), ed. Benjamin Thorpe in *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: The First Part Containing the Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Ælfric*, 2 vols. (London, 1844; rpt. New York-London, 1971), 1.294-311; and (3) 'In Die Ascensionis Domini' from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms. 162, ed. Hildegard L. C. Tristram in *Vier altenglische Predigten aus der heterodoxen Tradition, mit Kommentar, Übersetzung und Glossar sowie drei weiteren Texten im Anhang* (Freiburg i. Br., 1970), pp. 162-72.

² See Morris, *Old English Homilies. Second Series*, p. x. See also J. E. Wells, *A Manual of Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400* (New Haven, 1916; rpt. 1951), pp. 280-82; R. M. Wilson, *Early Middle English Literature*, 3rd edition (London, 1968), pp. 109-10; and Mary P. Richards, 'MS Cotton Vespasian A. XXI: The Vespasian Homilies', *Manuscripta* 22 (1978) 102.

with that season.³ Five of these sermons (nos. 4, 25, 26, 30, and 32) correspond to items in the twelfth-century Lambeth homiliary (London, Lambeth Palace Library ms. 487),⁴ suggesting a common source, but the Ascension Sermon, like most pieces in the Trinity collection, is unique.

The *Trinity Sermons* represent the 'ancient' tradition of English vernacular sermon-making rather than the 'modern' tradition of the *artes praedicandi* and university sermons. They hark back to the period when Old English homiletics flourished, when homilists like Ælfric of Eynsham (†c. 1010) and Wulfstan II of York (†1023) organized their well-wrought sermons into orderly collections for the instruction of the faithful, when layman and ecclesiastic attentively heard and read the word of God as interpreted by the Anglo-Saxon preacher. But the manifestation of this ancient tradition in post-Conquest England was a pale reflection of the glory it once was, and though the author (or authors) of the *Trinity Sermons* imitated some of the methods and employed some of the same types of sources as his (or their) tenth- and eleventh-century predecessors, the sermons on the whole lack the depth and coherence of Ælfric's works, for example, and 'are distinguished by their formlessness, or, more strictly, by the absence of any form of organization peculiar to sermons.'⁵ They are among that 'long thin line of homilies and kindred metrical paraphrases ... [which] holds the fort for our English tongue from the days of Ælfric and Wulfstan to those of Rolle and Mannyng'.⁶

The theological content of the *Trinity Sermons*, moreover, is undistinguished, though this should come as no surprise since the sermons themselves were written for popular rather than esoteric dissemination, as the language of their composition indicates.⁷ None of them aspires to analyze very carefully either doctrine or scripture; all are hortatory and discursive rather than consistently exegetical. The sermons discuss basic Christian doctrine (e.g., in Sermon 4 on

³ There is, in fact, no evidence that the author (or authors) of these sermons made direct use of any of Ælfric's homilies.

⁴ Printed in *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: First Series*, ed. Richard Morris (EETS OS 29, 34; London, 1868, rpt. New York, 1969), pp. 3-189.

⁵ Woodburn O. Ross, ed., *Middle English Sermons Edited from British Museum MS Royal 18 B. XXIII* (EETS OS 209; London, 1940), p. xliii. See also Wilson, *Early Middle English Literature*, p. 110, who says: 'The Trinity collection seems to represent a weakening of the Old English homiletic tradition; there is little method or general plan in the group and many of the pieces are equally rambling and incoherent.'

⁶ G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England...*, 2nd edition (New York, 1961), p. 4.

⁷ See Morris, *Old English Homilies. Second Series*, p. x. See also Wilson, *Early Middle English Literature*, pp. 9-20, for a helpful discussion of the use of English, French, and Latin in English society between 1066 and 1300.

the Creed), call upon sinners to repent (e.g., in Sermon 13, 'Dominica II in Quadragesima'), and provide simple commentary on select scriptural passages (e.g., in Sermon 32, 'In Marcum 8:34'). They contain a great many Latin passages, some quotations from scripture but other quotations from what appear to be the original Latin versions of the homilies. These latter Latin passages, which like their scriptural counterparts are quoted and then translated into English, giving many of the sermons a decidedly macaronic cast, may point to an as yet unidentified Latin source for the entire collection.⁸ The unifying purpose of the *Trinity Sermons* is to provide a basic Christian catechesis, and even though they fail to equal in quality the structure, rhetorical technique, or thoroughness of either the earlier Anglo-Saxon homily or the later university sermon, they constitute nevertheless an important and significant collection, for they provide evidence of the state of popular English sermon composition during the late twelfth century and are among only a small number of historical witnesses to the transition from the ancient to the modern tradition in English vernacular preaching.

The Ascension Sermon (no. 19) is fairly typical of the collection. Running a mere 127 lines in Morris' edition, it is of average length when compared with other items in the ms., though it is less than half the length of the three earlier English Ascension pieces which are extant, the Blickling, Ælfrician, and Corpus Christi homilies. Like other sermons in the Trinity College homiliary, no. 19 is more discursive than exegetical and more descriptive than analytical. It is a *pasticcio* of Latin citations, quoted and translated, which carry forward the sermon's narrative and exhortation and which derive from scriptural, liturgical, patristic, and apocryphal sources.

The sermon's unifying theme, introduced and developed throughout its first section (109.11-111.16),⁹ is that Christ is the *sol iustitiae*. Just as there is one sun, so there is only one saviour (109.20-21); just as the sun rises and sets, so Christ was born and died for our sins ('Christus semel pro peccatis nostris mortuus est. Ure helende crist þolede enes deð for ure sinnes' [1 Petr 3:18; 111.2-3]); just as the sun lights the earth, so Christ is the 'lux uera que illuminat omnem hominem' (John 1:9; 111.5); and just as the sun is the primal source of

⁸ Morris, *Old English Homilies. Second Series*, p. ix, says of the sermons that 'Most of them, perhaps, were originally translated from Latin Homilies, though some few have the appearance of original compositions'. The intriguing prospect that a single collection of Latin works is the principal source of the *Trinity Sermons*, as Paul the Deacon's homiliary was the immediate source of the exegetical homilies in Ælfric's *Sermones catholici*, must be considered. The present study does not identify that immediate source but rather the ultimate sources which the putative Latin sermonist would have used. I am presently exploring various avenues which I hope will lead to the discovery of the entire collection's immediate Latin source, if it exists.

⁹ Numbers in parentheses refer to page and lines in Morris' edition.

the world's heat, so Christ, who said of himself, 'ignem ueni mittere in terram; quam uolo ut ardeat' (Lc 12:49), is the 'sendere of alle holie heten' (111.9) to kindle men's hearts. The preacher introduces this 'sun' theme by quoting the Old Latin version of Abac 3:11 ('Elevatus est sol, et luna stetit in ordine suo'), which Gregory the Great quotes and discusses in his own Ascension homily ('Quis enim solis nomine nisi Dominus ... designatur?' [PL 76.1218D-19A]). But though he borrows the fundamental idea from the Latin Father, the Trinity sermonist develops his theme quite independently of anything he finds in Gregory. Turning from the carefully analytic exegesis of the Gregorian original to pursue a free-flowing, one might say rambling, narrative, he identifies the sun of Habakkuk with the *sol iustitiae* of Mal 4:2 ('Eft-sone ure helende aros also sunne þo þe ure lafdi Seinte Marie hin kennede of hire clene meiðhode, also þe holi minster boc seið to þe heuenliche quen þus queðinde, "Ex te ortus est sol iusticie christus dominus noster": of þe is arisen þe sunne of rihtwisnesse. Ðat is ure drihten crist' [109.28-32]). The 'holy minster book' referred to here is a liturgical lectionary, and the specific reference is to the *capitula* of the first vespers on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, which can be found in the eleventh-century liturgical ms. London, British Library Harley 2961 (the *Leofric Collectar*): 'Felix namque es sacra uirgo maria et omni laude dignissima quia ex te ortus est sol iustitiae christus deus noster.' ¹⁰ Continuing his loose development of the 'sun' theme, the homilist again turns to a liturgical text ('also þe holi boc seið') to identify Christ with the *fons luminis* (111.4), a phrase occurring nowhere in scripture but found in the liturgical hymn *Splendor paternae glorie*.¹¹

The second section of the Trinity Ascension Sermon (111.16-113.23) draws on disparate sources to develop the motif of the several stages of Christ's Ascension, focusing on the stage just prior to the Resurrection, the Descent into Hell. Posing the question 'ac siððen he is buuen alle hegnesse, hwider sholde he stige?' (111.17-18), the preacher responds by quoting St. Paul (Eph 4:9): 'Quod autem ascendit quid est nisi quia descendet primum in inferiores partes terre. Erest he steg neoðer and siðen on hegh' (111.19-20). Having thus introduced the descent/ascent motif, he then turns to four sources to develop it: (1) the psalms ('Of neoðerstienge specð David on þe salm boc ... þus queð, "Inclinavit

¹⁰ *The Leofric Collectar* (Harl. MS. 2961)..., ed. E. S. Dewick (Henry Bradshaw Society Publications 45; London, 1914), col. 221.

¹¹ This hymn, also found in the *Leofric Collectar* where it is assigned to Monday matins (ibid., col. 364), has as its first verse: 'Splendor paternae glorie, / de luce lucem proferens, / lux lucis et fons luminis, / dies diem illuminans'. In the modern Benedictine Breviary the hymn is again assigned to Monday matins (called 'Lauds' in modern parlance). See *Breviarium monasticum summorum pontificum cura recognitum pro omnibus sub regula s. Benedicti militantibus* (Rome, 1963), I (83).

celos et descendit": Ðe heuene abeh and dun asteh. "Et ascendit super cherubin et uolauit et cetera": and steh eft abuuē cherubin' [Ps 17:10-11; 111.21-24]); (2) St. Ambrose's hymn *Veni redemptor gentium* ('and eft agen seint Ambrosius þat seið on his loft songe. Þus queðinde, "Egressus eius a patre excursus usque ad inferos et cetera": he ferde fro þe fader for þat he com neðer to helle. "Et in horum uia bibit de torrente mortis, propterea exaltauit caput": and on þis longe weie þe he ferde fro heuene to helle he dranc of deðes flode and þarfore heuede siðen up þat heued [Ps 109:7]. Also seint Ambrosie seið þus queðinde, "Recurus ad sedem dei": he steh to heuenliche heh settle' [111.24-32]);¹² (3) Gregory the Great's exegesis of Cant 2:8 'Ecce uenit saliens in montibus et transiliens colles' ('Septem igitur ut ita dicam saltus dedit: de celo in uirginis uterum, inde in presepium, inde in crucem, inde in sepulcrum, inde in infernum, inde in mundum, et hinc in celum: Seuen strides he makede, on of heuene into þe maidenes inneðe, oðer þenne in to þe stalle, ðridde in to þe holi rode, feorðe þanne in to þe sepulcre, fife into helle, sixte into þis Middenerd, þe seueðe eft into heuene' [111.35-113.6]);¹³ and (4) the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus* 21-26, which the author freely adapts and greatly abbreviates in his enumeration of the Lord's breaking down the gates and triumphantly entering hell, his illuminating the underworld with his light, and his freeing those who had previously pleased him on earth. This enumeration in the sermon is accompanied by passages from the psalms, particularly Pss 106 and 23, which the author of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* also uses to advance his narrative.¹⁴

In the third section of his sermon (113.23-115.23), the Trinity preacher focuses upon the moment of the Ascension itself, constructing a rather disjointed narrative using material from the gospel of Luke, the psalms, St. Augustine's *Enarrationes in psalmos* and the scriptural account of the Ascension in Ac 1. After the Resurrection, he says, Christ dwelt with his disciples for forty days, and then 'he dide also þe holi boc seið, "Elevatis manibus ferebatur in celum et benedixit eis": he heuede up his hond and gīaf

¹² See PL 16.1474. The quotation from Ps 109:7 does not match exactly the Vulgate version, and it may be that the sermonist is quoting from memory.

¹³ In Gregory's homily only five stages are listed, the 'strides' represented by the descent into hell and the resurrection having been omitted by the Latin Father: 'De coelo venit in uterum, de utero venit in praesepe, de praesepe venit in crucem, de cruce venit in sepulcrum, de sepulcro rediit in coelum' (PL 76.1219A). In *Christ II* Cynewulf lists six 'leaps' of Christ (omitting the sixth 'stride' of the Trinity Sermon). For a discussion of the patristic development of this exegesis, see Albert S. Cook, ed., *The Christ of Cynewulf* (Boston, 1900; rpt. Hamden, Conn., 1964), pp. 143-44.

¹⁴ Compare no. 19: 113.7-10, 11-13, 13-17, with the *Gospel of Nicodemus* 21: 1, 3-4; 3, 4-5; 3, 11-12; and 2, 6-7. Reference is made to the edition of H. C. Kim, *The Gospel of Nicodemus: Gesta Salvatoris, Edited from the Codex Einsidlensis, Einsiedeln Stiftsbibliothek, MS 326* (Toronto, 1973) with chapter, paragraph, and line numbers cited.

hem his blescinge, and swo ferde to heuene (Lc 24:50-51¹⁵). Also Daid seið, “Ascendit deus in iubilo et dominus in uoce tubarum”: and ure drihten steh on wordlese songe and on bemene stefne’ (Ps 46:6; 113.24-30). Melding the gospel account and the psalm verse, the sermonist introduces the concept of *iubilus* (‘wordlese songe’) which, drawing on Augustine’s *Enarrationes in psalmos* 1-50, he explains to his audience: ‘Iubilus est exultacio mentis habita de eternis, que nec taceri potest nec lingua explicari: wordles song is þe herte michele blisse þe heo haued of heuenliche ðinge and ne mai peroffe be stille ne mid worde hem atellen. Swiche ben þe songes me singeð hege dages also *Alleluia* and swiche oðre’¹⁶ (113.30-33). Then returning to the main narrative, he says that the apostles followed Christ to heaven with their eyes because they could not do so with their bodies (113.34-115.1), an amplification of the narrative in Ac 1:9 (‘videntibus illis’) and Ac 1:11 (‘quid statis aspicientes in caelum’). Again calling to his hearers’ attention the *tubae* of Ps 46:6, the preacher explains that ‘in sono tube, prout regem decet, ascendit: on bemes steuene he asteh to his hege home, also me king understant þanne he to his home cumeð’ (115.3-5). The trumpets ‘weren þe engles þe wið þe apostles stoden mid snouwite shrude’¹⁷ (115.5-6), and he quotes a jumbled version of Ac 1:11 (115.6-10) alongside a non-scriptural and possibly original account of how angel trumpeters heralded the Lord’s entry into heaven (‘and þo engles biforen him blewuen þe heuenliche beme and swo kidden þat he king was cumen fro fehte and hadde his andsete ouercumen, and þe bemene drem þe þe engles blewen þe pere comen biforen ure helende to heuene gaten’ [115.12-15]). He concludes his account with a recapitulation of the psalm verse (‘Tollite portas, principes, uestras, et elevamini, porte eternelles, et intrabit rex glorie’ [Ps 23:7; 115.16-20]) which, following the lead set by the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, he has already quoted in his account of Christ’s descent into hell (113.7-10).¹⁸

In the final section of the sermon (115.23-32) the sermonist recapitulates the theme of Christ as sun (‘Ðe sunne þe ich of specce, þat is ure helende self’

¹⁵ The author takes considerable liberties with the Vulgate text, which reads: ‘et elevatis manibus suis benedixit eis. Et factum est, dum benediceret illis, recessit ab eis et ferebatur in caelum.’

¹⁶ ‘Quid est iubilatio, nisi admiratio gaudii, quae verbis non potest explicari?’ (*Sancti Aurelii Augustini Enarrationes in psalmos I-L*, ed. Eligius Dekkers and Iohannes Fraipont [CCL 38.533, ll. 6-7]).

¹⁷ See Ac 1:10 (‘ecce duo viri astiterunt iuxta illos in vestibus albis’).

¹⁸ There is a possibility that in his description of the Ascension the Trinity sermonist has been influenced by Bede’s *Hymnos canamus glorie*, a liturgical hymn found in the office for Ascension Thursday and, like no. 19, containing a narrative of Christ’s descent into hell (stanzas 3-7), of his Ascension into heaven with a band of angels (stanzas 8-10), and of his triumphant entry into heaven (though not with trumpets) (stanzas 19-20). See *Beda Venerabilis Opera: pars III/IV*..., ed. D. Hurst (CCL 122.419-23).

[115.23-24]) and brings his sermon full circle by reiterating some of the motifs of the opening section, motifs which now, because of his catechetical exposition, presumably have a deeper meaning for the audience. Christ, the *fons luminis* who 'þe selue sunne he lihtteð of al hire liht' (111.4, 8-9), is still, in the end, he who 'alle brihtnesse lihteð of him seluen' (115.24-25); Christ's nature to be 'þat soðe liht þe lihteð ech man' (111.6-7) becomes the reason for the preacher's prayer that Christ 'alihte to dai ure þonc of riht bileue' (115.25); and his earlier remark that Christ's fire is 'þe hete þe atent on mannes heorte, þe makeð him his sinnes swiðe bimurnen and luuen ure drihten more þene him seluen and his emcristene also him seluen' (111.12-15) forms the basis for the parallel prayer at the end of the sermon that Christ 'atende todai ure herte þe twifelde hete: þat is, þat we ure sinnes sore bi-murnen and forleten and beten and milce bidden; oðer þat we hauen soðe luue to him seluen and to ure emcristene' (115.26-29). The recapitulation of these motifs shows that the author is, in the end, attempting to impose a coherent structure on his work, a structure which must be imposed from without for it does not develop organically from within: until the final section of the sermon the development of ideas conforms to no apparent pattern and the almost impressionistic narrative is controlled only by the author's own vision of the Ascension and the disparate sources which he employs.

Those sources, finally, are of the same type – scriptural, liturgical, patristic, and apocryphal – as those employed by the earlier Anglo-Saxon homilists. The use of explanatory passages from the psalms, the epistles, and the gospels, the quoting of liturgical material to support exposition of a theme, the translation of passages from Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory, and the employment of such apocryphal sources as the *Gospel of Nicodemus* all have their parallels in, and in this case may be influenced by the practice of, vernacular homilists of the pre-Conquest period.¹⁹ While the sermon does fail to achieve the coherence or

¹⁹ Blickling 11 makes use of Gregory the Great's 'In Ascensione Domini', Bede's *Expositio Actuum apostolorum*, Adamnan's *De locis sanctis*, and numerous scriptural passages (see J. E. Cross, 'On the Blickling Homily for Ascension Day [No. XI]', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 70 [1969] 228-40 and R. MacG. Dawson, 'Two New Sources for Blickling Homilies', *Notes and Queries* N.S. 14 [1967] 130-31). Ælfric, in his Ascension homily, turns to scripture, Gregory the Great, Bede, and Haymo of Auxerre for his sources (see Max Förster, 'Über die Quellen von Ælfrics exegetischen *Homiliae Catholicae*', *Anglia* 16 [1894] 7; Cyril L. Smetana, 'Ælfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary', *Traditio* 15 [1959] 190; and J. E. Cross, 'More Sources for Two of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*', *Anglia* 86 [1968] 67-78). The author of the Ascension homily in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms. 162 draws upon scripture, a prayer from the Ascensiontide liturgy, the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, and the apocryphal *Visio sancti Pauli* for his sources (see Tristram, *Vier altenglische Predigten*, pp. 284-302 and Peter Clemoes, 'Cynewulf's Image of the Ascension' in *England before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes [Cambridge, 1971], p. 302 n. 7).

match the orderly development of theme found in the best of the Anglo-Saxon sermons (such, for example, as Ælfric's own Ascension Homily or the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*),²⁰ it is not an unworthy successor to the earlier tradition. Like the collection of which it is part, the Trinity Ascension Sermon bears witness to a post-Conquest continuance of the English tradition of sermon composition and vernacular religious instruction, a tradition which later, fertilized by new sources, impulses, and ideas, would once again achieve its full potential as a major medieval genre.

Seton Hill College.

²⁰ For a recent discussion of the organizational techniques of the Anglo-Saxon homilists, see D. R. Letson, 'The Form of the Old English Homily', *The American Benedictine Review* 30 (1979) 399-431. For a more detailed discussion of the content and methodology of Ælfric's and Wulfstan's homilies, see Milton McC. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto, 1977).

'ALIA LECTURA FRATRIS THOME'

Leonard E. Boyle, O.P.

IN the 1980 volume of this journal Hyacinthe Dondaine of the Leonine Commission for the critical edition of the works of St. Thomas Aquinas published an article on a question which has engaged the attention of scholars of St. Thomas for many years: did Thomas write a second commentary on the first book of the Sentences of Peter Lombard during his period of teaching in Rome 1265-68?¹

What gave rise to the question at all is the fact that Tolomeo of Lucca, who as a young Dominican had been his friend and confessor at Naples in 1272-73, says in a work of c. 1313-16 that Thomas 'already a Master, wrote at the time he was in Rome on the first book of the Sentences'. Tolomeo indeed states that he had seen the commentary in his own home Dominican priory at Lucca before his departure for good from there.²

Nothing resembling that second commentary or even hinting at its existence had ever come to light to substantiate Tolomeo's claim until in recent years the Leonine Commission, in doing a survey of all surviving manuscripts of works of Thomas, and specifically of his *Scriptum super Sententiis* (Paris, 1252-56),

¹ H.-F. Dondaine, "'Alia lectura fratris Thome'"? (*Super I Sent.*), *Mediaeval Studies* 42 (1980) 308-36 (cited henceforth as Dondaine).

² 'Scripsit etiam eo tempore quo fuit Rome, de quo dictum est supra, iam magister existens, primum super Sententias, quem ego uidi Luce sed inde subtractus nusquam ulterius uidi': Tolomeo of Lucca, *Historia ecclesiastica nova* 23.15, as critically edited by A. Dondaine, 'Les "Opuscula fratris Thomae" chez Ptolémée de Lucques', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 31 (1961) 155. The text as cited by his brother H.-F. Dondaine from the *Rerum italicarum scriptores* 40.1172-73 in the article under discussion reads 'subtractum' for 'subtractus', meaning that it was the commentary which was removed from Lucca, not Tolomeo. The variant 'subtractum' seems to have been in the manuscript of Tolomeo's *Historia* known to Bernard Gui c. 1323, six or seven years after the composition of the *Historia*: '[frater Thomas] existens rome scripsit iterum scriptum super primum sententiarum sicut testatur in cronica sua dominus frater. Ptholomaeus episcopus torsellanus qui discipulus et auditor eius fuit, asserens se uidisse illud in conventu luchano, quod nunc non invenitur, quia clam sublatum fuisse creditur et ideo non fuit multiplicatum' (B. Gui, *Legenda sancti Thomae Aquinatis* in A. Ferrua, *Thomae Aquinatis vitae fontes* [Alba, 1968], p. 189).

came across a manuscript of the *Super primum Sententiarum* at Lincoln College, Oxford (ms. Lat. 95), which has at least three references in the margins of the Parisian commentary of Thomas to an 'alia lectura fratris Thome'.³

These references are not in isolation. They go with what Dondaine calls 'a second commentary' on 1 *Sent.* which, written in a hand (B) different from that (A) of the Parisian commentary, consists of ninety or more notes or glosses on various distinctions of 1 *Sent.*, thus: on distinctions 1-18 at fols. 1v-2v (two 'guard' folios before the Parisian commentary proper), 4r-54v (margins of the Parisian commentary), 123ra-125ra (after the end of the Parisian commentary on fol. 123ra); on d. 23 (fols. 67v-69v); on d. 24 (fol. 73v).⁴ The references in question occur as follows:

2vb Isti articuli possunt poni in distinctione secunda primi libri secundum aliam lec. fratris T.

30va Hic queritur utrum filius possit dici alius a patre secundum aliam let. f. t.

123vb d. ij^a secundum < aliam > lecturam.⁵

Naturally these references to 'alia lectura fratris Thome' are intriguing. As Dondaine puts it (p. 309), 'Le renvoi à *frater T.* désigne assez clairement l'auteur du Commentaire A, qui est de fait celui de saint Thomas; la main B dit donc qu'elle ajoute copie d'une *alia lectura* du même auteur.' In other words, if these three references suggest that there was an *alia lectura* of Thomas to which hand B had access, then perhaps one has here in commentary B some or all of the Roman commentary on 1 *Sent.* with which Tolomeo of Lucca credits Thomas many years after the Parisian commentary (A) of Thomas as a bachelor at Paris in 1252-56.

In an attempt to get to the bottom of all of this, Dondaine transcribed forty-five of the ninety or so 'articles' in commentary B, fifteen of which he prints in full in his article (nos. I-XV: pp. 311-33). In each case he sought out sources or parallels in the works of Thomas, and, after a meticulous examination of all of the texts in commentary B, came to the conclusion that all in all commentary B was the work of someone who, apart from two or three lapses in citing sources, was possessed of much sensitivity to the thought of Thomas, and had adroitly culled or adapted (and sometimes made clearer) passages with which to gloss

³ The codex, an unpretentious Italian production of the second half of the thirteenth century, came into the possession of Lincoln College in or about 1434. It belonged to M. Richard Chester (fols. 2v and 5r) who, presumably, obtained it while at the Council of Basel in 1433, and then presented it to the first Rector of Lincoln College (ob. 1434). On Chester see A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A. D. 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957-59), I. 407-408.

⁴ This description differs a little from that given by Dondaine, p. 309.

⁵ I print these entries as they are in Dondaine, p. 309, but it may be noted that at fol. 30va 'let' should read 'lct.' and that at fol. 123vb 'secundum < aliam > lecturam' should be 'secundum aliam lecturam'.

the Parisian commentary of Thomas from the *prima pars* of the *Summa theologiae* (passages VIII-X, XII, XIV-XV in Dondaine), the *Compendium theologiae* (VII, XI), the *In Boethium De Trinitate* (I-III), and the *De veritate* (X) of Thomas. As for the meaning of 'alia lectura', and proof of Tolomeo's statement, Dondaine had to admit that in the long run, and in spite of one or two passages (notably V and VI) which had no 'formal parallel' in the writings of Thomas and therefore might qualify as 'alia lectura', the evidence for an 'alia lectura' in the sense of a second or Roman commentary of Thomas on 1 *Sent.* was so insubstantial in commentary B, 'qu'il reste peu d'espoir de trouver appui dans le manuscrit d'Oxford pour l'hypothèse d'un second Commentaire thomiste du premier livre des Sentences' (p. 335).

All the same I think that Dondaine gave in too easily, and that this was because he, very understandably, took 'secundum aliam lecturam' to mean the Roman commentary with which Tolomeo of Lucca credits Thomas, in contradistinction to the first or Parisian commentary of Thomas on 1 *Sent.* In fact, it is the other way around: 'secundum aliam lecturam' means the Parisian over against some other commentary. In other words, if Tolomeo is correct in attributing to Thomas a commentary on 1 *Sent.* at Rome, then to a student taking notes from Thomas as he lectured at Rome on that first book, 'alia lectura' would not mean the notes he was taking down but rather 'the other', Parisian commentary.

To me this is evident from the very first 'alia lectura' reference at fol. 2vb, where hand B writes, 'Isti articuli poni possunt in distinctione secunda primi libri secundum aliam lecturam fratris T.' (ed. Dondaine, p. 318). At first sight and as, apparently, Dondaine has read it, what this says is that 'These articles may be placed in the second distinction of the first book according to the other *lectura* of brother T.', meaning that according to the *alia lectura* one should place these articles in the second distinction of the first book of the Sentences (as commented on by Thomas at Paris). To say the least, this is a curious way of speaking. But there is another way of rendering 'secundum aliam lecturam' if one is not predisposed to thinking of 'alia lectura' as 'second' or 'further': 'These articles may be placed in the second distinction of the first book *as it is found* in the other *lectura* of brother T.'

If this means, as it does to me, that the articles in question in commentary B 'may be placed' with or in the second distinction of the Parisian commentary of Thomas on 1 *Sent.*, this is quite plausible in the circumstances. For at the point where the reference occurs in commentary B (just after article 3 on fol. 2vb), 'isti articuli' must mean articles 1 (Dondaine V: pp. 316-17), 3 (VI: pp. 317-18) and 4 (VII: pp. 318-20), all of which have the very same subject, 'summum bonum' – a subject of which there is no special treatment whatever in the second distinction of the Parisian commentary.

The second reference in commentary B (fol. 30va: 'Hic queritur utrum filius possit dici alius a patre secundum aliam lct. f. t.') is even more instructive than the first. This is the only occasion in the extracts printed by Dondaine (passage XIII: p. 329) that commentary B has a title ('utrum filius possit dici alius a patre') which is exactly that of an article in the Parisian commentary of Thomas (d. 9, q. 1, a. 1). It is also the only time in the passages printed by Dondaine that the opening objections in B are reduced to a minimum and are cut off with an 'etc.'. So what the note 'Hic queritur...' is saying is that the title here in B is that of the 'other', Parisian commentary. And if the three objections are shortened by an 'etc.' this is precisely because they are present in the Parisian commentary beside which they occur at fol. 30va in commentary B: 'Sicut dicit Priscianus, alius est relatiuum diuersitatis etc.' is exactly the second objection in the Parisian commentary; 'Preterea. Alius et aliud differunt sola consignificatione; sed constat quod filius non potest dici aliud a patre etc.' is more or less the third objection. But there is no abbreviation when one reaches the 'Responsio', for in fact the 'Responsio' in B is quite different from the Parisian 'Solutio', prompting Dondaine to allow that B 'est plus clair que le Commentaire de saint Thomas' in the Parisian version.

The third reference to 'alia lectura' noted by Dondaine (fol. 123vb: 'd. ij^a secundum aliam lecturam'), coming as it does immediately after the end of the Parisian commentary, is a simple reference to the place where the article in question ('Videtur quod hoc nomen deus predicetur de tribus personis in plurali') should go in the Parisian commentary (d. 9, q. 1, a. 2).⁶

If then the 'alia lectura' to which commentary B refers is the Parisian commentary of Thomas on 1 *Sent.*, here represented by commentary A in the manuscript from Lincoln College, Oxford, what is commentary B itself which provides these references in the margins of the commentary from Paris? Nothing else, I am sure, than a copy of or selections from a student *reportatio* of the Roman lectures of Thomas on book 1 of the Sentences to which Tolomeo of Lucca attests.

What happened, I may surmise (though I shall refine the point later), is that sometime around or perhaps sometime before 1300, the approximate date assigned by Dondaine to hands A and B, someone or other who owned a copy of the Parisian commentary of Thomas on 1 *Sent.* also owned or had access to a

⁶ These are the three references to 'alia lectura' which Dondaine gives, but in fact there are others which he does not mention, e.g. 'secundum aliam lecturam' (fols. 16va, 17rb), 'secundum aliam lecturam fratris Thome' (fols. 19vb, 20r, 21rb), 'resumatur in principio huius columpne secundum aliam lecturam fratris' (fol. 30rb, bottom, with the word after 'fratris' cropped in rebinding). All of these notes are in a very cryptic form and therefore easily to be missed, e.g., 'sec. a. l. f. t.'.

reportatio by a student of the Roman lectures of Thomas on 1 *Sent.* in 1265-66, when Thomas was teaching that book of Peter Lombard's *Sentences* to students at Santa Sabina in the new, experimental and probably 'personal' studium there.⁷ Perhaps, indeed, hand B in the Lincoln College manuscript was actually one of those students. At all events, what he did when he had obtained a copy of the Parisian commentary was to attempt to correlate the *reportatio* of the Roman lectures with the text of the Parisian commentary – and on at least one occasion (fol. 2vb) gave the game away by citing a directive (whether of the *reportator* himself or of Thomas does not matter) which indicated just where the *articuli* in question in the *reportatio* were to be placed in copies of the Parisian commentary: 'Isti articuli possunt poni in distinctione secunda primi libri secundum aliam lecturam fratris T.'

Granted, then, that the 'alia lectura' to which commentary B refers is neither B itself nor some indeterminate 'alia lectura' but the Parisian commentary of Thomas, it seems to follow at once, because of the placing of the three references above, that all of commentary B may well be the Roman commentary on 1 *Sent.* of which Tolomeo of Lucca speaks.

From the point of view of doctrine there certainly is no difficulty. As Dondaine has shown with his customary fine touch, the doctrine is as Thomistic as one could wish for: 'La doctrine est évidemment celle de Frère Thomas' (p. 334). But in spite of this, Dondaine cannot allow that Thomas is the author. For him, commentary B in the Lincoln College manuscript is the work of an 'unknown and discerning' disciple of Thomas who was bright enough to employ, for example, in passages VII and XI, 'des clairs chapitres du *Compendium* pour enrichir le Commentaire thomiste du premier livre des *Sentences*' (p. 334), copying seven passages almost *ad litteram* from the *Compendium theologiae* in sample VII and five in sample XI (see pp. 320, 327, 335-36). He knew, Dondaine admits, 'how to exploit' the *prima pars* of the *Summa theologiae* in samples VIII, IX, X, XII, XIV and XV; there are 'echoes' of *In Boethium de Trinitate* in samples I-III, and of the *De veritate* in sample X. There are times when, in Dondaine's view, the anonymous B 'se montre informé' (p. 314), or is capable of giving 'un clair exposé' (p. 315) of a question which is not to be found as such anywhere in the works of Thomas. He seems to Dondaine to be 'the first commentator' on the *Sentences* to allow that reason, in spite of its limitations, 'potest considerare trinitatem personarum... in unitate essentie' (p. 320). In sample X indeed he shows himself to be 'bien informé' on Jewish usage with respect to God (p. 323). He is not above borrowing 'sans le

⁷ See L. E. Boyle, *The Setting of the Summa theologiae of Saint Thomas* (Toronto, 1982), pp. 9-11.

dire' a definition which Thomas has in his *De veritate* of the Augustinian 'imago trinitatis' in man (p. 325). He is even at one point (sample XIII) 'plus clair que le Commentaire de saint Thomas' (p. 330) on the Sentences (d. 9, q. 1, a. 1).

A remarkable commentator, indeed, this commentator B, and one who is able to treat matters 'avec une rigueur intrépide' and with close rational argumentation which 'détonne un peu dans un commentaire des Sentences' (p. 331). On occasion he clearly gets carried away by the rational arguments of Thomas, in sample XIV, for example, giving more attention to reason than to faith, 'comme si le succès de l'argument thomiste absorbait l'attention et l'intérêt du disciple inconnu' (ibid.).

Needless to say, once one sees the real meaning of 'secundum aliam lecturam', the unknown student of such exceptional ability disappears to be replaced by Thomas himself; and all the perception, all the staggering sensitivity to the thought of Thomas, all the adroit deployment of certain works of Thomas then begin to make sense.

There is no need, however, to tamper with Dondaine's brilliant and exhaustive research. It is sufficient to read 'Thomas' for every mention of the 'unknown student' or 'commentator B'. All that Dondaine has to say about the use by 'B' of works of Thomas written before 1265-66 (the Parisian commentary on 1 *Sent.* and the *De veritate*) may stand unchanged. But with respect to the relationship of 'commentary B' to works of Thomas after 1265-66 such as the prima pars of the *Summa theologiae* and, notably, the *Compendium theologiae*, Dondaine's conclusions should be reversed. If, for example, Dondaine has been able to show, as he has done convincingly (pp. 320, 327, 335-36), that there are ideas, sentences and even whole passages common to 'commentary B' and the *Compendium*, then this is not, as Dondaine holds, because 'B' is indebted to the *Compendium* but because the *Compendium* is a reworking by Thomas of parts of 'B'.

I say 'reworking' advisedly, since the relationship between the *Compendium* and 'B' is so close (with, for example, more than forty lines in common at one point) that Dondaine has to admit that 'il est difficile de reconstruire l'ordre de genèse entre les deux textes' (p. 327). In fact, when examining sample XI from 'B' against the *Compendium theologiae* (pp. 325-27 and the comparative table at 335-36), Dondaine came very near to allowing that this part of 'commentary B' might well be Thomas. But he resisted the moment. In spite of the fact that it is well known that Thomas was not above incorporating passages from previous writings of his into later ones, Dondaine found it difficult to accept that Thomas could possibly have taken over so much *ad litteram* from a previous work, if 'commentary B' really was his. Hence he concluded that the 'borrowing' must have been in the other direction: 'On pensera aussi bien à quelque disciple

disposant du *Compendium*' (p. 327). The idea of Thomas 'engageant à plein un rôle de compilateur' rather horrified him (p. 335).

Far from being shocking, the discovery that Thomas borrowed heavily from 'B' when putting together the *Compendium* is rather a cause for rejoicing. In fact, with 'commentary B' on 1 *Sent.* now restored to Thomas (however much, as I shall note, at second or third hand), the whole array of texts from 'B' in Dondaine's article, not to speak of those still to be published from the Lincoln College manuscript, take on a new life and indeed provide us with a window through which to view some of the teaching of Thomas at Santa Sabina in Rome in 1265-66.

Two examples from Dondaine's texts will suffice. In sample XIII (fol. 30va: Dondaine, pp. 329-30), one finds Thomas actually remaking an article in his Parisian commentary (which is surely why it is the only sample of the fifteen in Dondaine which explicitly states that its title is precisely that of the 'other' or Parisian commentary: 'Hic queritur utrum filius possit dici alius a patre secundum aliam lecturam fratris t.'). As I noted above, the objections in 'B' are practically the same as those in the Parisian commentary and are indicated to be such by an 'etc.' in each case. But the corpus and the replies to the objections are much more taut and straightforward than those in the corresponding article in the Parisian commentary (d. 9, q. 1, a. 1), prompting Dondaine (p. 330) to note that 'L'Anonyme est plus clair que le Commentaire de saint Thomas', a remark which he repeats again at p. 335 when allowing that 'commentator B' might well have culled this sample XIII from some unknown 'alia lectura' of Thomas on 1 *Sent.*: 'il n'est pas impossible qu'il l'ait recueillie d'une *alia lectura*.' Again, in sample VIII (fol. 123vb: Dondaine, pp. 321-22), where there is the reference to 'd. ij^a secundum aliam lecturam', there is another example of a reworking of an article in the Parisian commentary (d. 9, q. 1, a. 2). The interesting thing here is that the reworked version is what is taken over, with some changes, by Thomas when composing the *prima pars* of the *Summa* (l. 39. 3) a year or so later (of course Dondaine, p. 322, from whom I take the data, says the opposite: 'La *Responsio* de la pièce VIII expose la doctrine de I^a pars q. 29 a. 2 [*rectius* q. 39 a. 3], qui est déjà celle de *Super 1 Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 2').

The most telling example, however, is one that for some reason or other escaped the attention of Dondaine; it is also one that gives us a rare glimpse of Thomas in the classroom. In the Parisian commentary, when treating of the question 'Utrum verbum dicatur personaliter in divinis' (1 *Sent.* d. 27, q. 2, a. 2), Thomas states, 'Et ideo dicendum est cum aliis quod hoc nomen verbum ex virtute vocabuli potest et personaliter et essentialiter accipi.' At this point in the Lincoln College codex of the Parisian commentary (fol. 81va), there is a siglum in the margin which is answered at the foot of the folio (81vb) by the

following note: 'Communitas Parisiensis modo tenet quod uerbum tantum personaliter dicatur, et quod etiam *frater Thomas modo in hoc consentit* – non quod distinctio hic posita sit erronea sed quia sancti communiter non utuntur hoc nomine nisi personaliter.' Thomas, then, by the time he was lecturing for a second time on 1 *Sent.* in 1265-66, had come to accept ('modo in hoc consentit') the position of the 'communitas Parisiensis' (presumably the general body of theological opinion at Paris), but all the same was reluctant to admit that his position in the Parisian commentary a decade or so earlier was erroneous ('non quod distinctio hic posita sit erronea'). A year or more later, it may be noted, he abandoned entirely his 'personaliter – essentialiter' distinction when he came to compose the prima pars of the *Summa theologiae* (l. 34, 1c): 'Unde oportet quod nomen verbi secundum quod proprie in divinis accipitur non sumatur essentialiter sed personaliter tantum' (see also l. 34, ad 3).

There are certain difficulties, however, which cannot be ignored, and clearly they prevented Dondaine, who mentions them several times, from accepting all or any of the obviously 'Thomistic' teaching of 'commentary B' as that of Thomas himself:

1. Sample X, lines 19-20: 'la main B transcrit bravement "Dicere nichil aliud est summo spiritui quam cogitando intueri, ut dicit Dyonisius" (f. 124rb). Cet extrait du *Monologion* 63 (PL 158.208D) est cinq fois cité par saint Thomas sous le nom exact Anselmus' (Dondaine, p. 334). One must remember, however, that hand B in the Lincoln College manuscript is not, as Dondaine supposes, composing a commentary but rather, as I see it, is copying out all or part of the lectures of Thomas on 1 *Sent.* at Rome. Since it is unlikely that he had Thomas' notes in the hand of Thomas himself before him, there are thus two possible sources on which he could have drawn. Hand B could be copying from a *reportatio* which he himself had made while attending the lectures of Thomas at Santa Sabina or, if he himself had not been a student of Thomas there, from a *reportatio* of some student who had been. In either case hand B was faced with a *reportatio*, whether his own or not does not matter for the moment. A *reportatio* usually is written in a simple, highly-abbreviated *littera notularis* and, indeed, often in a very personal version of this, so it is not hard to imagine that hand B could have been trapped into reading An^o as Dn^o and thus into writing 'Dyonisius' instead of the 'Anselmus' of Thomas.

2. Sample VIII, line 2: 'Le cas VIII 2 est plus compromettant: l'Anonyme explique bénévolement (VIII 34-40) un soi-disant *dictum Damasceni* qui n'est ni authentique ni vraisemblable' (Dondaine, p. 334). This indeed is a difficult one, though I must say that Dondaine is rather hard on his 'commentator B' for his 'faiblesses occasionnelles' (p. 334), remarking, for example, with respect to the above 'dictum Damasceni', that 'On touche là une limite des moyens critiques dont dispose notre Anonyme' (p. 322). He is particularly surprised because the 'anonymous author' 'donne une explication bénigne du *dictum Damasceni*, sans soupçonner ce que l'attribution au Damascène a

d'in vraisemblable. Nous ignorons d'où provient ce *dictum*, avec pareille attribution' (ibid.).

Here again Dondaine takes it for granted that hand B is the author of 'commentary B', and does not consider the possibility that hand B was not that of an author but of a copyist. Looking at hand B as that of a copyist, what I would suggest is this. There must have been such a *dictum* around in the scholarly world at the time, but probably not attributed to John Damascene. However, as the *dictum* occurred in the *reportatio* in front of hand B, the name attached to it when it first appears in the first objection in sample VIII was so illegible that hand B, noting that 'Damascenus' was cited as the source for an objection in the very next item in the *reportatio* (sample IX: Dondaine, p. 322), solved the problem of illegibility by adopting 'Damascenus'. This is not at all unlikely to be what happened. Samples VIII and IX, which are together on the same folio (123vb) in the Lincoln College manuscript, probably were also cheek-by-jowl in the *reportatio*. What is more, the opening words of these two first objections in samples VIII and IX are so similar that hand B surely merits our sympathy; '*Damascenus enim dicit quod hoc nomen deus ita est commune patri et filio et spiritui sancto, sicut ...*' (VIII, obj. 1); '*Damascenus enim dicit quod qui est est maxime nomen dei proprium*' (IX, obj. 1). This, of course, does not account for the appearance of 'Damascenus' in the reply to objection 1 in sample VIII, but, conceivably, if 'Damascenus' had wormed its way into the objection as I have suggested, then hand B may be excused if he repeated 'Damascenus' in the reply (or encountered a siglum in the reply that he presumed from the objection he had just copied out to be 'Damascenus').

3. Sample XIV: 'Et même comment l'entendre pour la pièce XIV, au climat rationnel si différent du *Super Sententias*?' (Dondaine, p. 335). The wave of 'rationality' in sample XIV should not be a surprise. When Thomas wrote on the Sentences at Paris he was a Bachelor fulfilling a formal role. At Rome, however, he was a Master, and not at all tied down by the text of Peter Lombard (or, for that matter, by the text of his own Parisian commentary of twelve or thirteen years earlier). He now had a freedom that a Bachelor did not enjoy. Here one with profit may recall that it was precisely Thomas' status as Master to which Tolomeo of Lucca drew attention when he wrote, '*Scriptis etiam eo tempore quo fuit Rome... iam magister existens, primum super Sententias....*'

4. Sample XV: '[Et même comment l'entendre...] pour la pièce XV, dont le vocabulaire nous a fait difficulté?' (Dondaine, p. 335). The difficulty here for Dondaine, if 'commentator B' is in fact Thomas, is that in sample XV the commentator exploits the *prima pars* of the *Summa* (37, 1), 'avec un déploiement verbal qui n'est guère dans la manière sobre de saint Thomas.' For one thing, 'Pour un simple article de cinquante-et-une lignes onze emplois du mot *actio*, dont quatre *actio intellectus* et cinq *actio uoluntatis*' (p. 333). For another, Dondaine knows of only one example in Thomas of the expression '*actio uoluntatis*' in a Trinitarian context, namely, the doublet '*actio intellectus et actio uoluntatis*' in the *prima pars*, 27 3c. It seems to me, however, that once one allows that what we have here in this Lincoln College manuscript in 'commentary B' is a *reportatio* of, presumably, *viva voce* lectures, then such repetition

hardly seems horrendous. It might be if Thomas never in his life had used terminology such as *actio intellectus* and *actio uoluntatis*. But he did.

5. Finally, there are objections to Thomas' authorship that, to Dondaine, arise from the fact that hand B writes as though he were the author of 'commentary B'. Thus, according to Dondaine, hand B proves to be an editor 'qui surveille l'expression de sa pensée' (p. 333), changing words or correcting mistakes as he goes along. To me, rather, hand B is a scholar-copyist who on occasion (eight occasions, as a matter of fact, in the fifteen extracts printed by Dondaine) realizes that what he has just copied does not make sense either because he has taken one word in the *reportatio* before him for another (thus 'hiis' for an abbreviated form of 'principiis' – *piis* – in sample IV, line 16) or, in the seven other cases noted by Dondaine (p. 333), because he had fallen into the common trap of the scholar-copyist: allowing oneself to think while copying. In any case, if hand B really was drafting or composing his text as he went along, then it is very strange that there are so few changes. That there are, on the other hand, lacunae at times (e.g., fols. 29vb, 38va – the latter a long one), argues as clearly as possible that hand B is not that of an author but that of a copyist who, like so many other copyists in all ages, cannot always fathom the script before him in his exemplar.

Who, in conclusion, might this scholar-scribe have been? Whoever he was, he certainly was someone who sometime in the late thirteenth century, when he owned a copy of the Parisian commentary of Thomas on 1 *Sent.*, went to the trouble of copying into its margins or spare folios all or most of a *reportatio* of the Roman lectures of Thomas on that same book in 1265-66. As it happens, there is a possible candidate, if only because his name is carried by the manuscript at Lincoln College, Oxford, in which these two commentaries occur.

An erased note at the top of fol. 2r (one of the two 'guard' folios before the Parisian commentary proper), which Dondaine was able to read in part under ultra-violet, states, according to Dondaine's transcription, 'Fratr Iacobbus Ray(nucii) perusinus /// .xlj. sol. pro isto libro et pro predicte pecunie predictus...'. Noting simply, with just one reference (pp. 308-309 n. 6), that 'Fr. Iacobus Raynucii mourut en 1286', Dondaine makes nothing of this Dominican of Perugia beyond allowing that hand B in the Lincoln College manuscript may be 'dès avant 1286' if, that is, hand B had already penned 'commentary B' before the volume was bought by Iacobus Raynucii.

Yet Iacobus Raynucii was not just some Dominican or other of Perugia 'who died in 1286'. When he died he was in fact archbishop of Florence and had been so for some four or five months. What is more, he was prior of Santa Sabina in Rome when named archbishop in early 1286 by Pope Honorius IV, and previous to that had been the very first Lector of the Dominican house at Città di Castello when that house was founded from Perugia in 1273. Possibly

this was his first appointment as Lector, but he was distinguished enough by 1281 to have been appointed a Preacher General.⁸

But that is not the whole story. The partially erased inscription is richer than one would suspect from Dondaine's rendition of it. For the inscription does not say that Iacobus Raynucii bought the volume, but rather that he sold it to another Dominican, possibly Nicholas of Milan, as the following transcription with the aid of an ultra-violet lamp suggests (erased words which have responded to ultra-violet are in italics; uncertain words are in angled brackets): '*Frater Iacobbus Ray. perusinus debet recipere de fratre* <Nicola de Mediolano> xlij. sol. pro isto libro. *Et pro predicta pecunia predictus frater* <Nicola promisit>' (the remainder is utterly illegible).

Now, since Iacobus Raynucii is simply called 'Frater Iacobbus Ray. perusinus' in the erased note and is not specified either as archbishop or Preacher General, it is likely that the sale of the volume took place well before 1286 (archbishop) and possibly before 1281 (Preacher General). If, further, the Dominican colleague to whom Iacobus sold the codex really is Nicholas of Milan, then the sale would have taken place between c. 1273, when Nicholas began teaching, and 1283, when he gave up teaching to devote himself exclusively to preaching (1283-c. 1293).⁹ And since Iacobus is known to have been appointed Lector to Città di Castello in 1273 and seems to have continued teaching until appointed Prior of Santa Sabina in, perhaps, 1281, then the date for the sale of the Lincoln College manuscript to Nicholas could be narrowed to the years 1281-83.

What really matters, however, is that Iacobus clearly possessed the codex well before he became archbishop of Florence in 1286. Given this, the chances are good that he first acquired the codex when he was appointed to, as I presume, his first Lectorship in 1273, and then, when he began to teach the first book of the Sentences at Città di Castello, copied all or most of the Roman lectures of Thomas into this copy of the Parisian commentary of Thomas. Certainly there is a record of lecturing from time to time in the volume, at fols. 38r ('Lectio XXXVII'), 62v ('Lectio XXXVI'), and 74v ('Lectio XXXX').

Perhaps, finally, the *reportatio* from which Iacobus copied was his own, which would mean that he was one of those select students at Santa Sabina in 1265-66 to whom Thomas lectured on the first book of the Sentences before

⁸ *Acta capitulorum provincialium provinciae Romanae (1248-1344)*, ed. T. Kaeppli and A. Dondaine (Rome, 1941), pp. 43, 47; *Stephanus de Salaniaco et Bernardus Guidonis, De quatuor in quibus Deus Praedicatorum Ordinem insignivit*, ed. T. Kaeppli (Rome, 1949), p. 88 and n. 1. His full name was Iacobus Raynucii de Alexiis de Castelbuono.

⁹ G. G. Meersseman, *Ordo fraternitatis. Confraternite e pietà dei laici nel medioevo*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1977), 3. 1121-43; 'Sermoni e collazioni di Fra Nicola da Milano nelle Congregazioni Mariane (1273-1283)'.

embarking a year later on the prima pars of his *Summa theologiae*. Again, this is not an improbable assumption. Certainly it would explain why Iacobus possessed the commentary of Thomas on 1 *Sent.* on its own, and it would go a long way to explaining a devotion on his part to the fragmentary Roman commentary of Thomas at a time when other and more important works of Thomas were in circulation. For if the appointment to Città di Castello was, as it appears to be, his first as a 'Lector conventus', then at the time that Thomas was teaching the first book of the Sentences in Rome in 1265-66, Iacobus would have been beginning his studies in the Dominican Order and could thus have been one of the students selected from all over the Roman Province of the Dominican Order for study with Thomas at Santa Sabina.

The case for Iacobus Raynucii is, of course, far from watertight; but whoever the owner of hand B was, he must have been a student of Thomas at Santa Sabina in 1265-66. Who else but one of the students who had been there at that time would have bothered with the Roman commentary and with its directions on where to place certain passages or articles in copies of the Parisian commentary of Thomas? Who else would have been aware of just what really was meant by 'secundum aliam lecturam fratris T.'?

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